GUIDE TO THE AW5 COORG FILE

[This file contains material on the former state of Coorg in southwestern India. A small mountainous region, it is bounded on the north and east by Mysore and on the south and west by Madras. In 1951, the population of Coorg was about 229,405. The Coorg or Kodagu, make up about a third of it. The rest of the population is composed of other tribes, such as the Yerava, and other language groups, castes and religions. Hindus account for about 90% of the population; all Coorgs are Hindu. Another 8% are Moslems, almost 2% are Christians and there are a few Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. All of the important languages are Dravidian. This includes Kodagi, the Coorg dialect; Kannada, the dialect used for dealings between tribes; Malayalam, Tulu, and Yerava. Hindustani and English are not uncommon, and educated Coorgs usually speak Kodagi, Kannada and English. There are also a number of Tamil speakers. The great majority of the population live in dispersed villages and cultivate the land for subsistence. There are only two towns in Coorg, which in 1931, contained about 6% of the population.

There are 4 sources in the Coorg file. 1: Srinivas is the most up to date (1952). It is a study of the relation between Coorg religion and social structure, but many additional data are presented and it is probably the best basic source. 2: Emeneau is a study of marriage ceremonial and kinship organization. 3: Iyer is a brief general ethnographic description containing everything from flora and fauna, to divorce, house-types and anthropometry. 4: Richter

(1870) is one of the basic sources to which other Coorg studies refer. It is by a missionary with 14 years residence among the Coorg. It covers geography, ethnography, culture history, and the Coorg under British administration. This file is not extensive, but provides data on a people isolated from much of India's life and culture who have selectively chosen from it what they wished. The file was processed between 1955 and 1968.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

I

INTRODUCTORY

I

COORG is a tiny, mountainous province in south India, bounded on the north and east by Mysore State, and on the west and south by the South Canara and Malabar Districts of Madras Presidency. Its greatest length, north to south, is sixty miles, and its greatest breadth, east to west, is forty miles. The total area is 1,593 square miles, of which 519 square miles constitute 'reserve forest'.

The Western Ghat mountains which run along the west coast of India from Gujerat to Cape Comorin pass through Coorg. They generally make a precipitous descent to the west while they slope more gradually to the east. The plateau of peninsular India generally slopes to the east, and most of the bigger south Indian rivers flow from west to east.

The main range of the Western Ghats skirts the southern and western frontier of Coorg. Starting from Brahmagiri Peak (5,276 feet) in the extreme south it runs in a north-westerly direction till Tala Kāvēri, where it turns east for a few miles before it turns north-west again. It proceeds in this direction for some distance and then runs due north till Pushpagiri Peak (5,260 feet).

Spurs strike out in all directions from the main range of the Western Ghats. In the south they form either a ramification of narrow-ridged hills, or subside into undulating slopes enclosing innumerable broad valleys in which rice is grown.

That part of the main range of the Western Ghats which runs east from Tala Kāvēri is called Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa, and a high spur proceeds eastwards from it at the point it turns abruptly north-west. At Mercara this spur forks, the southern fork ending in the peak of Nūrokkal Beṭṭa, while the northern fork zigzags towards Fraserpēṭ in the east. The Nūrokkal spur continuing the Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa is important, as, together with the Western Ghats running south-east from Tala Kāvēri, it constitutes the watershed of the upper basin of the Kāvēri river.

The western half of Coorg to the north of Mercara is a plateau

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar.

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs.

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages.

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 and northern parts of Coorg excluding Ēḷusāvirashīmé Hōbḷi, at present called Shanivārasanté Hōbḷi. This latter area was part of the territory ruled by the Kongāḷva Kings in the eleventh century. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas were Jains by faith, and Changāḷva inscriptions have been found in Yeḍavanāḍ in the north and Beṭṭyetnāḍ in the south (see Map 3). It is probable that their territory included Tala Kāvēri as well.

The Chōḷas of the Tamil country defeated the Gangas in the beginning of the eleventh century, and they claim to have conquered Coorg as well. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas now became feudatory to the Chōḷas.

The Hoysaḷas, a dynasty which rose to power in western Mysore after the fall of the Gangas, succeeded in the twelfth century in driving the Chōḷas out of Mysore. The Changāḷvas, who had accepted the overlordship of both the Gangas and Chōḷas, refused to accept the overlordship of the Hoysaḷas and claimed independence. Several battles took place between the two before the Hoysaḷas were able to establish their authority. These battles are important for us, for the first reference to Coorgs as a body occurs in an inscription referring to one of them. We find Coorgs fighting for their Changāḷva ruler against the invader from Mysore.

In 1145 the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha I slew the Changāḷva ruler in battle and captured his elephants, horses, gold, and jewels. Thereafter the Changāḷvas appear to have withdrawn into Coorg, for in 1174 Ballāḷa II sent his general Beṭṭarasa against them in Pālparé in Hattugaṭṭanāḍ in Kiggaṭnāḍ (see Map 3). Beṭṭarasa was victorious, and he built a town at Pālparé which he made his capital. But Pemma-Vīrappa, joined by Budigonḍéya Nandidēva, Udiyāditya of Kurchi (village), and others, 'the Koḍagas of all the *nāḍs*', marched against Pālparé and attacked Beṭṭarasa, who seems [101] to have got the worst of it at first, but was finally victorious. This is the earliest reference to Coorgs by name.[1]

The defeated Changāḷvas seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. In 1252 the Hoysaḷa king Sōmēshwara visited them at Rāmanāthapura, when the Changāḷva capital was at Shrīrangapaṭṇa, south of the Kāvēri near Siddāpur. The Changāḷvas had now changed their faith from Jainism to Lingayāṭism, a popular sect devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva, which arose in the Kannaḍa country in the twelfth century A.D.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Oxford, 1908, vol. xi, p. 10.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven. 634

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1] [101]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg. 634 184

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs. 634

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly. [623]

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants. [167]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə̄ is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates; y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

[P.1]

COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

COORG is a small British Province perched on the slopes of the Western Ghats. It has an area of about 1,593 square miles of which the reserved forests occupy about 519 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hassan and Mysore districts; and on the south and west by the Malabar and South Canara districts of the Madras Presidency. It is an extremely hilly country and is situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats. Its maximum length is about 60 miles from north to south, and maximum breadth about 60 miles east to west. The name of Coorg is an anglicized corruption of the word *Kodagu*. It is said to be derived from the Canarese term *Kodagu* meaning 'steep' or 'hilly'. The people are called *Kodagas*. In the Coorg language, the country is Kodagu and the people Kodavas.

Natural Features—Mountains and Their Formations

The main range of the Western Ghats extends from Subramania in the north-west to the western point of the Brahmagiri in the south for a distance of over 60 miles. From this backbone several long and elongated ridges branch off from east to west. The grand mountain mass of Subramania runs to a height of 5,625 feet above sea level. Among the many

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CHAPTER VII

COORG

101 174 COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

141 174 Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that " it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenja Daru period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

174 Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

[P C4]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their
[776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs
devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is
not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

[101] [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centurics have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 **A.** Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, 101 I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues.

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side 142 of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often [302] distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set [554] off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Króladésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [177] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 174 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, 167 and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

131, 101 Coorg AW5

[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

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2. Map of Coorg

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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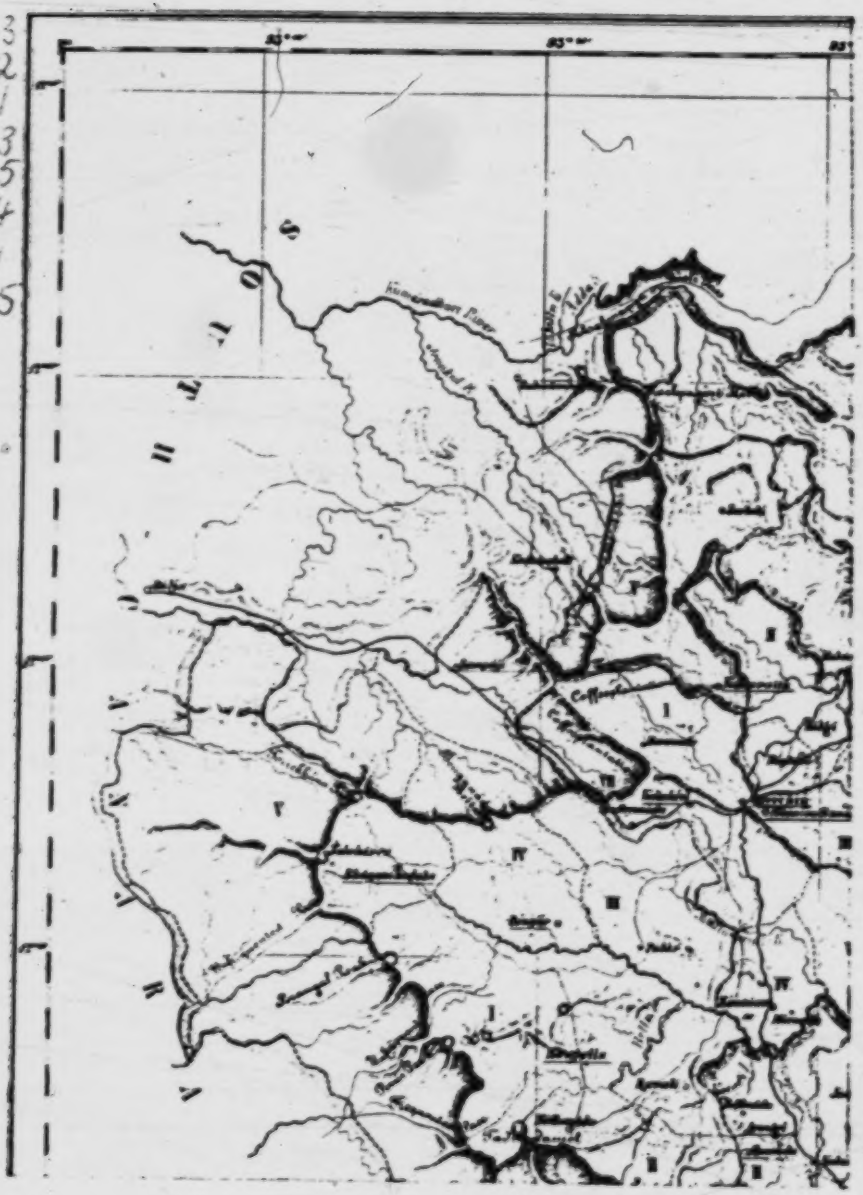

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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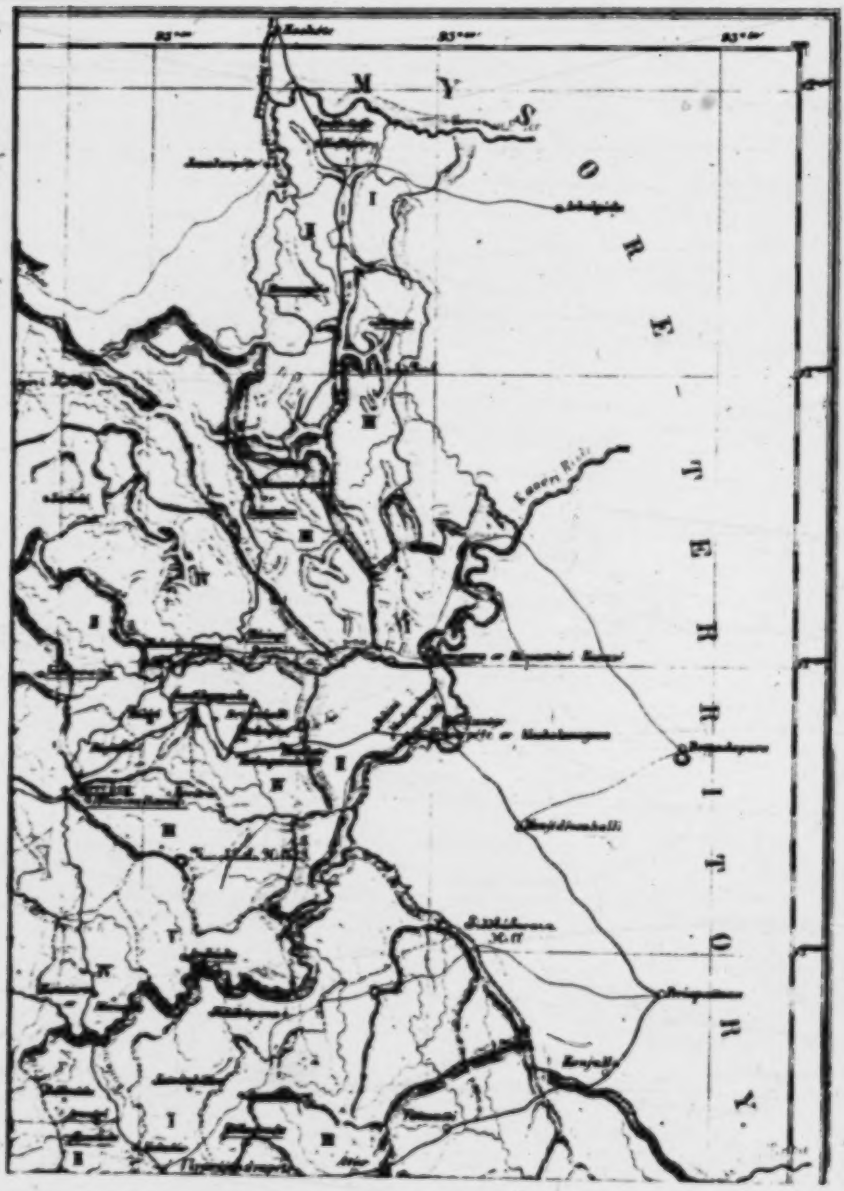

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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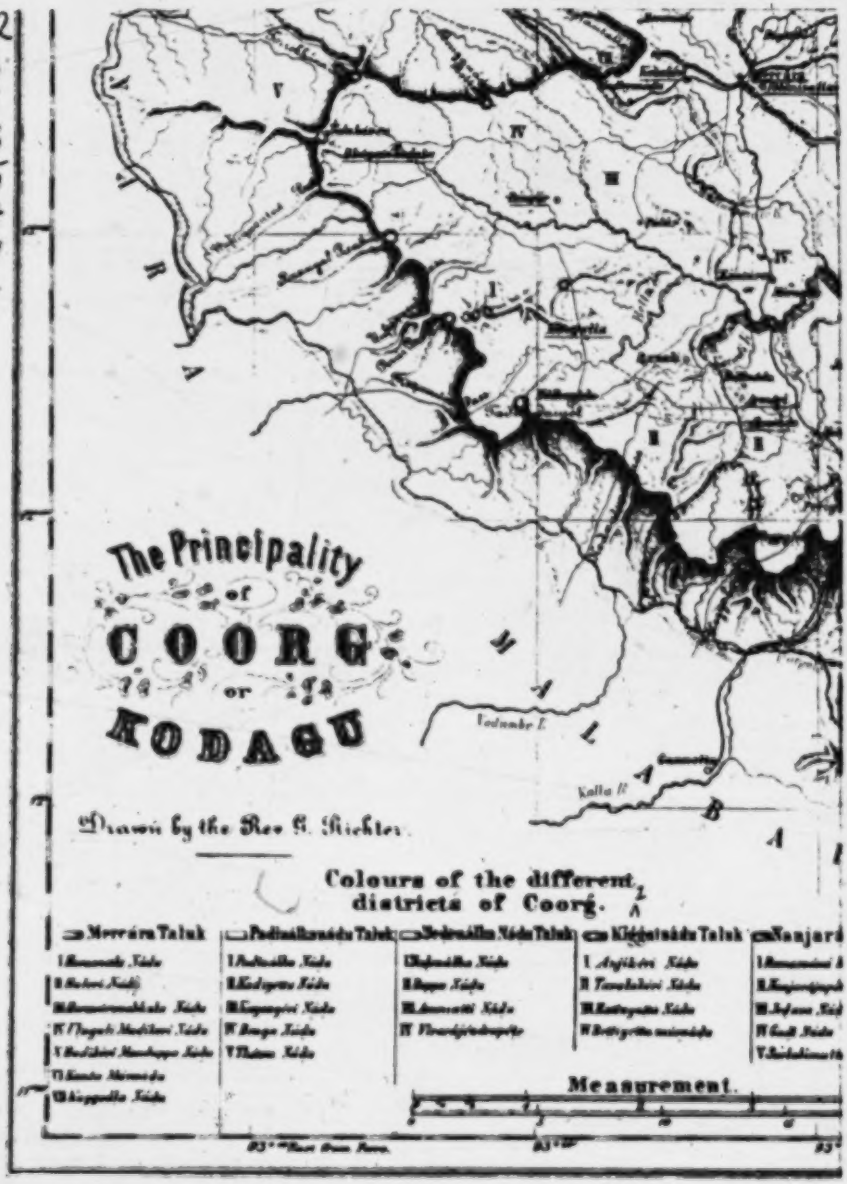

[End Map (C)]

1 [The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 and the whole length of the instep by the Mysore boundary. Compared with the gigantic extent of the Indian Peninsula, Coorg is but of baby's size, however large it may appear to its inhabitants.

[103] As the Badaga people on the Nilagiris have been named Burghers, so is "Coorg" anglicised from Kodagu or Kodumale, a name which it has borne from the remotest ages and which in its meaning—"Steep mountains" graphically depicts the character of this remarkable alpine land.

2. General description of Coorg,

its mountains and their formation, its rivers and their course, its forests and their general flora and fauna.

Aspect of Coorg. Standing on a bright November morning on the summit of the Brahmagiri near Tala-Kávéri, (tale *Kg.* head) the observer is filled with delight and admiration of the grand and picturesque view, that opens out before him. As far as the eye can reach to the north-west and south-east it beholds ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills, now gently sloping down in gentle wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, raising their steep summits into the clear, blue air. Kudurcmukha-betta, the far seen landmark of the mariner, bursts into view from Canara; the Bettadapur and Chámundi hill in Mysore, the Wynád mountains of Malabar and Dodda-betta of the distant Nilagiris are clearly visible, and in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below the steep precipices of the Ghats the coast-line of North Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers and the dark-blue Indian Ocean with its sailing craft fascinate the spectator.

[137] Coorg itself is covered by forest, save here and there where the clearing of a coffee plantation or ragi patch or the park-like open glades (Báné) with their beautiful green sward and varied foliage afford a charming variety to the landscape.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The minor streams vary only in size, which depends upon the length of their course, their general characteristics being the same. They swell with the freshes in the early part of June and flow with violent and boisterous rapidity till October, when they gradually subside in their normal dimensions.

[132] The south-westerly monsoon floods the uplands of Coorg against which it partially breaks, with such a torrent of rain, that during its prevalence small rills, out of which a thirsty herd does not care to drink, are suddenly transformed into streams that are impassable for many days.

133 Of the rivers that flow to the westward the *Barapole*
103 (bare *Can.* empty, bare; pole or hole *Can.* river) is the most considerable. It rises with the *Lakshmana-tírta* and *Pápanáshe* on the same plateau of the Brahmagiri hills in Kiggatnád and flows for several miles in almost a straight line through a deep mountain gorge, where it is joined by a tributary that falls over a perpendicular rock of great height and forms a beautiful cascade near the Kudiál coffee estate. Near the Malayalam frontier the Barapole leaps into a chasm upwards of 200 feet deep, and forms a waterfall that, with the wild gloomy forest scenery around, is remarkably picturesque. Then for two miles this river runs along the Coorg frontier up to the point where the *Kallahole* (kallu *Can.* stone) descending through the Heggala-pass unites with it, when the combined streams enter Malabar and debouch near Chiracal
[487] into the sea. The Barapole receives the rainfall of 192 square miles, and is navigable from the sea to within 16 miles off the foot of the Ghats. Near Chávachári on the road to Cannanore it is spanned by a wooden bridge, resting on high stone pillars.

The next stream of importance is the *Nujikal* which drains the Sampáji valley, and follows the main road as far as Sulya, when it turns to the west, receives a tributary that originates on the western slopes of the Todicána-pass and Tala-Kávéri,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

and falls, under the name of Basavani river, near Kasergóde, into the sea. C 133 103

The *Kumáradhári* (Kumára *Sans.* son, god of war, the son of Shiva; dháre *Sans.* edge, stream) rises near the Subramanya hill and carries off but little of the Coorg waters. For some distance it forms the northern boundary along the Bisilu-pass (bisilu *Can.* heat). A number of tributaries from north and south swell its waters, the largest of them being the *Nétrávati* (nétra *Sans.* eye) which joins it near the village Uppinangadi (uppu *Can.* salt, angadi mart) and thenceforth gives its own name to the rest of the course of this fine river, which near Mangalore meets the sea. The Nétrávati, though useless for purposes of irrigation, is of considerable commercial value. Boats of large size are safely carried from Mangalore as far as Bantwal or Pánemangalur and smaller craft proceed even beyond Uppinangadi. C [487]

The chief of the Coorg rivers, both as to size and importance, is the *Kávéri*; considering the volume of water it gathers during a course of nearly 400 miles through Mysore, along Salem and Coimbatore through Trichinopoly to Tanjore, where it is almost lost in that garden of India; the Kávéri may well be included amongst the principal rivers of the Peninsula. It rises on the Brahmagiri at a place called Tala-Kávéri (tale *Can.* head) on the very verge of the Western Ghats, where they form a sharp angle with the Benganád range. Another stream, the Kánake, starts close by and after a short run joins the Kávéri at the foot of the hill near the village Bhágamandala (bhágia *Sans.* wealth, felicity; mandala, region). At both places on the top and at the foot of the hill there are temples of great repute for sanctity among the Hindus, which are yearly resorted to by thousands of pilgrims from the adjoining countries. The Kávéri is, according to Brahminical legend, the holiest river in India. Even the holy goddess Ganga resorts underground to the all purifying floods of the I [778] [788] [823] [805]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW

C 133 103 I [178] 323 [505]

Kávéri once a year in Tulámása (tulá *Sans.* the sign of Libra; mása, lunar month) i. e. October, November, to wash away the pollution, contracted from the crowds of sinners, who have bathed in her own waters.

The course of this fine river through Coorg is very tortuous, but below Bhágamandala its current with the exception of a few localities, where it traverses beds of granite rock, is generally tranquil. Its banks which are high and steep are usually formed of rich clay or mould and covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. The bed over which it flows differs in various places, being alternately sandy, pebbly or rocky, but the latter feature is predominant. In the dry season it is fordable at almost all points, but there is always a good body of water, considering the vicinity of its source.

C [134]

During the monsoon it rises to an impetuous torrent whose mud-stained waters roll with thundering velocity through its wide channel, floating down shrubs and trees from its crumbling banks and overflowing for a few days the adjoining country. During these freshes the river rises near Fraserpet, where it is spanned by a magnificent stone bridge 516 feet in length, to a height of 20 to 30 feet.

C [49]

Descending through the great valley between Mercara and Nálkanád, the Kávéri makes a sudden turn near Siddhapur (Siddha *Sans.* a divine person) to the north and flows for 25 miles along the eastern frontier, being swollen in its course by several large tributaries. From the Tadiandamól it receives the Kakabe river which separates for some distance Padinálkanád from Katiednád. In Beppunád it is joined by the Kadanur river; and in Yeddenalkanád by the Kummahole.

The Muttáremutta collects the waters of the southern slope of the Mercara ridge, and the Chikkahole those of the valley of Horárnárokalnád. The *Háringi* or Suvarnavati (Suvarna *Sans.* gold) with the Kakehole from Sómawarpet, the Chóvanhole[1] from Shanthalli, the Mattapur and Hattehole

[1] [Errata: This should read "Choran-hole". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts.

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarábád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps.

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashíme—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which
131 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
632 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and
● 103 Ponnappet.

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

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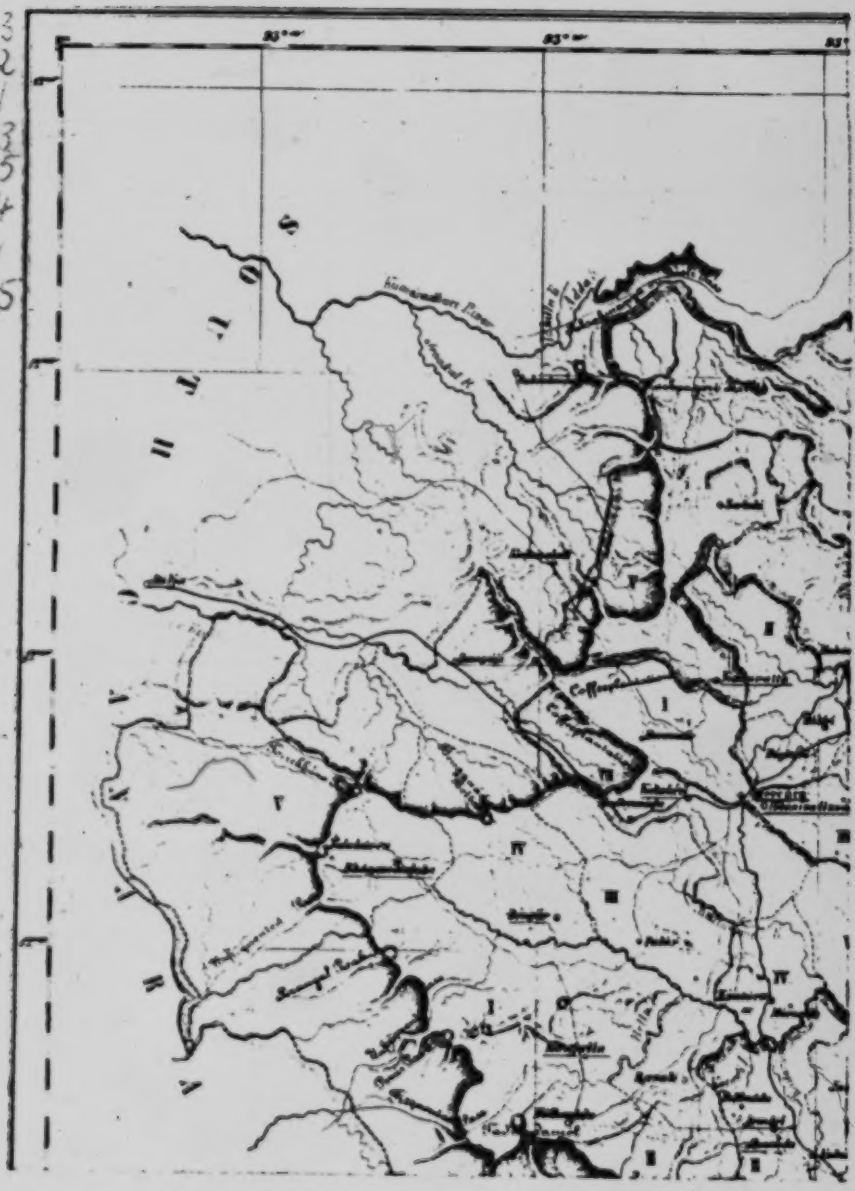

[End Map (A)]

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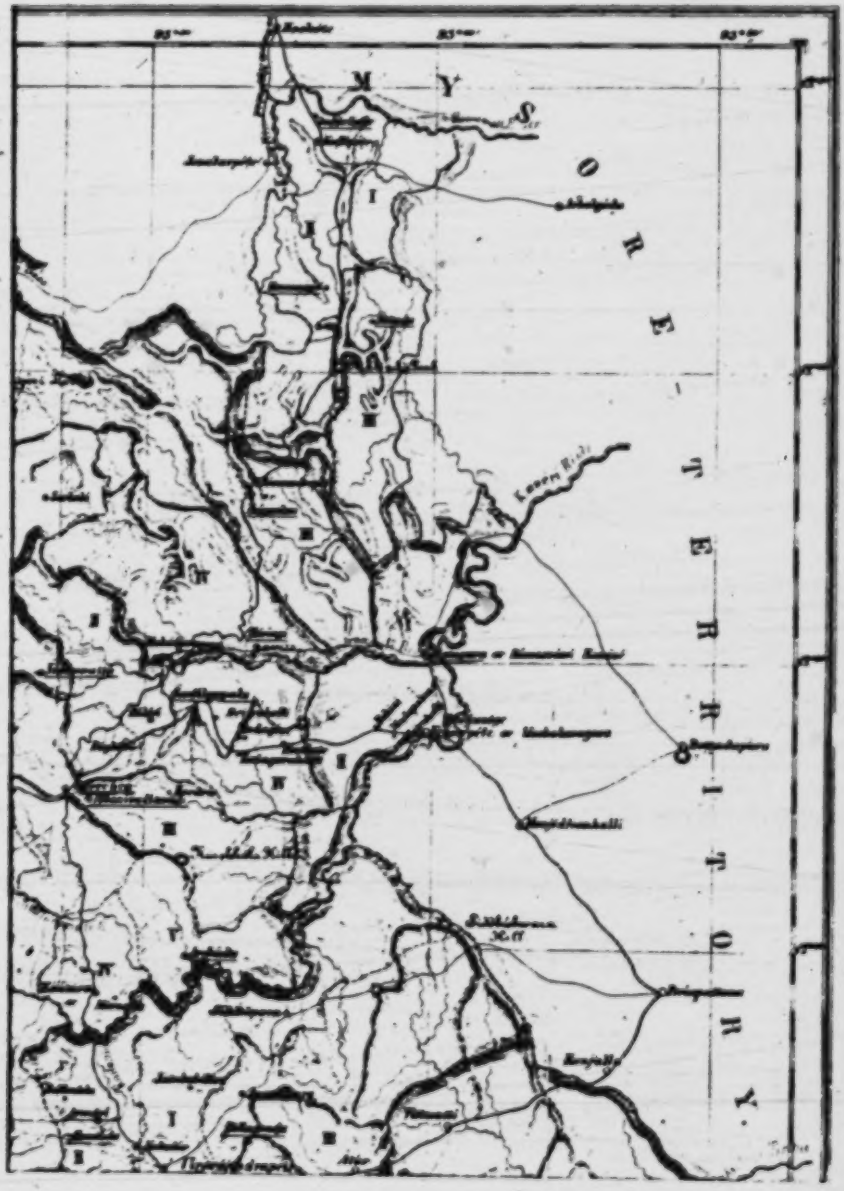

[End Map (B)]

4· Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (C)]

[The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chinnappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an • [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōḷi Pajumd*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 248]

GLOSSARY

104 **Aimara.** One of several sacred benches in the outer veranda or central hall of a Coorg house.

Kāraṇavanḍa aimara. Literally it means 'ancestors' bench'. One of the benches in the outer veranda, or a portion of it, so called. It is regarded as more sacred than other benches in the veranda.

Aruva. Family friend. Traditional relationship of friendship, frequently mutual, between two *okkas*.

Bainé palm. *Caryota urens*. Palm from the spathe of which toddy is drawn by a Kudiya, or low-caste man, for the consumption of himself and others, including Coorgs.

Bhāraṇi. Offering of cooked meat, liquor, puffed rice, &c., to village-deity or ancestor-spirit.

Bhaṭṭi. Measure equal to eighty seers. A rice-field was taxed according to the number of *bhaṭṭis* it yielded annually.

Bīra. Spirit of a man dying a violent death.

Nellakki boḷuk. Lamp burning in a niche in the western wall of the sacred central hall. Translated as 'wall-lamp' in the book.

Taiḷyakki boḷuk. Lamp kept on a sheet of rice spread in a bell-metal dining-dish (*taḷi*).

Dīkshé uttuva. Ritual, usually performed a few weeks after the death of a person, which completely frees the first-grade mourners from mourning.

Jaggery. Crude brown sugar made from the juice of sugar-cane, or the saps of various palms, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes.

Jagīr. An assignment of the king's or government's share of the produce of a village or several villages to an individual for services rendered.

Jamma. Concession tenure under which Coorgs and certain others held land. A *jamma* landholder was formerly liable to be called up for military and other service by the state whenever necessary.

Jangama. Lingāyaṭ priest who wears ochre robes. Occasionally, a mendicant.

Jāti. Subcaste. One of the innumerable, tiny, endogamous, and occupational groups which constitute the effective units of the caste system. A *jāti* has only a regional application while *varṇa* has an All-India application.

Kaimaḍa. Ancestor-shrine near the ancestral house of a Coorg.

Kāraṇava. The apotheosized spirit of the dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka*.

Kāraṇava kola or **Kāraṇava téré.** The elaborate propitiation of the ancestors of a Coorg *okka*. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-propitiation'.

Kāraṇava taré. Raised platform round the trunk of a milk-yielding tree, in which stones representing ancestors are embedded. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-platform'.

Kāvukāra. One of several high-caste *okkas* having well-defined rights and duties at the festival of the local village-deity. Translated as 'festival-priest' in the book.

Kēkangaḷa. Portion of the ancestral estate where the dead members of the *okka* are buried. When it is decided to cremate a dead person, an adjoining portion of the estate, called *tūṭangaḷa*, is used.

Kinḍi. Bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side.

Kuḍupi. Hostility between two *okkas*. *Maradalé* is hostility between two villages or *nāḍs*.

Kupya. A gown, like a dressing-gown, worn by Coorgs on ritual occasions.

Lingāyaṭ. Non-Brahmin sectarian

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caste devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati in their various manifestations.

Māda. Ritual performed on twelfth or sixteenth day of death which frees all except first-grade mourners from ritual mourning.

Maḍi. Ritual purity.

Mailigé. Normal ritual status which is really a mild form of impurity.

Mandu. Cleared, open space in village or *nāḍ* for dancing, or holding meetings, &c.

Mangala. Auspicious ceremony performed on certain occasions in the life of an individual.

Mantra. Hymn, sacred text, mystical verse, incantation or spell.

Mūrta. The most important part of the ritual of *mangala*.

Nāḍ. Territorial unit consisting of several villages.

Okka. Patrilineal, and patrilocal joint family, the basic kin-group among Coorgs. It is also a co-residential, commensal and property-owning group.

Paṇa. Unit of money equal to two annas and eight pies. There are six *paṇas* in a rupee.

Pandal. Decorated shed or booth erected in front of the house at marriage or other occasion.

Makka parijé. Custom by which a man raises up seed for his wife's natal *okka*, in addition to his own.

Okka parijé. Custom by which a man lives with his wife and raises up seed exclusively for her natal *okka*.

Paṭṇi. Day of fast during the festival of a village-deity.

Piṇḍa. Balls of rice or rice-flour, mixed with gingelly grains and other things offered to the spirit of a dead person or ancestor.

Polé. Ritual impurity of any sort.

Kuruḍu polé or **Tinga polé.** Pollution caused by menses.

Petta polé or **Puruḍu.** Pollution caused by birth. 104

Tinḍu polé. Pollution caused by a low-caste man coming too near.

Poleya. Untouchable caste.

Kail poḷud. Festival of arms.

Putri poḷud. Harvest-festival.

Pūja. Worship.

Ganga pūja. Worship of the sacred river Ganges. Water in any river, pond, or well is identified with the Ganges on certain ritual occasions.

Purāṇa. One of eighteen mythological works treating chiefly of cosmogony and divine genealogy.

Sammanda. Ritual conferring or withdrawing membership of an *okka*.

Seer. A grain measure of capacity or weight, varying in different parts of India. In the Kannaḍa country it is equal to the weight of twenty-four rupees or 0·6067 lb.

Takka. Headman.

Tappaḍaka. Ritual enumeration of the restrictions to be observed during a village-deity's festival.

Téré. Elaborate equipment, made principally of split bamboo, and coloured cloth of pith, worn by low-caste oracle at an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, and at the festival of a village-deity.

Tiké. Extreme form of pollution from which mourners and the house in which they live suffer until the celebration of *Māda* ceremony.

Tiruvaḷkāra (m.), **Tiruvaḷkārchi** (f.). Oracle.

Ugra. A mixed caste, result of the marriage of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

Varṇa. Traditional scheme of classification of castes. According to this scheme there are four castes, three of which are 'twice-born', and the Untouchables are outside the pale of the caste system.

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Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume IV, 1938.
ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

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114 In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was re-
[127] published in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

128 I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graeter, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

114 The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

104 In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

128 The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page	Instead of	Read
wherever	"w" in native words	"v"
vi	seperate	separate
5	doures	downs
8	Bisly-pass	Bisilu-pass
14	Chóvanhole	Choran-hole
20	Thimbergia	Thunbergia
25	draft	draught
31	Tamaind	Tamarind
38	beautiful spots	beauty-spots
42	clows	claws
99	stable-manure.	stable-manure,
116	exculants	exiles
118	waist	wrist
118	Kokaládi	Kokadádi
120	rein	rim
121ff	Doddi Auwa	Dodda-Auva
166	cobra capella	cobra di capella
168	favour	the favour
172	and pressure	(drop these words)
175	Omkaréevara	Onkaréevara
180	the Coorg shall	the Coorgs shall
181	Cutcherry	Kachéri
184	hands?	hands.
185	on Báne	on a Báne
241	Harige Shíme	Itterige Shíme
259	end his life	end of his life
259	Lingrája	Lingarája
268	frobearing	forbearing
291	purpose	propose
336	Shanivár-sante	Sanivár-sante

[104]

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[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

1: Srinivas, M. N. Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.

Pp. xvi, 267.

Yale: Bj51. K9. 952S

[This book by an Indian anthropologist is an "analytic descriptive study" of the religion of the Coorgs of Coorg. The author acknowledges his intellectual indebtedness to Radcliffe-Brown, and the latter sets forth the theoretical orientation of the book in a Foreward. That is, this work is an investigation into the social function of religion in Coorg society--an examination of the relation of religion to the social structure. A general introductory chapter deals with geography, language and history. Then the author undertakes a systematic description of the ritual and cult practices of the patri-lineal joint family, the village community, and of larger groupings of villages. His emphasis throughout is on the "social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system." There is considerable information throughout to show how Coorg religion has become assimilated into the wider Hindu religious community--a process referred to by the author as "Sanskritization." Part of the book is processed for the AW1 India file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1940-42 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: R. H. Ewald Processed in 1955

2: Emeneau, Murray B. Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123-147. Calcutta, 1938 (issued July, 1939).

2 appendices; bibliography.

Yale: Fd12 R81e 4.

/This source, representing part of the work done by the author, a linguist, in 1936-1937 while operating under a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society, presents a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of the Coorgs occupying the central portion of the province of Coorg in the area of Mercara and Virajpet, the district between these two towns, and in Nalknod to the west. There is much information on sib organization and its function in the society and the ceremonials associated with marriage. Two appendices give information on the readmission of a woman to her father's sib following the termination of a marriage, and a list of Coorg kinship terms./

Field date: 1936-1937
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1965, 1968

3: Iyer, L. A. Krishna. The Coorg Tribes and Castes, pp. 1-7, 38-66. Madras: Gordon Press, 1948.

16 photographs.

Library of Congress: DS485.C69K7.

[This source presents a brief ethnographic sketch of the Coorg, with data on topography, climate, flora and fauna, prehistory, population, house types, marriage regulations, marriage customs and ceremonies, polyandry, secondary marriages, divorce, the extended family, the property system, adoption, funerals, ancestor worship and religion, festivals, agriculture, diet, dress and ornament, and anthropometry. A section is also presented on the ethnography of the Amma Coorg whom the author identifies as an "indigenous priesthood of Coorg." Each chapter of the text concludes with a short bibliography.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965, 1968

4: Richter, G. Manual of Coorg: A Gazetteer of the Natural Features of the Country and the Social and Political Condition of its Inhabitants. Mangalore: Published by C. Stolz, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870.

Pp. xii, 474; 4 illustrations; 8 appendices; corrigenda; end map.

Library of Congress: DS485.C68R5 Documents Department.

[This source was compiled by the author during the fourteen years he lived among the Coorgs as a missionary, Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools and Principal of the Central School at Mercara. The author's field work was further supplemented by various official records, such as the "Rájéndranáme," and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey." The source itself is divided into four sections, the first of which deals with the geography of the Coorg region and some of its principal cultivated products; the second with the ethnography of the Coorg people; the third with a cultural history of Coorg; and the fourth, the Coorg under British government, including historical relations, general administration, and missionizing influences in Coorg. In over-all coverage this source is especially strong in history and geography, the data suggesting a considerable amount of scholarly research and analysis on the part of the author, while on the other hand the section on ethnography is only superficially covered and in some instances reflects the author's "missionary bias." Within the section on the history of Coorg will be found a detailed description of the genealogies

4: Richter, G.

of various Coorg Rajahs and their place in the history of the region.]

Field date: 1856-1870
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Missionary, Government Official-5
Processed in 1964, 1968

112 AW5 Coorg

Baden-Powell, B. H. Coorg. In, The Land-Systems of British India, Vol. 3, pp. 465-482. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1892.

Yale: Ndb76 I3 892 v.3.

[This source is a brief survey of the outlines of the land tenure and the land revenue administration of Coorg as they existed in the late 19th century. Since most of the material exists in other sources, this has not been processed for the Coorg file.]

AB6 Ainu

Etter, Carl. Ainu Folklore: Traditions and Culture of the Vanishing Aborigines of Japan. Chicago: Wilcox & Follett Co., 1949.

Pp. xxii; 234; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nkd71 A2 949e.

/The author was a teacher before World War II in Hokkaido Imperial University and became interested in the Ainu as a result of contacts he made there. He made several trips to the Ainu and collected a good deal of information. However, this information is immersed in general comparisons with the Bible and other religious material, which vitiates the materials. The book contains information on magic, creation story, etc./

Surveyed in 1966

Holland, T. H. The Coorgs and Yeruvas, an Ethnological Contrast. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, vol. 70, Part 3 (Anthropology, &c.), no. 1, pp. 59-98. Calcutta, 1901.

5 plates.

Yale: Fd12 R81v.68^3, 69^3, 70^3.

[In spite of the title, this source is not an ethnological study, but a comparison of various physical measurements of different groups of Coorgs and Yeruvas. Therefore, it has not been processed for the Coorg file.]

AW5 Coorg

Moegling, H. Coorg Memoirs; an Account of Coorg, and of the Coorg Mission. Bangalore: Printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, 1855.

Pp. v, 222

Newberry Library, Chicago: Eames G 6919.58

/This volume was written by a missionary who was in the Coorg area between 1850 and 1855. It contains a history of Coorg, a description of Coorg customs, and a history of the Coorg mission. This material is also contained in other works by Moegling and in other sources processed for the Coorg file. -- Analyst/

AW5 Coorg

Richter, Rev. G. Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes Found in the Province of Coorg, With a Short Description of Those Peculiar to Coorg. Bangalore: Printed at the Morning Star Press, 1887.

Pp. 2, 52

University of Michigan: GN 635.I4 R54

/This source contains a brief description of all the tribes and castes of Coorg, based on J. C. Nesfield's general caste classification. The material on each group is sketchy and most has been covered in other sources in the Coorg file. Therefore, this source has not been processed for the AW5 Coorg file. -- Analyst/

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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5. G. RICHTER, *Manual of Coorg, a Gazetteer*. Mangalore, 1870.
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12. N. CHIṆṆAPPA, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé* (partly in Koḍagi and partly in Kannaḍa). Bangalore, 1924.
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15. M. B. EMENEAU, 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), vol. iv, 1938.
16. *Census of India*, 1931: vol. xiii, *Coorg, Report and Tables*. Madras, 1932.
17. *Census of India*, 1941: vol. xv, *Coorg, Tables*. Delhi, 1942.
18. Various ethnographical articles on Coorg in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 322; vol. ii, pp. 38, 47, 168, 182; vol. iv, p. 12; vol. x, p. 363.
19. Letter of Vīrarājēndra Woḍéyar, Rāja of Coorg, in the *Mysore Archaeological Report for* 1941, pt. v. Mysore, 1942.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 6 01 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [2], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, odeyŏ and pownu respectively.

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A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes and Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinds of Jumcha and Coorg were of the same race. It is also observed that the aborigines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorg.

Population

The population of Coorg is composed of the following tribes and castes :—

1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorg
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heggade
9. Vokkaliga

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[Pages have not been processed]

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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4. Richter : "Ethnographic Compendium".
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5. Thurston, Edgar : "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India."

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each
[431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral
[783] lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her
[765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves
[589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume. In the words of Sir Erskine Perry they are by far the finest race he has seen in India in point of independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being.

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[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Coorg see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, p. 350.]

[For an index of authors and works cited, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 822-827.]

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Telugu AW17
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Tulu AW18
● Coorg AW5
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[For a map of the structural elements of South India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, p. 694.]

[For full bibliographical references see category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, entire source and bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.]

133, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

133, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a description and discussion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

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[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

128, 113 Coorg AW5

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.]

231, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

104, 113 Coorg AW5

[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]

132, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

134, 113 Coorg AW5

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

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[For information on the castes of Coorg see 33: Bhattacharya, AW1 India, category 116, p. 105.]

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[p iv contains no textual material]

FOREWORD

●114 THE study of religions can be approached in many different ways and can present a number of different kinds of problems. For social anthropologists, or for some of them, one major problem is that of the social function of religion—how does religion contribute to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings? It is recognized that religion is a binding force amongst individuals, and it would seem that the etymology of the word indicates this. The scientific problem is how religion does this; how, in other words, it functions. The problem is one of very considerable complexity, and it cannot be said that at present we know very much about this subject. The only method by which we can hope ultimately to arrive at an understanding of it is by a number of analytic descriptive studies of religions of diverse types, so that by systematic comparison it may be possible to arrive at some general theory. This work of Dr. Srinivas is an important contribution to that investigation. It gives us a description and analysis of the religious practices of a people of India, the Coorgs of Coorg.

For the social anthropologist the religion of a people presents itself in the first instance not as a body of doctrine, but as what we may call 'religious' behaviour as a part of social life. Social anthropology is behaviouristic in the sense that we seek to observe how people act as a necessary preliminary to trying to understand how they think and feel. This book, by a trained anthropologist, who is himself an Indian, and who has therefore an understanding of Indian ways of thought which it is difficult for a European to attain even over many years, gives us a scientifically valuable and objective account of the religious behaviour of a particular Indian community.

771 In an investigation into the social function of religion in a parti-
182 cular society the first thing required is to examine the relation of the religion to the social structure. In this respect the religion of the Coorgs is of very special interest and value. For we may say that there are three different structural systems in which the individual Coorg is involved, and each of these has its own system of religious behaviour and obligations.

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596 794 In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

114 794 182 Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

621 794 Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg individual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

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564 'caste'. There are some thousands of such groups in India as a whole. A caste is in its essence a religious group, membership of which entails certain ritual observances. The rules of caste behaviour are rules of religion.

The caste system of India presents a kind of social structure that is of special interest to comparative sociology. There are two major features. The first of these is what we may call 'separatism'. There are important rules which limit the social contact of members of different castes. The rule of endogamy prohibits marriage between members of different castes or sub-castes. There are caste rules as to the persons with whom one may partake of a meal, or from whose hands one may accept food or drink. The second important feature is that there is religious or ritual inequality of castes. Any man born as a Brahmin is holy; he might therefore become a priest and perform the priestly functions even if in actuality he becomes a cook or a water-carrier. At the other, lower, end of the scale are the people now called 'Untouchable'—leather-workers, sweepers, and so on, who are by birth 'unclean' or 'polluted' and with whom contact produces pollution in the members of superior castes. The inequality between persons that is an essential feature of the caste system is a religious or ritual inequality. The caste structure is one of a system of rigid partitions dividing caste from caste. At the same time the totality of all the various separate castes constitutes a single religious community the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief. The social separation of caste from caste is something very different from the social separation of Hindus and Muslims.

● 114 182 In connexion with the study of the inter-relations of religion and social structure, therefore, the material presented by Dr. Srinivas is of very special interest and value. To define the position of an individual Coorg in the total structural system of the society in which he lives we have, in the first place, to consider him as a member of a particular joint-family (*okka*). To this there corresponds, in the field of religious behaviour, his participation in the domestic cult. This cult, with respect to its most general features, may be compared with domestic cults of the kind usually referred to as 'ancestor worship' which are found in many other peoples.

The Coorg individual is also a member of a village community, which is itself part of the Coorg local community, and so part of the wide Hindu community. Religious behaviour in this connexion

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is participation in the worship of the gods, who are both local gods and also identified with the gods of the Hindu pantheon. 114 182

But the Coorg is also a member of one of the hundreds of caste divisions of Hindu social structure. Religious behaviour in this connexion consists of the careful observance of the caste rules, so that ritual pollution is avoided. I believe that Dr. Srinivas intends to give us at some time an account of how the caste structure actually affects the social life within a village, a subject on which, hitherto, we have had no information.

In the kinds of societies with which anthropologists are chiefly concerned a direct relation between religion and social structure is to be discovered in the belief that is held that the due performance of religious rites contributes to the well-being of a group, or to the maintenance of a certain social order. This is seen in Coorg in both the domestic cult which is carried out in order to ensure the well-being of the joint-family, and also in the village cult. In what are sometimes called the higher religions there appears a different feature in the belief in some kind of personal salvation as something to be aimed at by the individual in his observance of religion. Like Christianity and Buddhism, Hinduism in its more philosophical form also holds out to the individual the hope of personal salvation, often conceived as release from the round of reincarnation. The problem of the social function of religious beliefs of this kind is highly complex. It is clear, however, that to examine the social effects of such religions we have to consider them as formulating for the members of a church an ideal of human conduct.

The rich religious life of the Coorgs is compounded of several strands. We can separate these by successively considering the individual as a member of a family group, as a member of a village community, as a worshipper of the deities of the Hindu pantheon, as a member of a particular caste and therefore having his place in the whole widespread caste structure, and finally as being at least influenced by the religious and philosophical system of Hinduism with its formulation of ideals of human conduct. For the student of comparative religion, and particularly for those interested in the sociological study of religion, this book of Dr. Srinivas offers material of exceptional value.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

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PREFACE

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IN 1940 I was awarded, for a period of two years, a research fellowship in sociology by the University of Bombay and this enabled me to do the field-work on which this book is based. I thank the University of Bombay for making it possible for me to study the Coorgs, and I am grateful to Professor G. S. Ghurye for advice and criticism during field-work and subsequent writing.

In June 1942, a few months after returning from Coorg, I was appointed Research Assistant in Sociology in the School of Economics and Sociology in Bombay, and the duties of my new post prevented me from finishing the writing of my field material until the end of 1944. I then came to Oxford, where Professor Radcliffe-Brown's teaching greatly modified my approach to the study of human society. At his suggestion, I started applying some of his ideas regarding the inter-relation of religion and society to the material I had already gathered, and this task proved exciting and, to me, fruitful, even though I was more an ethnologist than a sociologist at the time of my field-work. I am greatly indebted to Professor Radcliffe-Brown for his teaching and for many kindnesses.

I have been greatly helped and stimulated by the teaching and friendship of Professor Evans-Pritchard, who succeeded to the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford after Professor Radcliffe-Brown's retirement. I have also benefited from the advice and criticism of Professors M. Fortes and M. Gluckman.

All previous writers on the Coorgs have contributed to my understanding of the social institutions and culture of the Coorgs. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them, and especially to Moegling, Richter, N. Chiṇṇappa, and Professor M. B. Emeneau.

Coorg is a beautiful and hospitable country, and I met with kindness everywhere. I should like to thank the people of Coorg generally before mentioning certain individuals who have helped me greatly by giving me hospitality as well as information. I am under a great debt to Shri K. J. Chengappa, who has consistently and patiently supplied me with information over a period of ten years. Shri K. Kāḷappa and Shri P. M. Ponnappa have also given me information and helped me in other ways. I wish to thank

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114-122 Shri H. Tirumala Chār, B.A., B.L., and his family for their hospitality to me in Mercara.

I am very grateful to the Carnegie Research Fund for a generous grant which enabled me to pursue my studies at Oxford. I thank Dr. A. A. Baké, and the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, for the loan of some of the photographs reproduced in this book.

My friends Mr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. K. O. L. Burridge, and Dr. Kathleen Gough have helped me by critically reading the typescript.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my brother, M. N. Gopal.

M. N. S.

OXFORD
April 1951

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Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 im- [114] plies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The cere- mony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 778

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taṅgammē became Taṅgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. [114] Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
796 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:mi:illavé mu:bendu: aṇṇaruvēnu: ṇa:hu kāṭi nindira:.

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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 6 01 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [8], p. 128.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, odeyā and ponnu respectively.

Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes* and *Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government.

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilisation, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India.

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Virájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

114 In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was re-
[127] published in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

128 I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graster, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

114 The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

104 In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

128 The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

interspersed with such trees, as are peculiar to these localities. 137
The flora of Coorg is almost identical with that of Southern India. It is of course beyond the scope of this Gazetteer and equally beyond the knowledge of the compiler, to attempt anything like a full description of the Coorg flora; we can only glance at its distinguishing features and enumerate a few species, that are of practical value, reserving those which fall under the care of the agri-horticulturist for a special consideration.

The first collection of Coorg plants appears to have been 114
made by Captains Munroe and Gough, who probably placed 137
their collections at the disposal of the famous botanist Dr. Wight. Mr. Metz, a German missionary on the Nilagiris, also collected a good many plants about Mercara, which were afterwards distributed in Germany by Hohenacker and named by Miguel. In Major Heber Drury's book on "Useful Plants" and Dr. Bidie's "Timber Trees of India" (1862) much information is given about the principal timber trees in Coorg.

Looking upon Coorg with the eye of the forester, rather 137
than that of the general botanist, the most superficial survey will not fail to discover invaluable treasures of timber trees and their produce, scattered all over the province. Small as the country is, there are nevertheless distinct tracts with trees peculiar to them. The two prominent zones are by the Coorgs called Male-kádu or Hill-forests and Kanive-kádu or Hillock-jungles (Kanive, a ridge between paddy-fields, hillock). Botanically they may perhaps be determined as evergreen and deciduous forests, the former clothing the Ghats, the latter the eastern hill-tracts.

All along the slopes of the Ghats the Poon spar—"Calophyllum angustifolium"—rules as king of the forest. When 396
full grown, it is often upwards of 100 feet in height, its wood 824
is clean, tough and elastic and there is perhaps no other tree so well suited in every respect for making ship's spars and masts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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Mysore and Coorg passed between Uddur in Coorg and Kattemálalavádi in Mysore.

b. *Dodda-Vírappa.*

In the reign of Dodda-Vírappa of Mercara, Nanjunda, his kinsman, was Rájah of Periapatna. Some of his officials opened a treasonable correspondence with Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore whom they invited to come and rule over them. Nanjarája, perceiving the threatened danger, went to Mercara to implore the assistance of his relative, who espousing his cause, marched immediately to support him, but on reaching Siddapur he had the mortification to learn, that Periapatna had fallen and that Vírarája, the son of Nanjunda, who had been entrusted with the command of the capital, seeing his situation desperate, had gallantly fallen in its defence, having previously in compliance with the sanguinary dictates of honor, put to death his wives and children to preserve them from polution.

[114] (In Col. Wilk's "History of Mysore" this event is placed in the reign of Canty Rova Narsa Rájah in 1644 and Lieut. Connor in his "Memoir of the Codagu Survey" mentions "Immadi" as the Rájah of Mysore who attacked Periapatna, but he was only 20 years old, when in 1637 he succeeded Cham Ráj and as he was poisoned in 1639, it is not likely, that he attempted the conquest about 50 years later!)

Encouraged by his success the Mysore Rájah, Chikkadéva Vodeya, prepared for the conquest of Coorg. His army advanced but a short way beyond Bálele in Coorg and encamped on the plain of Palupáre, when they were met by the Coorgs. Before daybreak Dodda-Vírappa attacked them and slew 15,000 men with 77 officers, the rest fled back into Mysore. Immediately after this event the Coorg Rájah marched to Tómara, to oppose an invasion of the Rájah of Kotangadi, who with an army of 5,000 Nairs had ascended

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*175 *643 *648 of savage cruelty. He was permitted to do what he liked with his own people. The Company's Government took their responsibilities as the paramount power of India easy, and forgot, that they had pledged themselves to the fulfilment of Vírarájendra's last will.

The 10th chapter of the Reminiscences treats on Coorg; we read there:—"In the days of Hyder's successful usurpation of the Musnud of Mysore, the reigning Rájah of Coorg was defeated and taken prisoner by this Mussulman Prince and carried to Mysore, where he was kindly treated from policy, and persuaded the usurper, that if he would send him back to his own country, he would prevail on all his subjects to submit to the Mussulman yoke; they having previously betaken themselves to their hills and fastnesses, from whence he could neither drive nor recall them. He proved himself an able statesman, if such a term be applicable to a mountain chief, since he improved the natural fortifications of his kingdom, built towns, formed an armed militia, and successfully defied his former conqueror. He was succeeded by the boy, whom his blindness had spared, and left him immense wealth, as well as most absolute power over all his subjects and every kind of property in his little kingdom, indeed, I blush to write it, the absolute deity of his ignorant and misguided people. Such, in March 1811, was Lingarájendra Vodeyaru, to whom I carried an introduction from the Honorable Arthur Cole, Resident in Mysore, who was also nominal Resident in Coorg."

*175 *643 *648 ● 114 In the above extract General Welsh, though no doubt unintentionally, makes several mis-statements. Amongst the English Officers and Officials, then stationed in Mysore, such may have been the current talk about the Rájah of Coorg. But, as already shown in a former part of the history, it is a fact, that Lingarája, the father of Vírarája was allured to Mysore by Hyder Ali and there detained, ostensibly as a

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guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114 ●

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 361 [712] [491] [764]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of his court; the few troops that garrison his town are also his guards." 175* 643*

Dr. Moegling pithily characterises Lingarája thus: "He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg spirit. Greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dose of sensuality were united in his character." [157] [114]

In a Shásana-stone deposited in the Mercara Onkáreshvara dévastána, which was built by him, he is however, by his native admirer praised as:—"The illustrious Lingarája Wadeer, son of Lingarája and grandson of Appájirája, of the Lunar race, pure as the milky sea, worshipped with the fragrance of the Párijáta flower, of the family of Bháradwája, follower of the Ashwaláyana Sútra of Rig Véda, a zealous and learned worshipper of Shiva, sitting on the illustrious throne of Coorg in the centre of the milky city, adorned with precious jewels, of unequalled beauty and bravery, smiling like the sun in unparalleled glory, famous to the end of the world, generous and brave.—"

C. VĪRARĀJA.

1820—1834.

1. Vírarája's tyranny.

With the death of Lingarája affairs in Coorg did not improve. The unfortunate people had only changed masters. As soon as the young Vírarája, who was about 20 years old, had taken possession of his father's throne and treasure, he destroyed the people, who had displeased or thwarted him during the life of his father. Many members of the family of the Coorg Rájahs seem to have fallen at that time. One, Channa Víra, escaped with his family across the Mysore frontier. But to no purpose; his relative knew how to turn [648]*

2: Emeneau L.-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's step-mother is called cikavvë, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyë, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designations involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of terminological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

[See appendix II, pp. 144-145 -- Analyst]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvës undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvës the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgënaruvënu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgë is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvë. [192]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For
1 a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
796 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[534] says: daḍḍu kaḍe naḍo:mu:illavé mu:bendu: aggénaruvénu: ma:lu kéṭi nindiva:.

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SOME COORG GIRLS

[frontispiece]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

RELIGION AND SOCIETY
AMONG THE
COORGS OF SOUTH INDIA

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RELIGION AND SOCIETY AMONG THE COORGS OF SOUTH INDIA

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1952

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[p. iv contains no textual material]

FOREWORD

114 THE study of religions can be approached in many different ways and can present a number of different kinds of problems. For social anthropologists, or for some of them, one major problem is that of the social function of religion—how does religion contribute to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings? It is recognized that religion is a binding force amongst individuals, and it would seem that the etymology of the word indicates this. The scientific problem is how religion does this; how, in other words, it functions. The problem is one of very considerable complexity, and it cannot be said that at present we know very much about this subject. The only method by which we can hope ultimately to arrive at an understanding of it is by a number of analytic descriptive studies of religions of diverse types, so that by systematic comparison it may be possible to arrive at some general theory. This work of Dr. Srinivas is an important contribution to that investigation. It gives us a description and analysis of the religious practices of a people of India, the Coorgs of Coorg.

For the social anthropologist the religion of a people presents itself in the first instance not as a body of doctrine, but as what we may call 'religious' behaviour as a part of social life. Social anthropology is behaviouristic in the sense that we seek to observe how people act as a necessary preliminary to trying to understand how they think and feel. This book, by a trained anthropologist, who is himself an Indian, and who has therefore an understanding of Indian ways of thought which it is difficult for a European to attain even over many years, gives us a scientifically valuable and objective account of the religious behaviour of a particular Indian community.

771 In an investigation into the social function of religion in a parti-
182 cular society the first thing required is to examine the relation of the religion to the social structure. In this respect the religion of the Coorgs is of very special interest and value. For we may say that there are three different structural systems in which the individual Coorg is involved, and each of these has its own system of religious behaviour and obligations.

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596 In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic
794 group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

114 Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this
794 domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to
182 see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

621 Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg indivi-
794 dual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

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aim the well-being of the village. Both these cults emphasize for 621 an individual his membership of a particular social group, the 794 joint family in the one instance and the village community in the other.

Three other features of social structure have to be considered in connexion with the village cult. In the first place, though the whole village community takes part in the ceremonies, different caste [564] groups have different parts to play and are thus differentiated. Some, for example, take part in the animal sacrifice, while others have nothing to do with it. Thus a caste group within the village is able, within the cult, to establish its own unity and its separation from other groups. This is a significant feature of the caste structure of the village.

In the second place, though each village community has its own unity as exhibited in the cult performances, there is co-operation between different villages, and members of one may take part in the [49] ceremonies of another. Thus the Coorg villages are groups within a single Coorg religious community. It is therefore not only the solidarity of the village that is exhibited in the village cult but also the religious solidarity and unity of the people of Coorg.

Thirdly, there is the fact that the local deities of the villages have 621 been assimilated to the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, 794 as when a particular local deity is identified with Shiva or Pāryati. 776 In this way the Coorg religious community has become incorporated as a part of that wider Hindu religious community. The incorporation, however, is only partial. In an orthodox Hindu cult the temple should be served by a Brahmin. Orthodox Hindu deities are vegetarian and dislike alcohol. But some of the Coorg village-deities demand the blood and flesh of animals and offerings of toddy. What Dr. Srinivas calls the process of Sanskritization of the Coorg village cults is therefore very far from being complete. There are very important remains of paganism. This need not surprise us when we remember the many survivals of local paganism in the Christian countries. What is significant is that in his participation in the worship of the village-deities the Coorg individual is able to think of himself as a member of the widespread Hindu religious community.

The individual in Coorg belongs to a particular joint-family, and 564 to a particular village, but in addition he belongs by birth to a particular social group of the kind to which we apply the name

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56A 'caste'. There are some thousands of such groups in India as a whole. A caste is in its essence a religious group, membership of which entails certain ritual observances. The rules of caste behaviour are rules of religion.

The caste system of India presents a kind of social structure that is of special interest to comparative sociology. There are two major features. The first of these is what we may call 'separatism'. There are important rules which limit the social contact of members of different castes. The rule of endogamy prohibits marriage between members of different castes or sub-castes. There are caste rules as to the persons with whom one may partake of a meal, or from whose hands one may accept food or drink. The second important feature is that there is religious or ritual inequality of castes. Any man born as a Brahmin is holy; he might therefore become a priest and perform the priestly functions even if in actuality he becomes a cook or a water-carrier. At the other, lower, end of the scale are the people now called 'Untouchable'—leather-workers, sweepers, and so on, who are by birth 'unclean' or 'polluted' and with whom contact produces pollution in the members of superior castes. The inequality between persons that is an essential feature of the caste system is a religious or ritual inequality. The caste structure is one of a system of rigid partitions dividing caste from caste. At the same time the totality of all the various separate castes constitutes a single religious community the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief. The social separation of caste from caste is something very different from the social separation of Hindus and Muslims.

114 In connexion with the study of the inter-relations of religion and
182 social structure, therefore, the material presented by Dr. Srinivas is of very special interest and value. To define the position of an individual Coorg in the total structural system of the society in which he lives we have, in the first place, to consider him as a member of a particular joint family (*okka*). To this there corresponds, in the field of religious behaviour, his participation in the domestic cult. This cult, with respect to its most general features, may be compared with domestic cults of the kind usually referred to as 'ancestor worship' which are found in many other peoples.

The Coorg individual is also a member of a village community, which is itself part of the Coorg local community, and so part of the wide Hindu community. Religious behaviour in this connexion

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is participation in the worship of the gods, who are both local gods and also identified with the gods of the Hindu pantheon. 114 182

But the Coorg is also a member of one of the hundreds of caste divisions of Hindu social structure. Religious behaviour in this connexion consists of the careful observance of the caste rules, so that ritual pollution is avoided. I believe that Dr. Srinivas intends to give us at some time an account of how the caste structure actually affects the social life within a village, a subject on which, hitherto, we have had no information.

In the kinds of societies with which anthropologists are chiefly concerned a direct relation between religion and social structure is to be discovered in the belief that is held that the due performance of religious rites contributes to the well-being of a group, or to the maintenance of a certain social order. This is seen in Coorg in both the domestic cult which is carried out in order to ensure the well-being of the joint-family, and also in the village cult. In what are sometimes called the higher religions there appears a different feature in the belief in some kind of personal salvation as something to be aimed at by the individual in his observance of religion. Like Christianity and Buddhism, Hinduism in its more philosophical form also holds out to the individual the hope of personal salvation, often conceived as release from the round of reincarnation. The problem of the social function of religious beliefs of this kind is highly complex. It is clear, however, that to examine the social effects of such religions we have to consider them as formulating for the members of a church an ideal of human conduct.

The rich religious life of the Coorgs is compounded of several strands. We can separate these by successively considering the individual as a member of a family group, as a member of a village community, as a worshipper of the deities of the Hindu pantheon, as a member of a particular caste and therefore having his place in the whole widespread caste structure, and finally as being at least influenced by the religious and philosophical system of Hinduism with its formulation of ideals of human conduct. For the student of comparative religion, and particularly for those interested in the sociological study of religion, this book of Dr. Srinivas offers material of exceptional value.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

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PREFACE

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IN 1940 I was awarded, for a period of two years, a research fellowship in sociology by the University of Bombay and this enabled me to do the field-work on which this book is based. I thank the University of Bombay for making it possible for me to study the Coorgs, and I am grateful to Professor G. S. Ghurye for advice and criticism during field-work and subsequent writing.

In June 1942, a few months after returning from Coorg, I was appointed Research Assistant in Sociology in the School of Economics and Sociology in Bombay, and the duties of my new post prevented me from finishing the writing of my field material until the end of 1944. I then came to Oxford, where Professor Radcliffe-Brown's teaching greatly modified my approach to the study of human society. At his suggestion, I started applying some of his ideas regarding the inter-relation of religion and society to the material I had already gathered, and this task proved exciting and, to me, fruitful, even though I was more an ethnologist than a sociologist at the time of my field-work. I am greatly indebted to Professor Radcliffe-Brown for his teaching and for many kindnesses.

I have been greatly helped and stimulated by the teaching and friendship of Professor Evans-Pritchard, who succeeded to the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford after Professor Radcliffe-Brown's retirement. I have also benefited from the advice and criticism of Professors M. Fortes and M. Gluckman.

All previous writers on the Coorgs have contributed to my understanding of the social institutions and culture of the Coorgs. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them, and especially to Moegling, Richter, N. Chinnappa, and Professor M. B. Emeneau.

Coorg is a beautiful and hospitable country, and I met with kindness everywhere. I should like to thank the people of Coorg generally before mentioning certain individuals who have helped me greatly by giving me hospitality as well as information. I am under a great debt to Shri K. J. Chengappa, who has consistently and patiently supplied me with information over a period of ten years. Shri K. Kāḷappa and Shri P. M. Ponnappa have also given me information and helped me in other ways. I wish to thank

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Shri H. Tirumala Chār, B.A., B.L., and his family for their hospitality to me in Mercara.

I am very grateful to the Carnegie Research Fund for a generous grant which enabled me to pursue my studies at Oxford. I thank Dr. A. A. Baké, and the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, for the loan of some of the photographs reproduced in this book.

My friends Mr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. K. O. L. Burridge, and Dr. Kathleen Gough have helped me by critically reading the typescript.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my brother, M. N. Gopal.

M. N. S.

OXFORD
April 1951

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I

[p. 1]

INTRODUCTORY

I

COORG is a tiny, mountainous province in south India, 101
bounded on the north and east by Mysore State, and on 131
the west and south by the South Canara and Malabar Districts of Madras Presidency. Its greatest length, north to south, is sixty miles, and its greatest breadth, east to west, is forty miles. The total area is 1,593 square miles, of which 519 square miles constitute 'reserve forest'.

The Western Ghat mountains which run along the west coast of 131
India from Gujerat to Cape Comorin pass through Coorg. They 133
generally make a precipitous descent to the west while they slope more gradually to the east. The plateau of peninsular India generally slopes to the east, and most of the bigger south Indian rivers flow from west to east.

The main range of the Western Ghats skirts the southern and western frontier of Coorg. Starting from Brahmagiri Peak (5,276 feet) in the extreme south it runs in a north-westerly direction till Tala Kāvēri, where it turns east for a few miles before it turns north-west again. It proceeds in this direction for some distance and then runs due north till Pushpagiri Peak (5,260 feet).

Spurs strike out in all directions from the main range of the Western Ghats. In the south they form either a ramification of narrow-ridged hills, or subside into undulating slopes enclosing innumerable broad valleys in which rice is grown.

That part of the main range of the Western Ghats which runs east from Tala Kāvēri is called Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa, and a high spur proceeds eastwards from it at the point it turns abruptly north-west. At Mercara this spur forks, the southern fork ending in the peak of Nūrokkal Beṭṭa, while the northern fork zigzags towards Fraserpēṭ in the east. The Nūrokkal spur continuing the Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa is important, as, together with the Western Ghats running south-east from Tala Kāvēri, it constitutes the watershed of the upper basin of the Kāvēri river.

The western half of Coorg to the north of Mercara is a plateau

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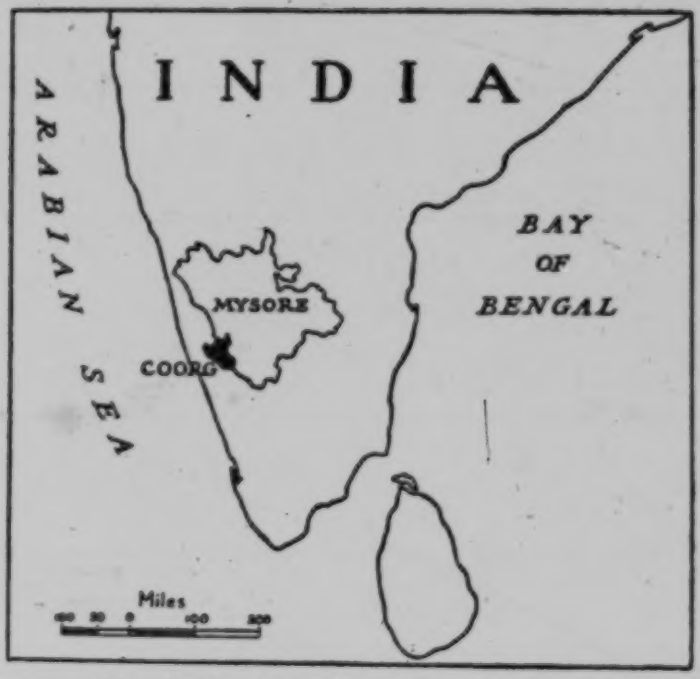

1. Map showing the position of Coorg in South India

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with an average elevation of 3,500 feet. The plateau extends as far 131
east as Somwārpēṭ, and then slopes towards the River Kāvēri 133
which marks the eastern frontier of Coorg for some distance.

In the extreme north, the Ēḷusāvira hills run from Koḍlipēṭ to the Kāvēri a few miles north of Fraserpēṭ.

Richter gives a good, short description of the general appearance 133
of Coorg, which is worth reproducing here:

> The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Somwārpēṭ, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpēṭ the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Vīrarājpēṭ, especially in Beppunāḍ, Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy downs rise from extensive rice valleys.
>
> The eastern frontier between the Kāvēri and Lakshmaṇatīrtha rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest . . .[1]

The Kāvēri springs from the Brahmagiri mountain, three miles to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla. Both the source of the Kāvēri (called Tala Kāvēri or 'Head of the Kāvēri') and Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins the Kāvēri, are important centres of pilgrimage to Coorgs and other Hindus. The Kāvēri flows first of all east by south to Siddāpur, where it turns north by east and flows for twenty-five miles along the eastern frontier of Coorg to Sirangāla where it diverges into Mysore. A number of tributaries springing from the various mountains of Coorg join the Kāvēri at several points on its course in Coorg. The River Lakshmaṇatīrtha which rises in the Brahmagiri hills to the extreme south of Coorg is an important tributary of the Kāvēri, but joins it in Mysore.

The rivers are generally in full flood during June, July, and 132
August, when the south-west monsoon is at its height. But they fall 133
rapidly afterwards, and in summer they are usually fordable on foot. They are not navigable, and are little used for irrigation, which is rendered unnecessary by the copious rainfall and the multitude of small rivulets rising in the wooded ravines.

The south-west monsoon, lasting from June till September, 132

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, Mangalore, 1870, p. 5.

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[p. 4]

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2. Map of Coorg

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132 brings very heavy rainfall to the Western Ghats generally, and Coorg is no exception to the rule. The monsoon is most severe in July, and thereafter it gradually diminishes till it finally comes to a stop towards the end of September.

The north-east monsoon, lasting from November till January, does not compare with the south-west monsoon in the amount of rain it brings, nor does it affect all parts of Coorg uniformly. Only the eastern and south-eastern parts are markedly affected by it.

Coorg, for its size, shows enormous variation in the amount of rainfall received in different parts, some parts like Voṭékolli receiving as much as 250 inches annually, while others like Fraserpēṭ receive only 41 inches annually. Mercara and Vīrarājpēṭ receive annually 131 and 110 inches respectively. Mercara is the normal seat of the government, but during the monsoon it is replaced by Fraserpēṭ.

The year is divided into three seasons, cold, hot, and rainy. The cold season lasts from December to the beginning of March, the hot from March to the beginning of June, and the rainy from June till the middle of December. September marks the end of the severe south-western monsoon, and November the beginning of the north-eastern monsoon, and in between the two there is an uncertain respite from rain.

The climate of Coorg shows regional variation, the eastern and northern parts resembling the climate of Mysore, while Coorg Proper[1] is damper and cooler than Mysore. In Mercara the average temperature for the year is 66·6°. In the monsoon the daily mean temperature is 65° with a daily variation of 15°, while in winter the same daily mean temperature has a greater range of daily variation with 24°, and in the hot season the daily mean temperature of 70° has a variation of 25°. The lowest temperature in winter is 50°, while the maximum reached in summer is 82°. Mercara, however, is a little cooler than the rest of Coorg owing to its comparatively high elevation (3,809 feet).

137 The flora of Coorg does not vary much from the flora of the rest of south India. Very dense forests, containing useful timbers, clothe the sides of the mountains everywhere. In the east the more level tracts are covered with clumps of bamboo interspersed with other trees, some of them timbers. The precious sandalwood tree also grows in this area.

[1] See p. 7 for the meaning of 'Coorg Proper'.

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137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *võṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

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the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar.

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs.

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages.

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest

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621 festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

162 Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

[361] There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

197 All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

[212] Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

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however, very common. Kannaḍa was the court and official language of Coorg under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, and nowadays it is the medium of instruction in schools. Besides, every Coorg is able to speak it. 197

Educated Coorgs are usually trilingual, knowing Koḍagi, Kannaḍa, and English. Koḍagi is used in the home, Kannaḍa in talking to most non-Coorgs excepting Malayāḷis, and English in official matters, and occasionally in conversation with strangers. English is popular with Coorgs, and even women, especially those under thirty, have some acquaintance with it. 191

In 1931 there were 44,585 Koḍagi-speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. This discrepancy is due to the fact that several castes and tribes have taken over the language of Coorgs, who have throughout been the dominant group in Coorg. In fact, only a few castes have escaped the temptation to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manners. In the past some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gauḍas, and others did succeed in entering the Coorg fold. Even now some non-Coorgs aspire to be Coorgs. For instance, during the 1931 Census, a number of Kannaḍa Okkaligas and Tuḷu Gauḍas in north Coorg succeeded in getting themselves enumerated as Coorgs as they had been described as 'Jamma Koḍagas' in the title-deeds conferring on them the right to hold land under the concession tenure of *jamma* (see pp. 16–17). The enumerators, in spite of their strict instructions to check all doubtful cases thoroughly, had to enumerate such persons as Coorgs. It is presumed, however, that their number did not exceed a thousand.[1] 197 162

IV

Coorg enters history in the ninth century A.D., but the information we possess at present about the period between the ninth and seventeenth centuries is very little indeed. We do know, however, that ever since the period for which we have any information, the fortunes of the powerful south Indian Kingdoms in the east have had effects on Coorg. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Changāḷvas, who ruled some parts of Coorg, were feudatory to the Gangas of Talkāḍ in Mysore. The Changāḷvas (Kings of Changanāḍ) ruled certain areas to the west of Mysore city and the eastern 175

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 42.

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175 and northern parts of Coorg excluding Ēḷusāvirashīmé Hōbḷi, at present called Shanivārasanté Hōbḷi. This latter area was part of the territory ruled by the Kongāḷva Kings in the eleventh century. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas were Jains by faith, and Changāḷva inscriptions have been found in Yeḍavanāḍ in the north and Beṭṭyetnāḍ in the south (see Map 3). It is probable that their territory included Tala Kāvēri as well.

The Chōḷas of the Tamil country defeated the Gangas in the beginning of the eleventh century, and they claim to have conquered Coorg as well. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas now became feudatory to the Chōḷas.

The Hoysaḷas, a dynasty which rose to power in western Mysore after the fall of the Gangas, succeeded in the twelfth century in driving the Chōḷas out of Mysore. The Changāḷvas, who had accepted the overlordship of both the Gangas and Chōḷas, refused to accept the overlordship of the Hoysaḷas and claimed independence. Several battles took place between the two before the Hoysaḷas were able to establish their authority. These battles are important for us, for the first reference to Coorgs as a body occurs in an inscription referring to one of them. We find Coorgs fighting for their Changāḷva ruler against the invader from Mysore.

In 1145 the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha I slew the Changāḷva ruler in battle and captured his elephants, horses, gold, and jewels. Thereafter the Changāḷvas appear to have withdrawn into Coorg, for in 1174 Ballāḷa II sent his general Beṭṭarasa against them in Pālparé in Hattugaṭṭanāḍ in Kiggaṭnāḍ (see Map 3). Beṭṭarasa was victorious, and he built a town at Pālparé which he made his capital. But Pemma-Vīrappa, joined by Budigonḍéya Nandidēva, Udiyāditya of Kurchi (village), and others, 'the Koḍagas of all the *nāḍs*', marched against Pālparé and attacked Beṭṭarasa, who seems [101] to have got the worst of it at first, but was finally victorious. This is the earliest reference to Coorgs by name.[1]

The defeated Changāḷvas seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. In 1252 the Hoysaḷa king Someshwara visited them at Rāmanāthapura, when the Changāḷva capital was at Shrīrangapaṭṇa, south of the Kāvēri near Siddāpur. The Changāḷvas had now changed their faith from Jainism to Lingayāṭism, a popular sect devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva, which arose in the Kannaḍa country in the twelfth century A.D.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Oxford, 1908, vol. xi, p. 10.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

When the Vijayanagar kingdom replaced the Hoysaḷas in the fourteenth century the Changāḷvas became feudatory to them. The Vijayanagar kingdom, extending over a great part of south India, remained in power till 1565 when it was defeated by the Muslims at the Battle of Tāḷikoṭa. 175

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Vijayanagar kings had bestowed on, or confirmed to, vassal chiefs bearing various titles, sundry tracts in Mysore, on the condition of paying tribute and rendering military service. Those in the north were controlled direct from the capital. The southern chiefs were under a viceroy, termed the Śrī Ranga Rāyal at Seringapaṭam. After the disaster of Tāḷikōṭa, although nominal allegiance continued to be paid to the viceroy, such of the chiefs as had the power gradually declared their independence.[1]

Among the chiefs who became independent were the Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr, the Changāḷvas who ruled over a good part of Coorg, and the Woḍéyars of Mysore. The last-mentioned of these rose to power after the fall of Vijayanagar, absorbing many of its former dependencies.

The authority of the viceroy seems to have been recognized in a shadowy way even after the fall of Vijayanagar until 1610 when Mysore captured Seringapaṭam, the seat of the viceroy's government. The Changāḷvas seem to have been friends with the viceroy who, in 1607, confirmed the Maḷalavāḍi country[2] to Piriyarāja (or Rudragaṇa), the Changāḷva king of the Nanjarājapaṭṇa branch.

A clear account of the history of the Changāḷva kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not yet available. It is known, however, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century Nanjarāja founded their capital of Nanjarājapaṭṇa. In 1589 Piriya Rāja (Rudragaṇa) rebuilt Singapaṭṇa and named it after himself, Piriyāpaṭṇa. A branch of the Changāḷvas seem to have ruled in Piriyāpaṭṇa in the seventeenth century. The exact date when this dynasty came to an end is not certain as, according to the existing account, the last Rāja was killed in 1644 while fighting Mysoreans. According to the same account Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II) was

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xviii, p. 176.

[2] He did this because the deity Annadāni Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadapura hill in Huṇsūr tālūk (or Maḷalavāḍi) was the family deity of the Changāḷvas of the Nanjarājapaṭṇa branch, and the viceroy wanted the worship of the deity to continue as long as this branch of the Changāḷvas continued to exist. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 11.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 reigning in Coorg at this time, but we know for certain that he did not ascend the throne till 1686, forty-two years after 1644.

Firishta, the historian of Akbar and Jahāngir, states that at the end of the sixteenth century Coorg Proper was ruled by its chiefs or Nāyakas, who acknowledged the supremacy of Vijayanagar, but constantly fought among themselves.[1] The chaotic situation was taken advantage of by a prince of the neighbouring Ikkēri or Bēḍnūr dynasty, who at first settled in Hālēri, north of Mercara, as a Jangama or Lingāyaṭ priest, and succeeded in gradually bringing the entire country under his control.

The Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr, the Rulers of Piriyāpaṭṇa, and the Rājas of Coorg were all related to each other. It is even possible that the Rājas of Coorg were thought of as in some way dependent upon the Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr: this would help to explain Haider Ali's regarding himself as liege lord of Coorg when he had conquered Bēḍnūr in 1763.

The prince of the Bēḍnūr dynasty who settled down as a *jangama* or Lingāyaṭ priest in Hālēri in north Coorg was an astute strategist. He was well aware of the fact that a *jangama* commanded a great deal of respect from Lingāyaṭs who predominated in north Coorg. He lived in a village council house (*chāvaḍi*), teaching children and preaching to adults. People voluntarily gave him uncleaned paddy (*dhūli bhatta*) at harvest. Later, when he was certain of his hold over the people, he changed the voluntary contribution to a compulsory levy of one and a half *bhaṭṭis* (*bhaṭṭi* = 80 *seers*) of rice, and a sum of nine annas and eight pies per house per annum. He also called upon his followers to guard his dwelling in turns. The watchmen were called *chāvaḍikāras* or 'men of the *chāvaḍi*', a name which was later used for the Rāja's troops. The priest-politician next declared himself ruler of Hālēri and surrounding *nāḍs*, and the chiefs ruling over small areas of Coorg Proper submitted to his authority on condition that he allowed them to keep to themselves three-quarters of the revenue collected by them from their subjects, and pay only a fourth to him as their overlord. The Rāja's authority continued to increase. The troublesome chiefs were gradually eliminated, and only those who did not constitute a threat to his authority were allowed to survive. But their capacity for mischief had not entirely been destroyed, as will be seen later.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 11. 'Nāyaka' in Kannaḍa means 'leader', and it seems to have been a title assumed by anybody with a following.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Muddu Rāja (1633–86), the grandson of the founder of the dynasty of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, moved the capital from Hālēri to Mercara in 1681, and this continues to be the capital today. It is not certain whether it was Muddu Rāja or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II) who reorganized the administration, altering the existing *nāḍ*[1] boundaries and creating a clear hierarchy of headmen (*takkas*), and four appellate courts (*paṭṭis*) for the settlement of disputes. 175

The consolidation of the authority of the Rājas which began with the founder was completed only during the time of his great grandson Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II). During the latter's reign we hear of the efforts of Uttu Nāyaka, a chieftain in Armēri in Beppunāḍ, to get the country invaded from the south by Kōṭangaḍi Vīra Varma while Vīra Rāja II was defending the country from the Mysoreans in the east. Vīra Rāja II was luckily able to beat off both the eastern and southern invaders.

The struggle between Mysore and Coorg which began during the time of the Hoysaḷas and continued till the end of the reign of Vīra Rāja II assumed a particularly severe form in the latter half of the eighteenth century, after the usurpation of the Mysore throne by Haider Ali. The severity reached its climax during the reign of Tippu Sultan, Haider's son, and only ended with his death in 1799. Coorgs fought repeatedly for their king and country against the invaders, paying a heavy price for their loyalty.

Haider conquered Bēḍnūr in 1763, and he seems to have thought that this entitled him to suzerainty over Coorg, a claim which he tried to assert by force as well as cunning. In the complicated struggle between him and the Rājas of Coorg, he does not seem to have made any considerable progress so long as the question of succession to the Coorg throne was clear and undisputed.

But the death in 1770 of Muddu Rāja II and Muddayya Rāja, who were both jointly ruling Coorg as representatives of the different segments of the dynasty of Lingāyaṭ Rājas, gave rise to succession disputes between Linga Rāja I, younger brother of Muddu Rāja II, and Dēvappa Rāja, son of Muddayya Rāja. Dēvappa Rāja was successful in the struggle, and the unsuccessful Linga Rāja I sought the help of Haider, who was eagerly waiting for such an opportunity. Haider helped Linga Rāja I to ascend the Mercara throne, and after the latter's death in 1780 he assumed

[1] Coorg was traditionally divided into thirty-five *nāḍs*, each *nāḍ* containing several villages. [63]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 entire possession of Coorg, under the pretence of being guardian of the dead king's sons till they came of age. Meanwhile the sons were made to reside at the Gōrūr fort. A Muslim garrison was stationed at Mercara, the capital, and a former official of the Rāja was appointed governor.

These measures were extremely unpopular with Coorgs who rose in rebellion in 1782 and drove out the Muslim garrison at Mercara. They escaped Haider's retaliation as he was just then busy fighting the English in the south, and died soon after. In 1784 Tippu Sultan, Haider's son, marched through Coorg on his way from Mangalore to Seringapaṭam and threatened Coorgs that he would make an example of them if they rebelled again. Coorgs replied to this by open insurrection in 1785, and a force sent to put them down was driven back. Thereupon Tippu himself marched into Coorg with an army and,

> having lured most of the Coorgs to meet him at Tala Kāvērī, under the pretence of peaceable intentions and conciliatory measures, he suddenly seized them, and hunting out their families, drove them, altogether about 70,000 souls, like a herd of cattle to Seringapaṭam, where all the males were forcibly circumcised. Coorg itself was partitioned among Musalman Landlords, to whom the slaves of the country were made over, and additional labour provided from Ādoni in Beḷḷāry District. The only condition laid on the new owners was that they were to search out and slay all such Coorgs as might have escaped his vengeance, as he was resolved on their extermination. The country was held by garrisons in four forts, at Mercara (Jāffarābād), Fraserpēṭ (Kushālnagar), Bhāgamaṇḍla and Beppunāḍ; and on account of the accessions he had made to the faith Tippu now assumed the title of Bādshāh [king].[1]

The Coorg princes who had been removed from Gōrūr to Piriyāpaṭṇa by Tippu Sultan managed to escape to Coorg in 1788, after six years' confinement, and at once Coorgs rallied round their princes. Before long, Vīra Rāja IV, the eldest of the princes, occupied the entire country. Tippu sent a large force to reoccupy Coorg but this had to be diverted to the west coast at the eleventh hour to subdue a revolt in Malabar.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 13. The slaves referred to above were the Poleya servants of Coorgs and other high-caste masters. The number of Coorgs who were driven out of Coorg into Seringapaṭam by Tippu is variously estimated. Lewis Rice, for instance, estimates it at 85,000 in *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, Bangalore, 1878, p. 111. Shri N. Chinnappa estimates it at 110,000, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 45.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A SMALL HOUSE IN THE COUNTRY

RICE-FIELD AFTER HARVEST

[Facing p. 16]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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classification of all cultivated land in Coorg. In 1812, during the reign of Linga Rāja II, a general settlement was made and this was recorded in a book called *Hukum Nāma*. All cultivated land was divided into farms (*vargas*), and every farm was entered in the register along with the type of tenure it was held under.

The *jamma* system of land tenure under which most Coorgs held (and even now hold) land was the basis of their military tradition. It was an hereditary right passing from father to son, and was for this reason called *jamma*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *janma* which means 'birth'. It was not, however, confined to Coorgs. Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gaudas, smiths (Airis), potters (Kumbāras), and Māpiḷḷa immigrants from Malabar enjoyed the privilege and prestige of holding land on *jamma* tenure. The Rājas occasionally offered *jamma* tenure as a bait both to induce certain artisan and trading castes from outside to settle down in Coorg and to induce local people to reclaim forest or waste land.

The *jamma* tenure was a very light one in terms of money, being only five rupees or a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land. A hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land means an area of land producing a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. The area of land required to produce that amount varies according to the fertility of the soil, and arable land is classified into seven grades for purposes of assessment.

Along with the assesssed rice-field went two unassessed stretches of land: one was *bāṇé*, the highland adjacent to the rice-field and clothed with jungle from which the cultivator's joint family obtained its supply of fuel, timber, and forest produce; and the other was *bariké*, low-lying pasturage for the cultivator's cattle.

Legally, *jamma* land was impartible, inalienable, and could not be sublet without the permission of the Rāja, and, most important of all, people holding land on the *jamma* tenure were liable to be called up for military service. Richter writes in 1870 that 'the *jamma* ryots [cultivators] are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all police- and treasure-guards, escorts, &c., in time of peace'.[1]

Every family holding *jamma* land had to perform guard duties for fifteen days in the year, during which time the guards were maintained at public expense though not paid. Not all the men of a joint family were employed on guard duties at the same time.

[1] Op. cit., p. 402.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
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> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 duced were few and far between. The authority of village elders
631 and of the hereditary village headman was recognized and the established administrative institutions were continued.

This phase, however, ended soon after 1858 when the administration of India was taken over by the British Government from the East India Company. Coorg then became part of the territories administered directly by the British in India and of the elaborate administrative and judicial machinery stretching over the whole of
[671] India. Numerous Acts like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Indian Stamp Act applied to every part of India including Coorg.

Under the British, Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's Province, a position which continues even today. Until 1942 the British Resident in Mysore State was also the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Coorg was governed from Bangalore, the headquarters of the Resident. In 1942, the two offices of Resident of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg were separated and a distinguished Coorg, Dewan Bahadur Kēṭōḷira Chengappa was appointed Chief Commissioner. Below the Chief Commissioner was the Superintendent who lived in Coorg. A legislative council consisting of twenty members (fifteen elected and five nominated), presided over by the Chief Commissioner, was constituted in 1924. The council had the right to vote on the budget, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions.

567 A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN COORG

Slavery was widely prevalent in pre-British Coorg. The slaves and agricultural labourers did most of the actual work of the farm under the supervision of their masters who held the land from the state on one of the several forms of tenure prevalent in Coorg. The number of slaves in 1834, when the British annexed Coorg, was estimated at 6,089, but we do not know whether this included the slaves on the Rāja's farms (or *paṇyas*), who were variously estimated at 1,757, 1,720, 1,500, and 1,233.

Slaves were referred to as *jammada āḷu* (or '*jamma* servants'),[1] and there were two classes of slaves, one praedial, called *bhūmi jammada āḷu* (*bhūmi* = land), and the other personal, called *okkalu*

[1] It probably meant that they were slaves of the man holding land on *jamma* tenure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

jammada āḷu (*okkalu* = farm, house, family). The former could not be sold apart from the land on which they worked, and when land was sold, they went with it automatically. The personal slaves, on the other hand, could be sold or mortgaged, and had to move with the masters wherever the latter went. They were, in fact, the movable property of the masters.

567

The proprietors of the *okkalu jammada āḷu* in Coorg have the power of selling them [the slaves], but not to a person who will carry them out of the country, unless the slaves themselves consent. The rights of slaves consist in receiving subsistence and protection for themselves and their families from their masters, who are bound to observe the custom of the country with respect to the quantity of food and clothing given to them. Three seers of rice for a male slave, two for a female, and one and a half to a boy or girl, are given by their master, independently of salt and curry stuff which are supplied by them, sometimes monthly, and at other times daily. The slaves are likewise entitled to a load of grain once a year, at the time when the crops are reaped. This quantity is called *horay*, which varies in different *nāḍs*. The slaves reside in houses provided for them by their masters in the small village, and a piece of land is appropriated to their use in which they usually grow vegetables or tobacco. Besides the subsistence given to the slaves, and the allowance above-mentioned at the time of the harvest, they are supplied by their masters with clothing twice a year, first, when the seed is sown, and secondly, when the crops are reaped.[1]

In regard to the treatment of slaves by their masters, it is said that the cultivators in Coorg, activated by self-interest, if not a better motive, pay much attention to their comfort. Aware as they are that any act of severity on their part will induce their slaves to abscond, a circumstance which would subject them to much trouble and inconvenience, they protect and treat them with kindness as forming a part of their family. The proprietors in Coorg possess no power to inflict severe punishment upon their slaves but they have authority to chastise them moderately for any faults they may commit. . . . The wealth of a cultivator is generally estimated by the number of his slaves, as in proportion to the number he has lands under cultivation. . . .[2]

Certain incidents described in Coorg folklore make it clear that frequently great affection prevailed between master and slave.

[1] 'Memorandum respecting the condition of the slaves in Coorg, transmitted with Col. Fraser's letter to Mr. Secretary Macnaughten, dated 14th July, 1834', in the volume of appendixes giving the evidence on the subject of slavery, annexed to the *Report of the Indian Law Commission*, 1 February 1839, pp. 545–6.

[2] Op. cit., p. 546.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

567 The slave was a member of the master's household and a proverb compares him to one's eldest son. The master had to provide funds for the slave's wedding and have him looked after during illness and old age. On his side the slave was required to perform [702] every type of service. He was also liable to be called upon to bear arms in times of war.

The remedy at the disposal of the slave against harsh treatment was running away either to a different part of Coorg, or to cross the border into a neighbouring country. There was, of course, the risk of being pursued, but it is presumed that the slave took this extreme step only when harsh treatment made his position intolerable. Between the farmers of Kiggaṭnāḍ in the extreme south and those in Wynāḍ, however, there was an agreement by which neither followed up absconding slaves who had crossed the frontier. This usually worked in favour of Coorg, where wages were higher than in Wynāḍ, though work was correspondingly heavier. The slaves in Kiggaṭnād and Wynāḍ regularly crossed the frontier once every few years and they had masters on either side. It was very probable that these slaves belonged to one of the several tribes inhabiting the mountains of Wynāḍ, like the Yerava, Beṭṭa Kuruba, Jēnu Kuruba, and so on. They had the reputation of being absconders and thieves and idlers in comparison with Poleyas from the Kannaḍa country. Yeravas and Kurubas from Wynāḍ fetched a lower price than Poleyas in the market. In any case the price of a slave never exceeded Rs13 (about £1).

564 Slavery had a caste component. The masters invariably belonged 567 to the higher castes while the slaves belonged to very low castes. In Coorg the masters generally belonged to castes like Coorgs, Tuḷu Gauḍas, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Airis (smiths) while the slaves came from Untouchable castes like Poleyas, Pāleyas, and Mādigas, and tribes like Yeravas, Aḍiyas, Kuḍiyas, and Beṭṭa Kurubas, and Jēnu Kurubas. It is probable that very poor members of the high castes and castes just above the Untouchables, like the Mēdas (makers of basketry work), hired themselves out as agricultural labourers.

It has already been said that a large body of slaves worked on 648 the farms of the Rājas. In 1834 when the British annexed Coorg 567 there were twenty such farms producing nearly 47,000 *bhaṭṭis* of rice with about 1,757 (according to the highest estimate) slaves working on them. The British, who wanted to abolish slavery,

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started by freeing the slaves on the royal farms, and this was later extended to include all slaves.

There was a landslide in the general economy of the country when the slaves suddenly left their masters to work on the coffee plantations. The masters then found that they were unable to cultivate all the wet land in their estate, but under the conditions of *jamma* tenure they were required to pay an assessment of five rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land on all wet land irrespective of whether it was under the plough or not. It was then that the government permitted them to sublet not more than a fourth of the wet land.[1]

[1] 'No remission of *jamma*-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the *jamma* ryots [peasants] are allowed to pay Rs 10 per 100 *bhaṭṭis* for the quantity of land which has been cultivated, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole* farm. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house to permit the whole of the *jamma* lands to be sublet on *vāra* tenure [division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord] for periods ranging from one to five years according to the particulars of each case.' Richter, op. cit., pp. 402–3.

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[p. 24]

II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I

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THE existence of subdivisions among Coorgs does not prevent them from regarding themselves, and from being regarded by others, as a single group. Coorgs consider themselves to be Kshatriyas, who constitute the caste of rulers and soldiers in the traditional hierarchy, and rank next only to Brahmins, who are priests and scholars. It is necessary to give here a very brief and general account of the caste system in order to make clear the implications of the Coorg claim to be Kshatriyas.

I
S64

Caste is an institution of great complexity. It has its roots deep in history, and even today it governs the lives of 300 million Hindus in several important respects. It is popularly understood as the division of society into a fivefold hierarchy with the Brahmins at the head, followed in order by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or traders, Shūdras or servants and labourers, and, lastly, the Untouchables. The first three castes are called 'twice-born' (*dvija*) as they alone are entitled to undergo the ceremony of *upanayana* which constitutes spiritual rebirth. Only the twice-born castes are entitled to study the Vēdas and to the performance of Vēdic ritual on certain occasions. Caste in the above sense is referred to as *varṇa* and has an All-India application.

The idea of caste as the fivefold division of society represents a gross over-simplification of facts. The real unit of the caste system is not one of the five *varṇas*, but *jāti*, which is a very small endogamous group practising a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual, and juridical autonomy.

I
[623]

Every *jāti*, or the members of a *jāti* in a particular village or a group of neighbouring villages, constitutes a caste court which punishes caste offences.

There are innumerable *jātis*. Professor Ghurye calculates that there are 2,000 sub-castes (*jātis*) in each linguistic area.[1] This should give some idea of the total number of endogamous sub-castes in India as a whole. The importance of the *varṇa*-system

[1] *Caste and Race in India*, London, 1932, p. 27.

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consists in that it furnishes an All-India frame into which the 564
myriad *jātis* in any single linguistic area can be fitted. It systematizes the chaos of *jatis* and enables the sub-castes of one region to be comprehended by people in another area by reference to a common scale. Further, the *varṇa*-system represents a scale of values, and *jātis* occupying the lower rungs have throughout tried to raise their status by taking over the customs and ritual of the top *jātis*. This has helped the spread of a uniform culture throughout Hindu society.

The attempt to fit the *jātis* of any region into the fivefold hierarchy is a very difficult affair. It is possible everywhere to say who are the Brahmins and Untouchables, but there is great confusion in the middle regions. Confining our remarks to south India for the moment, we find that the claims of local *jātis* to be Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are frequently questioned by others. For instance, it is well known that a ruling house claiming to be Kshatriyas were originally potters. Similarly, the claim of a local trading *jāti* to be Vaishya, one of the three twice-born *varṇas* of the Vēdas, is hotly contested by the other castes in the area. It is not uncommon to find a *jāti* included under the Shudra *varna* claiming to be higher than the local *jātis* claiming to be Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Disputes as to relative status are an essential feature of the caste system. This is especially so in the numerous *jātis* belonging to the fourth *varṇa* of Shūdra. In south India the term 'Shūdra' includes the vast majority of non-Brahmin *jātis* and even some reformist sects.

A man is *born* into a sub-caste (*jāti*) and this is the only way of 775
acquiring membership. According to the traditional view, how- 779
ever, birth is not an accident. Certain Hindu theological notions 564
like *karma* and *dharma* have contributed very greatly to the strengthening of the idea of hierarchy which is inherent in the caste system. The idea of *karma* teaches a Hindu that he is born in a particular sub-caste because he deserved to be born there. The actions he performed in a previous incarnation deserved such a reward or punishment, as the case might be. If he had performed better actions in his previous incarnation he would have been born in a higher caste. Thus the caste hierarchy comes to be an index of the state of an individual's soul. It also represents certain milestones on the soul's journey to God.

Thus the idea of deserts is associated with birth in a particular

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584 caste. A man is born in a high caste because of the good actions
775 performed by him in his previous life, and another is born into a
779 low caste because of bad actions performed in his previous life.

The other important concept is *dharma*, which has many meanings, one of which is 'that which is right or moral'. The existing moral code is identified with *dharma*. A man who accepts the caste system and the rules of his particular sub-caste is living according to *dharma*, while a man who questions them is violating *dharma*. Living according to *dharma* is rewarded, while violation of *dharma* is punished, both here and hereafter. If he observes the rules of *dharma* he will be born in his next incarnation in a high caste, rich, whole, and well endowed. If he does not observe them he will be born in a low caste, poor, deformed, and ill endowed. Worldly position and success indicate the kind of life a man led in his previous incarnation.

696 One may also reap the reward of one's actions very soon after their performance. For purposes of such reward and punishment,
[732] a person is identified with his joint family. A man may become blind because his father, the head of the joint family, made money in the black market during the war.

783 The concept of pollution governs relations between different
688 castes. This concept is absolutely fundamental to the caste system, and along with the concepts of *karma* and *dharma* it contributes to make caste the unique institution it is. Every type of inter-caste relation is governed by the concept of pollution. Contact of any kind, touching, dining, sex, and other relations between castes which are structurally distant results in the higher of the two castes being polluted. Ordinarily, contact between members of the same caste, or between members of castes which are structurally very near each other, does not result in pollution. Where contact does result in pollution, however, the polluted member of the higher caste has to undergo a purificatory rite in order to be restored to normal ritual status. Such a purificatory rite is fairly simple where the structural distance between the castes is not
[264] very great and the type of contact is not serious. Sometimes, as when a Brahmin eats food cooked by an Untouchable, the resultant pollution is so great that he or she has to be excommunicated. Normally, in every caste, women observe the pollution rules much more strictly than men.

Contact is culturally defined. Touch is contact in all cases.

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CONTACT IS CULTURALLY DEFINED. TOUCH IS CONTACT IN ALL CASES.

Frequently the maintenance of a minimum distance between castes is insisted upon. This matter has recieved systematization in Kēraḷa, where elaborate rules have been laid down requiring the minimum distance that should prevail between the various castes. 783 576 688

Aiyappan, in 1937, gives a scale of distance pollution for several castes: a Nayar must keep 7 ft. from a Nambudri Brahman, an Iravan (Ilavan, Izhuvan, Tiyan) must keep 32, a Cheruman 64 and a Nayadi 74 to 124. The respective distances between these lower castes are calculated by a simple process of subtraction: the Iravan must keep 25 feet from the Nayar and Cheruman 32 feet from the Iravan.[1]

The ban on contact between castes, and the solidarity of a sub-caste, express themselves in the spatial segregation of castes in a village. The Untouchables live everywhere at some distance from the others, while each of the other sub-castes occupies a street or a quarter of the village or town. 361 688

Normally a man may accept cooked food and water from a member of the same or equal or superior caste. Food cooked by a member of a lower caste may not be eaten because such food defiles a man belonging to a higher caste. Mutual acceptability of cooked food denotes equality between the castes concerned, while the movement of food in one direction only indicates that the acceptor is inferior to the giver. 264 688

People living in rural areas, and the orthodox, exhibit a pre-occupation with the matter of acceptance or rejection of cooked food from different castes. The kind of food, the question whether it is cooked in butter or water, the caste of the person cooking it, and the place (whether temple or home) where the food is cooked, all go to determine its acceptability or otherwise. A tendency to define and systematize is obvious everywhere.

There is a general correlation between diet and status. Brahmins are usually vegetarians, abstaining even from eggs. The Shūdra castes eat eggs and meat. Pork is inferior to mutton, and usually pork-eaters to mutton-eaters. Beef-eaters are the lowest of all. The consumption of toddy, too, begins at some point low down in the caste hierarchy. 554 262

Facts have been over-simplified in order to make some general statements. For instance, while Brahmins are usually vegetarians,

[1] Dr. A. Aiyappan. *The Anthropology of the Nayadis*, pp. 18 seq., quoted by J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 70.

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554 the Sāraswat Brahmins of the west coast, and some Brahmins of
262 Bengal, eat fish, while the Kāshmiri Brahmins eat meat. Again, castes claiming to be Kshatriyas generally eat mutton. The Lingāyats of south India, who are non-Brahmins, are vegetarians and
[677] teetotallers. It must be mentioned here that from the earliest times vegetarianism has been held up as an ethical ideal, it being considered wrong for an individual to kill other sentient creatures in
[273] order to keep himself alive. Vegetarianism goes hand in hand with teetotalism, the drinking of alcoholic liquors being forbidden to the high castes.

264 The acceptance of cooked food by a high caste man from an
688 Untouchable constituted as serious an offence as having a liaison with an Untouchable, and in the old days both offences were
623 punished, by the caste court concerned, with excommunication from caste. It is not only the high castes who are particular about the caste of the person from whom they accept food and water, but the Untouchables too are very particular. In Mysore, Untouchables do not accept food and water from smiths, and from Mārka Brahmins. They believe such acceptance would defile them.

Each caste is traditionally associated with a separate occupation.
463 Some of the earlier students of caste were so impressed with this
783 feature of caste that they ascribed the origin of caste to the
564 systematization of occupational differentiation. In rural India the bulk of the castes continue to practise their respective traditional occupations, though agriculture is common to all castes from the Brahmin to the Untouchable.

Some occupations are considered defiling because of the contact with some defiling object or other necessary to their practise. Swine-herding is defiling because swine defile. Leather defiles, and consequently the making and repairing of shoes is an occupation of the Untouchables. Certain other occupations, while not being defiling, are so strongly associated with low castes that no high caste man will take to them. The tapping of toddy would be a case in point. Finally, any occupation however remotely implying the destruction of sentient life in any form would be prohibited to the high castes. Thus not only butchery, the catching of fish and game, and the raising of sheep and fowls would be prohibited, but even the selling of dried fish and eggs would be regarded as an improper occupation for a high-caste man, especially a Brahmin.

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But, nowadays, under the influence of industrialization, the old 463
association of caste with occupation is beginning to break down. [178]

The members of a sub-caste tend to regard their traditional 467
occupation as the natural one for them. Taking up any other 564
occupation is regarded as improper. There is a pride in the skill required for the practice of the traditional occupation, and this skill is a secret which is not easily divulged to members of other castes. In fact, formerly, castes tended to be guilds, and the members of castes regarded their traditional occupation as their monopoly. A violation of this monopoly would result in a fight. The matter could also be taken before the village court and before the king of the region.

Things associated with high castes, their houses, clothes, 584
customs, manners, and ritual, tend to become symbols of superior 673
status. Consequently there is a ban on the lower castes taking them 554
over and, formerly, such a ban was sanctioned by the political authority at the top. In Malabar, until 1865, only the Brahmins were allowed to clothe their bodies above the waist, even the women of the lower castes being prohibited from doing so. In many parts of India the lowest castes were not allowed to have tiled roofs for their houses. Nor were they allowed to build two-storied houses.

A consequence of the extreme stratification implied in the caste 621
system is the tendency of each sub-caste, or each level of sub- 584
castes, to live in a separate social world. The members of a sub-caste inhabit the same quarter of the village or town and frequently are all related to each other by agnatic or affinal links. They share a common culture and ritual idiom. They observe common restrictions regarding food and drink, and have certain caste festivals and rites not shared with others. They practise a common, traditional occupation, the secrets of which they do not share with others. They have caste courts and assemblies where elders of the sub-caste belonging to different villages assemble and decide matters of common concern. The members of a sub-caste share certain common values and are actively aware of this fact when they come into contact with other castes. The autonomy of a sub-caste does not, however, mean that it can live independently of other sub-castes. An Indian village usually consists of a few sub-castes which are mutually dependent and also possess certain interests in common.

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582 The sub-caste or *jāti* is the unit of endogamy. Occasionally we find a *jāti* split up into several groups each of which is endogamous. The rule about endogamy is still strictly observed, though a contemporary tendency among the educated members of the higher sub-castes is to marry into another sub-caste of the same level and sharing the same culture. Thus a member of the Maṇḍyam division of the Srī Vaishṇava Brahmins might nowadays marry a member of the Hebbār division of the same larger group, though formerly they would not have done so.

Hypergamous unions occasionally occur between castes. By this a man belonging to the higher caste takes a girl from the lower caste. It is never the other way about. Hypergamous marriages are common in Malabar and Bengal. They occur in other parts of India too.

584 The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible, and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins, and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called 'Sanskritization' in this book, in preference to 'Brahminization', as certain Vēdic rites are confined to Brahmins and the two other 'twice-born' castes.

[184] The tendency of the lower castes to imitate the higher has been a powerful factor in the spread of Sanskritic ritual and customs, [177] and in the achievement of a certain amount of cultural uniformity not only throughout the caste scale, but over the entire length and breadth of India.

[185] Another point which needs specially to be stressed is that the idea of hierarchy embodied in the caste system has been periodically questioned in India. Buddhism and Jainism questioned it quite early in the recorded history of caste. Lingāyaṭism challenged it in the south in the twelfth century A.D. These attempts more or less met with failure, and occasionally the reformist sect either became a caste or reproduced within itself a caste system.

681 564 Many of the sanctions supporting the caste system tended to disappear under British rule. The British withdrew the explicit as

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well as implicit support which caste usually enjoyed under an Indian monarch. For instance, people who had been punished by caste courts could sue the caste elders responsible for defamation in courts established by the British.

Formerly, an offender against the code of the caste was punished with either fine or, in very serious cases, excommunication from caste. Between themselves, caste councils and village councils completely controlled the conduct of an individual. Caste elders and village elders supported each others' authority.

Caste guarantees autonomy to a community, and at the same time it brings that community into relation with numerous other communities all going to form a hierarchy. The importance of such an institution is obvious in a vast country like India which has been the meeting-place of many different cultures in the past and which has always had considerable regional diversity. While the autonomy of a sub-caste was preserved it was also brought into relation with others, and the hierarchy was also a scale of generally agreed values. Every caste tended to imitate the customs and ritual of the topmost caste, and this was responsible for the spread of Sanskritization. When this process is viewed on a continental scale and over a period of at least 2,500 years, it is easy to see how Sanskritic ideas and beliefs penetrated the remotest hill tribes in such a manner as not to do violence to their traditional beliefs. Caste enabled Hinduism to proselytize without the aid of a church.

Caste, which was so successful in absorbing autonomous groups everywhere, also provided the pattern for relations with non-Hindu groups. Christians and Muslims were regarded as castes, too, and they accepted such a status. Even revolutionary movements which had aimed at the overthrow of the caste system ended by either becoming castes themselves or reproduced the caste system within themselves. The main body of Hindus regarded these sects as castes and not as sects. Thus the caste system effectively neutralized all attempts to change it.

II

Caste ties cut across territorial ties, and members of the same caste living in different villages have a great deal in common. This type of solidarity has been called in this book 'horizontal solidarity', and it contrasts with 'vertical solidarity', which is

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common to a number of castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy. For instance, the members of a village community, whatever their caste, have certain interests in common. Similarly, people speaking the same language have a certain solidarity. The Brahmin and the Untouchable speaking the same language have certain cultural forms in common, even though they belong to the extremes of the hierarchy. The structural situation everywhere in India is subject to the pulls exerted by these opposed types of solidarity.

In any large geographical area in India it is usual to find a minority of sub-castes who speak a language different from the one which is locally dominant. Sometimes two or three such minor languages are found in a single area. Migrations from one part of India to another have been extremely common in the past, and this has been specially so within each of the two major geographical areas of India, continental and peninsular India. The immigrant castes usually claim a higher place in the local caste structure than is conceded by the others.

The speakers of the same language, whatever their caste, possess certain cultural forms in common, and when, in the same geographical area, there are castes speaking different languages, each becomes aware of the cultural forms which mark it off from others.

It will be seen that any geographical area in India exhibits enormous structural and cultural complexity. In a tiny province like Coorg, speakers of every Dravidian language, and of Konkaṇi, Marāṭhi, and Hindusthāni, are found.

III

Coorgs constituted the aristocracy under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, holding important positions in the administration and very nearly monopolizing the army. All the other castes in Coorg, excluding the Brahmin, Kōmṭi (Telugu-speaking trading caste of south India), and Lingāyaṭ acknowledged their dominance by taking over their customs and manners, and in some cases even their speech. It has already been mentioned that high castes like Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaligas and Tuḷu-speaking Gauḍas, both peasants, in north Coorg tried to pass off for Coorgs. In the recent past a few of them, those with a little money, married Coorgs, and this is probably the reason why we find in the north one branch of

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a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

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723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [171] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetarians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous [291] unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

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with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves. 564 173

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1] 564 792

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades. 564 [178]

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were 564 174

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷamé*, pp. 20–21.

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584 exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may
174 in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

[554] He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

[582] Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and
[104] Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

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Coorgs and other Coorgs were not very frequent. Saṇṇa Coorgs looked down upon Boḍḍu Coorgs whose customs and manners were somewhat different from their own: differences between cognate groups as to minute points of custom and ritual frequently come to stand for the identity of each of them as against the others. This is a common feature of caste.

A point which needs stressing because it is not very typical of the caste system is the comparative ease with which Coorgs admitted into their fold non-Coorgs belonging to fairly high castes. Moegling wrote in 1855, 'strangers are received among them and naturalised without difficulty, and such as have been excommunicated are received without much ado'.[1] Richter, writing sixteen years later, says that 'even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggaṭnāḍ, who ten years ago were, by the Head Sheristedar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan [caste] by the rest of the people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time. . . .'[2] Formerly some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Tuḷu Gauḍas were received into the Coorg fold. The complete absorption of recruits from other castes naturally took some time, and till it was accomplished the conservative Coorg families did not freely intermarry with the new recruits. Even now one hears a Coorg elder saying, 'such-and-such a family are really Kannaḍa Okkaligas who called themselves Coorgs 50 or 60 years ago. Until recently Coorgs would think twice before inter-marrying with them.'

IV

There are more than forty main castes and tribes in Coorg, but Coorgs come into intimate contact with only a few of them. A very brief account of their relations with each of these castes will now be given. It is important to add that the duties mentioned against each caste might frequently be performed by similar castes of equivalent status: for instance, it might be either a Tuḷu Brahmin or Malabar Brahmin who performs the priestly duties at a village temple, and the Tuḷu Brahmin is again split up into Shivaḷḷi and

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 55. [2] *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 231–2.

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

[778] [788]

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1]

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāḷi were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs.

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation:

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today.

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaṇiya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

584 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

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524 621 emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

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[793] The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

[783]

[791] Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

[777]

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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462 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[533] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

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songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [77] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [57]

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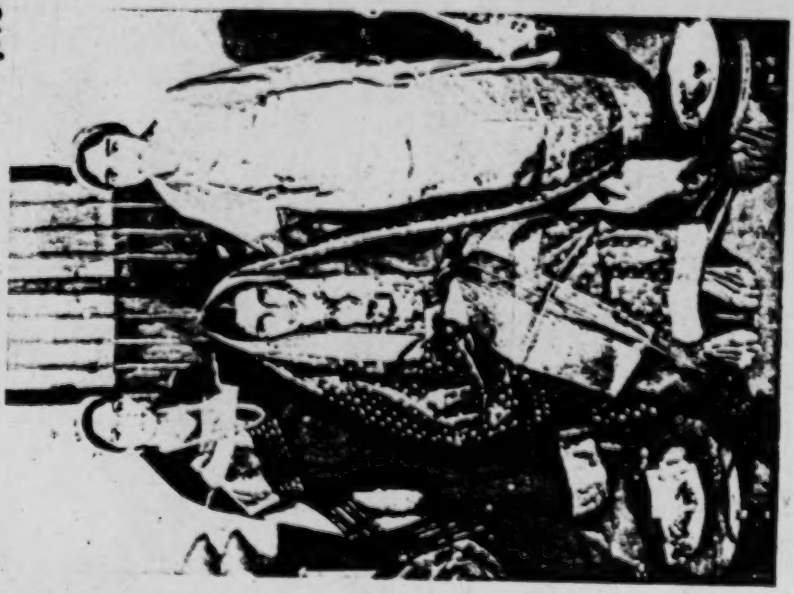

A BRIDE

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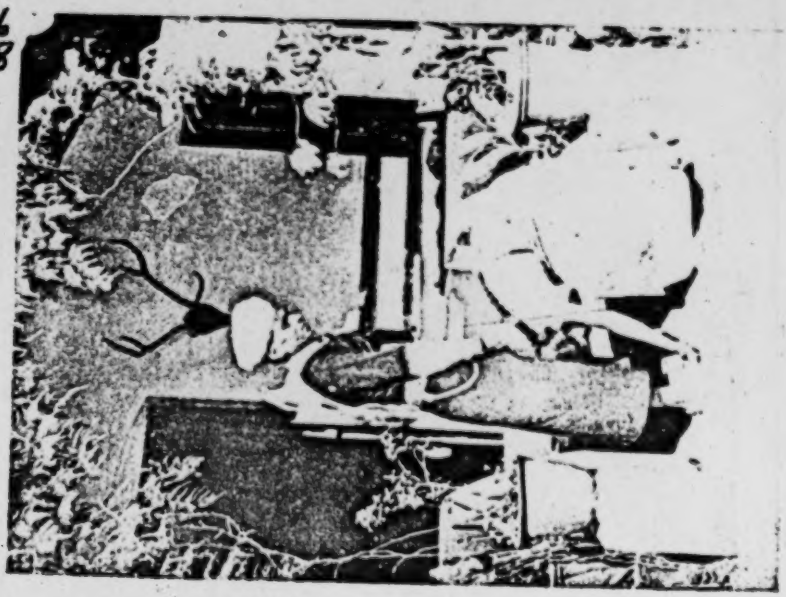

A GIRL SALUTES HER FATHER

[Facing p. 48]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

888 their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya?*'
[576] (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

[516] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he
[481] was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

888 A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate
601 kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

601 There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may
587 address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

601 Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

888 Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that
551 whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

342 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[33] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
[351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Gulika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common an- 596
cestor. The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769
with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776
that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596
the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [328]
such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanda *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888]
competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

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596 423 Until the beginning of the last century the immovable property of an *okka* was regarded as impartible, and property descended from one generation to another without being split up in the process. In this respect Coorgs differed from other Hindus and, consequently, Coorg agriculture escaped the two great drawbacks of agriculture elsewhere in India, the subdivision of land into minute holdings and fragmentation or scattering of holdings over a wide area.

All earlier writers on Coorg—Connor, Moegling, Cole, and Rice[1]—are unanimous in holding that the immovable property of a Coorg *okka* is traditionally impartible. But some time after the defeat of Tippu in the closing years of the eighteenth century, some Coorg *okkas* were permitted by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas,[2] used to the Hindu idea of partition, to divide off. The example of these Coorgs was followed by many others. Consequently, 'in 1858 the *takkas* [social heads] and headmen of the Coorgs represented that the loss and ruin occasioned to their ancient houses by this innovation [was very great], and the Judicial Commissioner in additional Special Appeal Suit No. 117 of 1858–9 passed a decree declaring that division was contrary to the ancient custom of Coorg'.[3] The fact that the ancestral property was impartible was responsible to a great extent for preventing the *okka* from splitting.

596 423 178 The British also encouraged, although indirectly, the idea of partition of the ancestral property. They granted, for instance, *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to Coorgs who had taken part in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837. These *jagirs* were granted to individuals and not to the *okkas* of which they were members.

Coorgs who were government officials under the British bought farms and coffee- and orange-gardens with their savings, and the law courts established by the British permitted these to be regarded as the property of the individual acquirer and not of the *okka* of

[1] Connor, *Memoirs of the Codagu Survey*, pt. ii, Bangalore, 1870, pp. 29–30; H. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, 1855, p. 30; R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, secs. 115–17; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] Rice tells us that the Lingāyaṭ Rājas encouraged the idea of partition in order to break up the huge joint families of Coorgs. The Rājas wanted to increase the area under cultivation and also, according to Rice, they disliked intensely the fraternal polyandry of Coorgs. Rice remarks, 'Coorgs still viewed any deviation from this ancient custom [of polyandry] with the greatest abhorrence.' Op. cit., p. 329.

[3] Cole, op. cit., secs. 160, 165, 182.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*. 596 423 178

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown. [421]

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays. [594]

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*. 596 585

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground. 596 428

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

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was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives. 596 606

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult. 596 602

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged. 594 178 596

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt. 596 [622] 476

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 672 Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 572 596 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the [628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [23]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 58]

631
634

3. Map showing Administrative Divisions in *circa* 1850

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven. 634

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1] [101]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg. 634 184

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs. 634

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly. [623]

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants. [167]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 564 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

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621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

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634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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mined to become a great fighter: he would challenge every village 634
and *nāḍ* to produce someone to fight him in single combat (*otté* 539
poyit). He would defeat them all and this would bring great glory to his *nāḍ*. He travelled about Coorg sitting in a palanquin, challenging every village either to produce someone to fight him or give him a sum of money in acknowledgement of defeat. His technique was to go to the village temple and order the priest to stop worshipping the deity till either his challenge was met or the sum of money asked for was paid. The latter course was chosen by most villages.

His challenge was, however, accepted by a mere boy called Appayya (of the Kaiyandira *okka*) in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. When Appayya's mother remonstrated at his having accepted the challenge of a great fighter like Chondu, the spirited boy replied, 'Until now you were my mother, but from now on my *nāḍ* is my mother.' Appayya defeated and killed Chondu by resorting to trickery: he first of all blinded Chondu by suddenly throwing sand into his eyes and then stabbed him.

Honours were showered on the boy-hero by a grateful *nāḍ*. The ceremony of *mangala* (see Chapter III) was performed for him. He was placed in a position of seniority to everyone in the *nāḍ* and none was allowed to call him by name. He had to be addressed as '*pēriya moli*' which means 'big elder'. He was prohibited from touching anyone's feet in salutation. Also, as he had ensured the continuity of worship at the Choli Povvedi temple in Arapaṭ, certain privileges were conferred on Appayya *vis-à-vis* the temple: he could go there even when under pollution (*polé*), and he could go to the annual festival of the deity sitting in the palanquin in which his opponent had sat during his journey through Coorg.

The office of the 'big elder' was hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka* till the latter became extinct. The headman of the *okka* was the 'big elder', and when he died his successor became the 'big elder'. The honour was conferred at a *mangala* ceremony which was performed in the open quadrangle of the Kaiyandīra house.

Coorg was traditionally divided into twelve *kombus*, but the 634
kombu appears as a shadowy unit beside the *nāḍ* and the village; and the occasional coming together of two or three *nāḍs* under a chief during the pre-Lingāyaṭ days, or to discuss a matter of common interest, cannot be treated as a permanent feature of the structure.

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634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pānḍira and Paṛadanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter
628 half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen,
634 that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *maradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore
634 bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between
539 Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

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the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa 628
Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to 634
touch the see-saw. 539

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, 538
fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is 628
made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They 634
describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side 634
were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most 628
sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

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III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

881 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *kemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and
788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of
[787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*.
[805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned,
796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of
346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing 796
some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These [533]
songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, [783]
after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose [589]
husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to [346]
the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought
to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred [778]
tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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796 which is kept on the stool before the subject. The lamp rests on a thin bed of rice spread inside the dish. A few betel leaves and areca-nuts are also kept alongside the lamp. The dish, rice, lamp, and betel leaves and nuts are all collectively referred to as '*taḷiyakki-boḷuk*' which literally means 'dish-rice-lamp'. It will be referred to as 'dish-lamp' in future, and a dish-lamp is considered essential on all ritual occasions.

At *mangala*, in addition to the earthen lamp, a *kiṇḍi* full of milk [415] is kept on the dish-lamp. A *kiṇḍi* is a bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side. At *mangala* every relative performs *vis-à-vis* the subject a series of solidarity rites collectively called *mūrta*, and one of these rites consists in giving the subject a little milk to drink. This is done by the relative holding the *kiṇḍi* in such a way that the tip of the spout touches the subject's mouth. The subject sucks in a few drops of milk through the spout.

Each of the assembled relatives singly performs *mūrta*, described below, towards the subject of *mangala*. Three married women, close relatives of the subject, are required to perform it before anyone else. If the subject's mother is alive and not a widow, she is entitled to be one of the three, and what is more, perform it first, even if the other two are her seniors.

The mother, or senior married woman, begins by sprinkling rice on the two bell-metal lamps on either side of the subject, and then salutes them. The sun-god is saluted next after throwing some rice backwards, over the shoulders. This is followed by the relative depositing a little rice successively at the joints of knees, elbows, and shoulders, and on the head of the subject. The relative then holds the spouted vessel before the subject and he sucks in a little milk through the spout. After this she presents the subject with a gold or silver coin. The subject salutes her by touching her feet with both his hands and carrying the latter back to his fore-[788] head. This is done thrice. The married woman blesses him by touching his head and saying, 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'.

III

796 It has been mentioned before that *mangala* is an auspicious or 777 good-sacred ceremony and that it has to be performed on an auspicious day. All over India, among Hindus, it is believed that certain

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made 778
in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere 769
else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open 342
quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such 778
open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. [769]
One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they [562]
visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they [888]
allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a [585]
plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) 778
devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical 769
ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn 776
stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk- 778
exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity. 823 776

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east. [342]

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun. [782] [243]

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death. [764]

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities. [184]

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here. 796 305 292

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath. [584] [783]

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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THE RITE OF THE BRIDE CARRYING WATER INTO THE GROOM'S HOUSE

342

A COORG HOUSE, RECENTLY BUILT

[Facing p. 80]

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the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni manḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé tanḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the [764] underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305] defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782] the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the [764]
okka and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of 372
783

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an 776
All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character. 372
171

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual 783
act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form 846
the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the [312]
domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity [778]
rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

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764 While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with
602 turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a
824 little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually
[57] accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

[243] It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

585 The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 535

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 561

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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gift on the occasion of giving him (or her) a name. In fact, a relative who is seeing an infant for the first time must give a money-gift. On the second day of marriage, when the bride visits the groom's house, she gives a money-gift to every infant in her conjugal *okka*. Later the groom does the same in the bride's *okka*.

It is hardly necessary to state that the giving of a money-gift does not always constitute a solidarity rite. It may be given in return for a service, which, however, might be purely nominal. A guest to a wedding gives a *paṇa* to each of the two girls holding a dish-lamp in his honour at the entrance to the bridal house.

At the wedding the elders of the groom's village publicly examine the box containing the bride's trousseau. They are collectively given five *paṇas* (fifteen annas), and this money is called 'witness money' (*sākshi paṇa*). Subsequently, if there is a dispute as to the contents of the bride's box the elders will be called upon to give evidence. Such disputes do not normally occur, however, except in the event of the woman wanting to return to her natal *okka* on becoming a widow, or after being divorced. Again, when the bride's family friend consents to hold himself responsible for her good behaviour in the groom's house he is paid a *paṇa* as 'witness-money'. The groom's family friend is paid similarly for holding himself responsible for the good behaviour of the groom's relatives.

In the above instances the passing of money from one hand to another has the effect of sealing a contract. It may also be interpreted as payment in advance for some service to be rendered in the future. An occasion might not, and usually does not, arise requiring the elders or either of the family friends to render the service expected of them or him, and the strictly nominal character of the payment might be attributed to this fact. Such an interpretation is plausible, but does not appear to us to be true. In the instance just mentioned the emphasis seems to be much more on the fact of the acceptor of the money binding himself to a particular course of action in the future rather than on the services to be rendered in the future.

A gold coin is placed in the mouth of a dead man if the latter was a married man. This coin is referred to as 'money for the road'. It probably refers to the expenses which the dead man's soul incurs on its journey. No gold coin is, however, placed in the mouth if the dead man was a bachelor, or had the reputation of being very wicked. In such a case a very bitter fruit called '*kānyaṇat kāyi*' is

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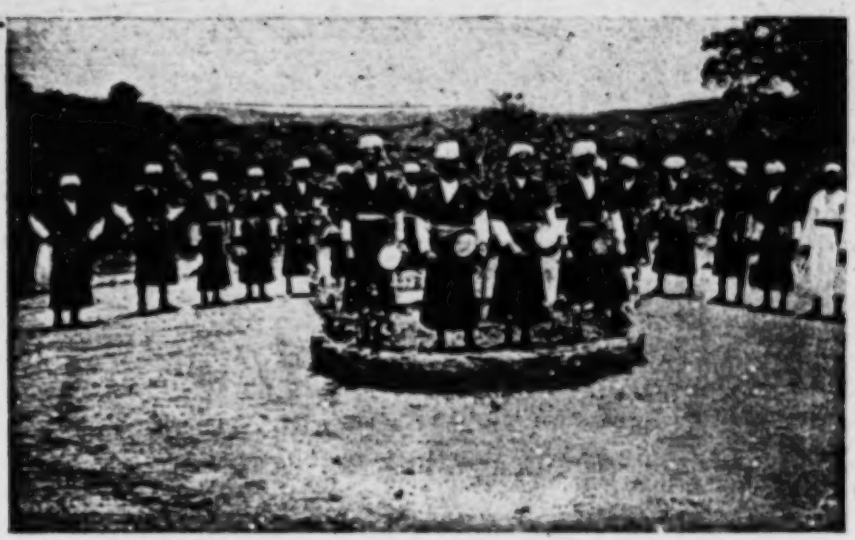

DANCERS ABOUT TO BEGIN DANCING

ANOTHER DANCE

[Facing p. 96]

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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621 wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the
585 huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the
574 guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

621 The members of a village in which a death has occurred are
765 required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning
574 and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

621 Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally
574 dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormé*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

585 On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's
574 house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

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birth', and that she was kept in seclusion 'for a fortnight, or a 585
month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respecta- 574
bility of the family'.[1] Elderly informants deny that she was regarded as unclean, but they do confirm the fact that she was not allowed to see the villagers before a dinner had been given to them.

The bride becomes a member of the groom's *okka* at marriage. The consummation of the marriage in the groom's house on the second night also indicates to her that her future position is that of a mother who contributes children to her husband's *okka*. Marriage in a patrilocal and patrilineal kinship system affects a greater change in the bride's social personality than in the groom's. She is a new person, and this is recognized in her not being allowed to meet the members of her natal village before a dinner has been given them. When there has been a break in the continuity of a relationship, or when a relationship with a new person has to be begun, the best way to do it is with a dinner. Dinner, as we have noted earlier, is an act of solidarity, and the villagers forge their solidarity with the new person, the bride returning to her natal house from the groom's.

XV

All *mangalas* except marriage have either become defunct or so 585
rarely performed that nowadays *mangala* is almost synonymous 554
with marriage. The ritual performed at marriage may be divided into two parts, one part being *mangala*, and the other concerned with the jural aspect of marriage. Only the former part has been analysed in this chapter. By means of this analysis it is hoped to give content to the concept of ritual idiom and to understand the meanings of certain ritual acts which are very common among Coorgs.

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the subject of *mangala* 554
is prepared for *mūrta* by a series of preparatory and purificatory ritual acts such as shaving, bath, and the donning of ritual robes and ornaments. The various occasions on which each one of these preparatory ritual acts is performed have been considered in order to discover their meanings.

Mūrta itself consists of a series of solidarity rites performed on the subject of it by each member of the concerned group. The

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 139.

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554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

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IV

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(2) THE CONCEPTS OF *POLÉ* AND *MAḌI*

I

THE external world is divided into two parts, the sacred and non-sacred. The term 'sacred' is used in its wider sense as inclusive of 'good-sacredness' as well as 'bad-sacredness'. Good-sacredness includes all forms of ritually desirable states and conditions like auspiciousness and purity, while bad-sacredness includes all forms of ritually undesirable states and conditions such as inauspiciousness and impurity. 771

The Koḍagi term for ritual purity is *maḍi*, and this term is found in all other Dravidian languages except Malayāḷam; and *polé*, which means ritual impurity, is found in all Dravidian languages except Telugu. 783

Polé is used in Koḍagi in two senses: one, in which it means ritual impurity generally; and another in which it means certain specific forms of ritual impurity. In the latter cases it is usual to add the necessary prefixes: for instance, *kuruḍu polé* (blind pollution) or *tinga polé* (monthly pollution) refers to the impurity of a woman in her periods, and *petta polé* or *puruḍu*[1] *polé* refers to birth pollution.

The pollution resulting from the death of a person is called *tīké*. *Tīṭ* in Tamil means death-pollution, while *tīṭ* in Koḍagi means faeces. A house in which an adult has died is referred to as *tīké mané* (polluted house) till the end of ritual mourning. On the day ritual mourning ends, in the afternoon, after the mourners have returned from the burial-ground, the family friend says, 'Until now mourning, from now on festival' (*indākaṇé tammé iṇya pinya nammé*). *Tammé* is used to mean mourning, while *nammé* is used to mean festival.

All over India there is a ban on a member of a higher caste touching, or coming very close to, a member of a lower caste. This

[1] *Puruḍu* which means the pollution consequent on birth occurs in all Dravidian languages excepting Malayāḷam.

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tindu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé+ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannada country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

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783 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means
827 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle.
827 Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in
539 search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown
827 far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states. 783 827

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure. 783

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied. [764] [769]

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement. [787] [761] [784]

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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783 and so the person in question sits under a sieve while water is poured on him through it. The sieve has a few hundred holes, and every time a vessel of water is poured into it the person underneath has a few hundred baths. When the proper observance of a ritual rule or prohibition involves great trouble and inconvenience there come into existence ritual mechanisms which take the edge off the rules.

III

Bad-sacredness is a wider concept than pollution or ritual impurity; and there are several degrees of ritual impurity. The birth of a child results in a mild form of pollution called *petta polé* or *puruḍu* for seven or twelve days for all members of the *okka* except the mother of the new-born baby, who attains normal ritual status only on the sixtieth day. During birth-pollution the members of the *okka* avoid going to a temple. But they may go to a dance or wedding where they are bound to touch people in normal ritual status.

Tiké or death-pollution is quite a different matter, however. The members of the dead man's *okka* have to avoid touching people in normal status for a period of at least twelve days after death. During this period they have to observe certain taboos regarding food and dress. *Tiké* might be described as an acute form of pollution, while *petta polé* or *puruḍu polé* is a mild form of it. But the latter is a more serious form of pollution than normal ritual status.

Normal ritual status is the status which a person enjoys most of the time. From this point of view, both *maḍi* and *polé*, both ritual purity and impurity, are deviations from the normal. Death-pollution is also an abnormal ritual condition, lasting only for a short period, comparatively speaking.

There is no term in Koḍagi for normal ritual status. When Coorgs want to describe this condition they resort to the Kannaḍa (and also Telugu) term *mailigé*. It is interesting to note that the soiled clothes which a washerman takes away are *mailigé*, and the clean clothes which he brings back are *maḍi*. The washerman himself is referred to as *maḍivāḷa*.

Ritual impurity, normal ritual status, and ritual purity form a hierarchy. If a person in an impure condition touches another in a condition of either purity or normal ritual status, the latter becomes impure. If a person in a condition of normal ritual status

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touches another in a pure condition, the latter loses his purity and is reduced to normal ritual status. That is, normal ritual status is a mild form of impurity. 783

Tīké or death-pollution represents the highest degree of ritual impurity, *polé* or birth-pollution comes next, and *mailigé* or normal ritual status is the mildest form of ritual impurity. But *maḍi* or ritual purity is of a different quality altogether, and contact with impurity in any form usually destroys it.

IV

It has been mentioned earlier that there is an opposition between good-sacredness and bad-sacredness. This implies that *maḍi* which is good-sacred and *polé* which is bad-sacred are opposed to each other. In concrete terms, a man who is in a condition of *polé* or *tīké* may not go to a ritually pure place like the temple and village green. Conversely, a person who is in a condition of *maḍi* like the man who is chosen to cut ritually the paddy sheaves at the harvest festival may not come into contact with a man enjoying normal ritual status, still less with someone in a condition of *polé*. A person in *maḍi* avoids a person in *polé*.[1]

There are exceptions to this rule, however. Kaiyandira Appayya, the boy-hero who saved the honour of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, was showered with honours and privileges by a grateful *nāḍ*. One of the privileges permitted him to visit the temple even when he was suffering from *polé*. A similar privilege is even today enjoyed by the Bellitanḍa *okka* in the temple of Bytūrappa in north Malabar. Bytūrappa, a form of Shiva, is the patron-deity of a number of *okkas* in south-west Coorg. The Bellitanḍa *okka* have the special privilege of being able to send offerings to their patron-deity even while under *polé*. This is because a pregnant woman of the Bellitanḍa *okka* who was fleeing from Tippu's troops sought and found sanctuary in the Bytūrappa temple. She gave birth to a boy in the temple and the boy spent sixteen years in the temple before returning to his *okka* in Coorg. There is thus a special bond between the Bellitanḍa *okka* and the deity Bytūrappa, and this is recognized in the fact that the former are permitted to send offerings even while under *polé*.

[1] At the annual festival of the deity Kākkōṭ Achchayya, the Brahmin priest carrying the idol of the deity flies into the temple at the sight of the Baṇṇa oracle. The Brahmin and the idol he carries would both be defiled if he did not do so.

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Maḍi and *polé* are opposed to each other, and the normal relation 783 between them is one of avoidance. But where very great solidarity is prevalent between two persons or parties, the existence of such opposition between *maḍi* and *polé* is overruled. In the folksongs there is an explicit recognition of the fact that the waiving of such opposition in certain special cases is a favour granted to a human being for certain reasons.

V

The ritual concepts of *maḍi* and *polé* are intimately related to the social structure. A member of a high caste is in a condition of *maḍi* in relation to a member of a low caste, and the latter is in a condition of *polé* in relation to the former. There is a ban on contact between castes belonging to different strata.

It is interesting to note that when a low-caste man touches a high-caste man, the latter is defiled and the former is not purified. It is argued by some that this is a *structural necessity* as the essence of a stratified society consists in maintenance of the structural distance between various castes, and this distance would be destroyed if contact between two men belonging to different castes led to the lower being purified instead of the higher being defiled. This argument ignores that egalitarianism is reached not only when everyone attains purity but also when everyone is defiled. In any case, *normally* the change of ritual status consequent on members of different castes coming into contact with each other is only temporary. It does not lead to a permanent change of ritual status.[1]

A high-caste man is no doubt in a condition of ritual purity in relation to a low-caste man. But considered by himself, his normal ritual status is *mailigé*, which is a mild form of impurity. He attains purity on certain occasions, and *polé* and *tīké* on certain other occasions. Similarly, the low-caste man, considered by himself, is *mailigé* normally, and *polé* and *maḍi* only occasionally.

One last point needs to be made before completing our account of the relation between *polé* and *maḍi*. The mourner who is in a condition of *tīké*, an extreme form of defilement, is required to perform certain rites. Usually these rites consist in the offering of

[1] It is not always that a *maḍi*-object becomes defiled when it comes in contact with a *polé*-object: the sprinkling of consecrated water purifies a person or house in a condition of ritual impurity.

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food in one form or another to the spirit of the departed person. 783
The mourner has to observe punctiliously a number of rules and restrictions while making these offerings: he has to have a bath in cold water, wear ritually pure robes, and observe a fast. He starts cooking his food only after he has made the ritual offerings for the day. Many kinds of food are prohibited to him during mourning, and he may have only one proper meal every day.

Conditions like a bath, the wearing of ritually pure robes, and the observance of a total fast till the completion of the ritual are also observed while performing good-sacred ritual. A person takes a bath and wears ritually pure robes before worshipping a deity. He breaks his fast only after the worship is over. While *polé* and *maḍi* are normally mutually opposed, the mourner who is in a condition of *tiké* fulfils the same preliminary ritual rules as the devotee about to pray. The mourner when offering food to the spirit of the dead person is inhabiting a world which is very far removed from that of the devotee about to pray. The former is living in a world of ritual impurity, whereas the latter is living in the world of ritual purity. But within the world of ritual impurity the mourner attains a form of ritual purity prior to performing the most important rites: in other words he attains *maḍi* in *polé*.

The concepts of normal ritual status, pollution, and purity apply not only to Coorgs but to all castes, including Untouchables. An Untouchable, like any high-caste man, is normally *mailigé*, and only occasionally and for comparatively short periods is he *maḍi* or *polé*. It should not be assumed that an Untouchable is in a permanent and unalterable condition of ritual impurity. While contact with an Untouchable always pollutes a high-caste man, an Untouchable, considered by himself, is as subject to the various ritual states as anyone else.

VI

A few words are necessary here on the length of the period of 765
mourning. For everyone except the dead person's spouse and 783
eldest son, ritual mourning ends on the day the *māda* ceremony is performed. Nowadays, *māda* is *usually* performed on the twelfth day. But sometimes, in the case of a big headman or official, it is performed on the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day. The length of the mourning period is thus an index of the social importance

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765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dīkshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dīkshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
[593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*tiké mané*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

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Mourners of the third grade have to abstain from meat, fish, mushrooms, liquor, honey, milk, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

The men are required to have their heads and faces shaved completely. They may not wear any jewellery, nor tie the red sash round their waists. They have to avoid wearing coloured garments, especially garments coloured red.

Women mourners of the third grade are required to remove their jewellery, except such as is symbolical of the married state. The widow of the dead man has to remove even that. Women mourners dress themselves in a white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. The upper ends of the former are tied in a knot at the chest.

It has been mentioned earlier that all men mourners indicate the beginning of mourning by having the head and face shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse. They may not have another shave till the *māda* day, when ritual mourning ends for all except the first-grade mourners.

Nowadays *māda* is performed usually on the twelfth day of death, and on this day, after the afternoon meal has been eaten by all the mourners, three men mourners have their faces shaved by the barber. This shave is one of the ritual acts marking the end of mourning and the resumption of normal social life by all except the first-grade mourners.

The men who are observing first-grade mourning have to wear either a white gown or a shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*) and waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*). A mourner does not usually wear a gown nowadays, but if he wears one, he may not pass his right arm through the right arm of the gown.

Until the *māda* day, first-grade mourners take a cold-water bath every morning, after which they perform the rites prescribed for the day. They then start cooking their meal, which is done in the cattle-shed, or any other sheltered spot outside the main building. They may not have more than one meal per day, and they have to pay scrupulous attention to the various food restrictions. They are, however, allowed to eat a few fruits at night.

The surviving spouse has to observe more restrictions than other first-grade mourners. He (or she) may not sleep on a cot, or sit on a plank. He may not eat from a dining-dish (*taḷi*), but has to use a leaf instead. He may not ford a river. A silver chain is wound round his left wrist, and in his left hand he holds a knife.

The *māda* ceremony frees all mourners from ritual mourning,

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but not, however, the first-grade mourners, who are only freed at the *dīkshé uttuva* ceremony, which is performed long after the *māda*. Until then, honey and milk may not be consumed, ornaments and coloured cloths may not be worn. A woman mourner has to wear the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. A man mourner may not have his face or head shaved. 765 783

VIII

The offer of food to the spirit of the departed person is a dominant motif in Coorg funeral ritual. When the corpse is still seated in the paved yard of the house, one of the mourners carries some cooked rice on a plantain leaf and places it at the bottom of the lane leading to the house. He also places on the plantain leaf a lighted cotton wick on a piece of coconut: this serves as a lamp. As he does this, double shots are fired from a gun. He salutes the leaf as he would a corpse, and other mourners follow him in saluting the food-offering and lamp. [764]

The family friend places a food-bundle on the grave directly above the spot where the corpse's head rests. In case of cremation, the bundle is placed at the spot where the head lay before cremation.

On the second, third, and fourth days, the first-grade mourners offer raw, uncooked rice to fish in a pond or lake, and this is called 'water sacrifice' (*nīr beli*). On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, 'shore sacrifice' (*karé beli*) is performed: the first-grade mourners go to the pond or lake, and each of them cooks a little rice on an improvised stove on the edge of the pond or lake. No vessel may be used for cooking this rice. A flat bit of a broken pot is used instead. This rice is then removed on to a plantain leaf which is kept on a purified spot near the stove.

On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days food is offered to crows. A sacrificial post (*beli mara*) of wood is erected in the yard before the mourning-house. A plank is fixed horizontally to the top of the post. The dead person's spouse cooks rice and prepares vegetable curry, and these are mixed and placed on a plantain leaf. The leaf is then kept on the plank on top of the post. As he (or she) keeps this, he claps his hands and shouts '*kā, kā*' (in imitation of the cawing of crows).

On the eleventh (*pannand*) day, each of the second-grade

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

79% A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784]
kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834]
during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of concern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on th's day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangoḷḷi* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pdyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

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764 of 'reversal' operates in some instances while 'identity' operates
784 in some others? If the principle of 'reversal' had been consistently carried out in the above instance, the mourners should have gone round an even number of times.

White rice grains are used in auspicious ritual, whereas rice grains yellowed with turmeric powder are used in inauspicious ritual. This is not the same as 'reversal' though akin to it. It is called 'confinement' here: certain ritual acts are confined to mourning and they may not be performed on auspicious occasions.

A mango or *pavili* tree which is growing in the burial-ground, and green, is cut down for the funeral pyre. The *entire tree* has to be used for cremating the corpse. If a branch or twig remains over, a chicken is killed and cremated with it. It is inauspicious not to use up the entire tree. Similarly, if a grave which is being dug has to be abandoned and another has to be started, a chicken is buried in the former. Otherwise there will be another death in the house in the near future.

The leaves of the *bainé* palm (*caryota urens*) are associated with
[824] death: on the day before *māda* a *pandal* is put up before the mourning-house and the roof of the *pandal* is covered with *bainé* leaves. The corpse is fanned with a fan of *bainé* leaves. Again, when a man without relatives wants to have his obsequies performed during his lifetime alone, a *pandal* of *bainé* leaves is put up before his house.

While *bainé* leaves are used exclusively in funeral ritual, toddy is used on all kinds of ritual occasions. Systematization has not been carried to the extent of confining *all* products of the *bainé* palm to funeral ritual.

Rice yellowed with turmeric is sprinkled all along the way from the mourning-house to the place where the corpse is buried. Usually a man sprinkles the rice with his hands as he accompanies the funeral procession to the burial-ground. Sometimes, however, the rice is put into a bag and loaded on a pack-bullock. Two tiny holes are bored in this bag and the bullock is driven behind the corpse to the burial-ground. The bullock may not be used for any other purpose subsequently.

On the day before *māda*, first-grade mourners offer to the spirit of the dead person rice mixed with curd, plantain, and *ghī*. A quantity of this mixture is carried by him to the 'sacrificial post' in front of the mourning-house and placed on the plank on top of

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the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

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765

social life as well as a happy state. Mourners who have been withdrawn from participation in social life have to abstain from betel leaves, and the ritual chewing of betel leaves is one of the symbols of the end of mourning.

On the twelfth day, at the burial-ground, mourners offer the dead man's spirit betel leaves and areca-nut along with meat and liquor. Each of them then takes a betel leaf and areca-nut out of the leaf-cup in which they are placed and chews them. When they come home the family friend hands to each of them a few betel leaves and areca-nut which they chew for a while, and then take the chewed stuff out of their mouths and throw it on to the roof of the mourning-house. This is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

It is pertinent to recall here that the second-grade mourners are given betel leaves and areca-nut on the eleventh day alone after the performance of a particular rite called *mēnguva*. The first-grade mourners perform the latter rite on the day before *māda*, but they are *not* given betel leaves and areca-nut to chew at the end of it as the most rigorous part of mourning ends for them only on the *māda* day, after returning home from the burial-ground. It is appropriate then that they should not be given betel leaves and areca-nut till the *māda* day.

A relative who chewed betel leaves during mourning would be regarded as lacking in affection towards the dead person, if not actually gloating over his death. It is not very easy to hide the chewing of betel as the mouth and lips become very red after chewing.

It has already been mentioned that there is a great difference, if not opposition, between the ritual treatment of the mourners and the corpse. Things forbidden to the mourners are offered to the spirit of the dead person. For instance, while mourners have to abstain from meat, liquor, and betel and nut, the spirit of the dead man is offered these articles. The mourners have to show their sorrow by abstaining from dietary articles which have come to stand for happiness or wealth or participation in social life. While the mourner denies to himself things that he likes or values, he offers them to the dead man's spirit to show his affection and regard. While the mourner abstains from chewing betel leaves, a paste made by pounding betel leaves and areca-nut together is put into the corpse's mouth. Later, the dead person's spirit is offered betel leaves and areca-nut.

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If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual. 765 276

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage. 765 788 783

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'. [777]

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

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are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.

The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamaṇḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

[171] The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

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596 622 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 622 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 829 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 [342] The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 572 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

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Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannaran-ḍachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[606] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come
587 down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
596 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
421 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few
178 educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned
593 presently.
596 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
586

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
842 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* [837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimaṇṭéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttaṇṇa of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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needles, in the tiny *chuṇḍekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīraṇḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*maṇṇaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appacheṭṭolanḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanḍa *okka*.'

[1] *Chuṇḍekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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Groom's Family Friend: 'Are you the traditional family friend, or have you been hired with gold for the present occasion?' 596 593 585

Bride's Family Friend: 'Both.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.' He pays a *paṇa* to the bride's family friend.

Bride's Family Friend: 'If our young girl comes upon some misfortune, who is the family friend to be held responsible for sending her to her natal *okka* with servants for company and torches for the road?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

He pays a *paṇa* to the groom's family friend.

The ritual of *sammanda* is now over.

V

The transfer of pebbles is an essential part of *sammanda*. According to an old saying, 'the weight of a person in gold is twelve pieces' (*ponnu tūka manushya pannaṇḍachchi*). The totality of rights which a person has in the *okka* of which he is a member is represented by twelve pebbles referred to as 'pieces of gold'. At marriage the bride's family friend gives eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend as most of the rights which the bride had in her natal *okka* have been given up and acquired in the groom's *okka* instead. One pebble is retained because the bride's connexion with her natal *okka* is too deep and fundamental to be totally destroyed. In fact, if the bride happens to be divorced later, she has a right to return to her natal home. As the old saying has it, 'when a girl falls upon evil days, she goes back to her natal home'.

Some Coorgs have taken the theory of the estimation of the value of the rights of a person in his (or her) *okka* rather literally. They argue that each 'piece of gold' represents the traditional estimate of the price of a part of the ancestral property and at the marriage of a virgin the bride's relatives buy up her rights in her natal *okka* and pay her the price. The bride buys herself membership of the groom's *okka* with the money she has acquired.

Pieces of gold do not seem to have been used in the past instead of pebbles. The use of pebbles is clearly symbolic and it enables the persons concerned to understand the legal implications of marriage.

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593 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles
596 hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a
585 bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length
593 of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But
596 elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the
586 groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widow-
768 hood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

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587 and consequently only the ritual withdrawal of membership will
596 be described here. Set formulas very similar to those used for
593 conferment of membership are used at the withdrawal.

The ritual is performed in the central hall of the late (or divorced) husband's house. Two kinsmen of the widow (or divorcée) and the family friend of her natal *okka* stand in a row facing two kinsmen of the dead (or divorced) husband, and the family friend of his *okka*. The articles which the widow (or divorcée) brought with her to her conjugal house are kept in the central hall in the boxes in which they were brought at the wedding. The presence of the widow or divorcée herself is not deemed necessary.

The widow's family friend opens the proceedings by asking the late husband's family friend whether all the concerned men are present, and the late husband's family friend replies in the affirmative.

Widow's Family Friend: 'Muthamma of such-and-such an *okka* married Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka*. Ponnappa was short-lived. Owing to Muthamma's evil destiny, she was not permitted the good fortune of living together with her husband for a long time. We will now take back your girl Muthamma according to the adage, "when a girl comes upon evil days, she goes back to her natal *okka*".'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'When Muthamma married Ponnappa, her servants carried on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns* in boxes worth five hundred *birāns*. Whatever goods now remain, after having been eaten and worn, may I take them back?'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'I have received it. When Muthamma married Ponnappa she was given membership of Ponnappa's *okka*. She lost membership of her natal *okka* and you gave us eleven pieces of gold on that occasion which we now return.'

He returns eleven pebbles to the widow's family friend.

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received them.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received it.'

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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593]
matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

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587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
594 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *hetta poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1] 586 768

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2] 848 596 627

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity. [539]

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time. [344]

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

526 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl ~~in~~ such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kûl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

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585 when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband.
591 Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

585 After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

[278] Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *gaṅga pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

[462] The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

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groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before 585
taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the [553]
women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might 606
say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband-wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: 606
this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates [177]
girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned.

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

602 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression
606 of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the form er's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law
606 with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is
[171] recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

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brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins 582
are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided.

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoid- 536
ance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off 582
and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddaṇḍa *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*.

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his 582
mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's 601
sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*.

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the 582
symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference 539
for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
606 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among
596 the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is 606
told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal house- 596
hold that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the 582
ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the 428
chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much 596
stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of 582
south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

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582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the
596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's
582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions
596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a
596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's
[582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431 602

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kiṇḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

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764 wife places on the spouse's head the mud vessel filled with water,
602 the coconut on the eldest son's head, and the spouted vessel full of water on the 'cross-nephew's' head. The family friend marks the forehead of each of these mourners with a few rice-grains yellowed with turmeric, and adjusts a ring of twisted grass on the ring-finger of the left hand. A mango leaf is put into the mud pot and another into the spouted vessel, while the eldest son is given a third leaf to carry in his hand. A hole is bored in both the mud pot and coconut to enable the liquid inside to trickle down to the ground from the head as the mourners march in state from the pond to the bier. The 'cross-nephew' has to carry the spouted vessel in such a way that a little water drips from it through the spout all the time.

The mourners go round the bier thrice, moving anti-clockwise, and at the end of the third round the spouse stands near the corpse's left shoulder, the son by the right shoulder, and the 'cross-nephew' near the feet. A little of the water in each of the three 'vessels' is poured into a dining-dish.

The three mourners then salute the corpse, after which they again go round the corpse thrice, moving anti-clockwise, sprinkling rice yellowed with turmeric as they go. After the final round is completed each takes up his original position by the corpse. The spouse touches the bier thrice with his (or her) pot and then smashes it to pieces by knocking it against the frame of the bier. As he (or she) does this, he utters the funeral cry, 'Thou art ruined . . . (husband, father, &c.)'.

The son follows next and he cuts the coconut into two halves after touching the bier thrice with it. He throws the halves underneath the bier and utters the funeral cry. The 'cross-nephew' who comes last repeats his predecessors' actions, at the end of which he throws the spouted vessel under the bier.

Shri K. J. Chenappa tells me that the pot represents the affinal bond which is destroyed at death, while the seed (coconut) is carried by the son who continues the *okka*, and the 'cross-nephew' carries the spouted vessel. He represents another *okka* which is linked to the dead person's by the fact that the dead person was a sibling of the 'cross-nephew's' parent.

[594] Husband and wife constitute a legal, economic, ritual, and moral unity among Coorgs, and the sense of this unity is so great that the surviving spouse plays an even greater part in funeral rites than the eldest son, who represents the dead person's *okka*.

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The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

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764 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both
602 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koṇḍavanu*
431 *koḷtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between
[582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man'
585 (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist
602 of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice
431 yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are
585 expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother-child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband-wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in 591
the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes 593
place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter [539]
rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint 594
family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among [178]
Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg aneestral houses [342]
are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in 594
certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with 596
their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together', and these children's quarrels

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed 593
mūrta to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and 585
finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that [76] this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual 589
and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste [301]
Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white [292]
sari, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband 593
as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in 589
a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

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he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like 789
a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. 596
But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavanḍa, Biddanḍa, and Kaliyāṭanḍa *okkas* have [778] separate shrines for *biras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the 769
ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called 353
kaimaḍa, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round 778
the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

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representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal possessions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *pīché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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769 on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks
782 them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

[796] Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with
[825] them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and
769 shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

782 The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of
787 the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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or *boḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

A of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

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769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.
787 Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka*
[621] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.
[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

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ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But 769
unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of 787
sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he 782
described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate 769
ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic 782
modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food 184
and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra-deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mṛityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

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796 occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that
526 are not destructive of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this
578 part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these
596 festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all
796 the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the
621 harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *sib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *sib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

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must be carried by a member of another *sib* along with that of his own *sib*. It is the *sibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *sib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

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596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[567] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages
[461] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

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TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*kanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow*:				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kolé adanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

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Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*:				
	(*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
6 (contd.)					
	(*c*) Adoption.	The boy to be adopted.	In his natal *okka*.	In the adoptive *okka*.	Only when there are no agnatically-related males may a stranger be adopted to continue the *okka* threatened with extinction owing to lack of heirs. The adoptive son loses his membership of his natal *okka* and becomes a member of his adoptive *okka*. The consent of all the adult males of the natal *onka* of the adoptive son, and the consent of the caste-elders is necessary for the adoption to be valid.

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VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Ganēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621 two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamuṇḍi). 796 The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776 Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346 whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chauṇḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chauṇḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621 made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796 dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535 villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvti respectively. The services of 791

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biligunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūda request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them.
171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explain-
533 ing' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt
[437] magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sārtāvu of Makki is referred to as Makki Sārtāvu, and so on. 776 Frequently, the name by which a deity is popularly known gives no clue as to his Sanskritic affiliations: the deity Pālūrappa is said to be 'really' Vishṇu, but he is ordinarily referred to by the former name. Kuṭṭatammé means the 'Mother of Kuṭṭa' (a village in south Coorg), and this is the name by which the deity is popularly known. The deity's 'real' name is Karīn Kāḷi (Black Kāḷi), who is identified with one of the manifestations or forms of Parvati, wife of Shiva.

But it is not always that the popular name hides the Sanskritic affiliations of a deity: Bhadrakāḷi, Chāmuṇḍi, Povvedi (Bhagavati), Mādēva (Mahādēva), &c., have obvious Sanskritic affiliations, though such affiliations may not be known to all or even most of the devotees.

Nowhere in India are the village-deities regarded as gentle. 171 This applies to Coorg too. The deity Madērappa settles down in 776 the village Madé, and immediately flowers wither, sown seeds fail to sprout, and babies die in cradles. Another village-deity says that she will reward those who propitiate her and shoot an arrow at those who refuse to. In return for propitiation the deities keep [64] away from the village and *nāḍ* epidemics such as plague, cholera, and smallpox, and grant children, good crops, and longevity. They also offer protection from ghosts and minor spirits who possess and harm human beings. The oracle of the deity acts as exorcist at the festival of the deity.

Sanskritic Hinduism, which is also All-India Hinduism, makes out village gods to be manifestations of Shiva, and village goddesses to be manifestations of Shiva's wife, Pārvati. The implications of such a systematization will be considered later.

III

The domestic and temple architecture of Coorgs seems to have 346 been modelled on that of Malabar. This is only natural as most of the artisan castes in Coorg Proper are immigrants from Malabar.

While Coorg houses are extremely substantial structures, temples dedicated to village-deities are usually small and unimpressive buildings. But the well-known temples dedicated to Brahminical or Sanskritic deities are substantial, as formerly rich devotees liked building solid and massive temples for their patron-deities.

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346 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhagaṇḍēshwara temple in Bhāgamaṇḍla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate
346 ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of
793 this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar
793 who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship
796 is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest.
[776] Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits 793
and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities pro- 796
pitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had 794
three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a [533]
high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēdas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a 793
number of *kāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during 796
the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the
796 women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

796 The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various
624 high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

796 According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas*
773 which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

796 The festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in
624 south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

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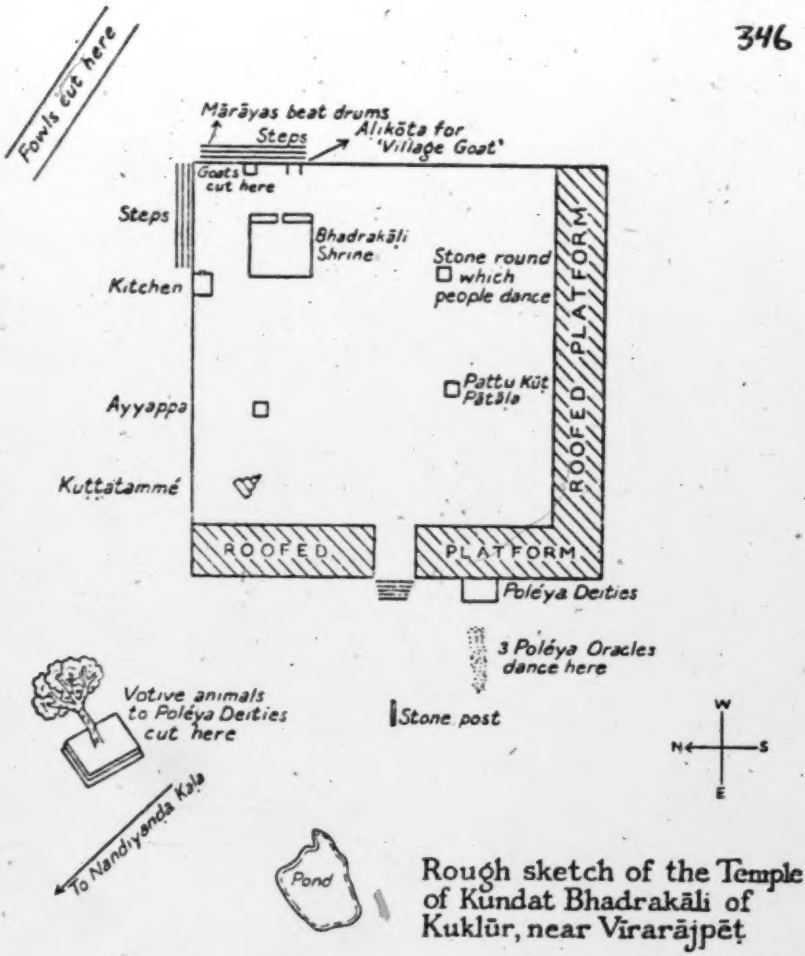

Rough sketch of the Temple of Kundat Bhadrakāli of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ

4. Plan of the temple of Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 621 Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805] The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannaḍa and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[783] [2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the first of *kādiyār* (Taurus), at about 8 a.m., the members 796
of Kuklūr village gather together before the temple of Kundat 621
Bhadrakāḷi. The Brahmin priest of the temple worships the deity, and then the Bhadrakāḷi oracle, Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa, becomes possessed by the deity and, while possessed, he issues instructions as to how to conduct the festival. He allots the work of the festival among the various Coorg *okkas* in the village and decides the dates of the fast and festival days. These days as well as the work which each *okka* has to do have already been decided by custom, and one might say that the oracle only decides according to custom. Sometimes, however, he makes minor alterations to suit special circumstances.

An elder of the Moṇṇanḍra *okka* then administers the festival vows to the assembled villagers. The headmanship of the Bhadrakāḷi temple runs in the Moṇṇanḍra *okka*, and to him as *dēva takka* belongs the right of administering oaths. A member of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* then dances the 'peacock dance' before the temple, carrying a bundle of peacock feathers. The dancer dances to the beat of the Poleya's drum.

No ritual is performed on the second day. On the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the representatives of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* dances the peacock dance a hundred and one times round the stone post before the temple. Four Coorgs sing the Bhadrakāḷi song to the beat of a big drum (*dōḷu*).

On the eighth day a partial fast is observed till dusk when a horn is blown which puts an end to the fast. At night, after dinner, there is a fancy-dress (*bōḍu*) show in which Coorg men take part. They dress themselves as *sanyasis*, Māpiḷḷa traders from Malabar, Mēda drummers, and so on. The ways and customs of different castes and people from different parts are satirized in the fancy-dress show. In 1941 (when I witnessed the festival) the marriage of a [582]
Coorg girl with a Tamil Mudaliar man was satirized. Coorgs do not approve of marriage with non-Coorgs and this disapproval expresses itself in a variety of ways.[1] Such marriages are still unusual.

After the fancy-dress show at the threshing-yard (*kaḷa*) of the

[1] I remember an attempt to pass a formal resolution of censure against a high-placed Coorg gentlemen who had married a non-Coorg. This was during the harvest festival when the various branches of the *okka* are expected to assemble at the ancestral house. The attempt failed conspicuously as a very important branch of the *okka* living outside Coorg failed to turn up.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Nandiyanḍa *okka*, those taking part in the fancy-dress as well as
621 the spectators go to the temple along with the Poleya oracles. The latter dance outside the temple, before the platform where representations of their deities are kept. After this dance the fancy-dress men proceed to every high-caste house in Kuklūr, beginning with the house of the *nāḍ*-headman and ending with the house of the Brahmin priest of the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The order in which they should proceed to the various houses has been fixed by custom. At each house the fancy-dress men are treated to coffee, coconut, plantains, and cooked rice dough (*puṭṭ*).

The duties, contributions in cash or kind, and offerings which each Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr has to make are clearly laid down. These duties run in the *okkas* concerned, and they may not be altered except with their consent. When an *okka* dies out or migrates to a different part of Coorg and a new *okka* from outside buys its property, the latter steps into the rights and duties of the former.[1]

The performance of the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi requires the co-operation of several castes. In the case of all the co-operating castes except Coorgs the contribution to the work of the festival is on the basis of caste. In the case of Coorgs, however, it is on the basis of *okka*. Every Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr is a priestly *okka* at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi.

The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇanḍra, and Nandiyanḍa *okkas* are each required to make offerings of an *ettu pōraṭa* (rice loaded on a pair of bullocks), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), and *kuduré* ('horse'). These offerings are made on different days towards the end of the festival. A young boy from each of the three *okkas* is dressed as a girl and he is called a 'prostitute'. On the eleventh afternoon the three 'prostitutes' run a race and this is followed by a race of the three 'horses'.

A hollow 'horse', minus legs and tail, is made with plaited split bamboo, and in the middle of its back the 'horse' has an opening large enough to allow a man's head and shoulders to pass through. One man sits on the shoulders of another and the head and shoulders of the top man are made to pass through the opening in the bamboo 'horse'. The lower man's head is hidden by the bamboo frame. The frame is decorated with garlands of flowers.

[1] At the Kētrappa festival the immigrant Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* now perform all the duties which once belonged to the Ayyanḍa *okka*. The latter died out and the Paṭṭamāḍa bought their lands and settled down in Bēngūr.

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On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

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MĒDAS AND POLEYAS PROVIDE MUSIC FOR COORG DANCERS

[Facing p. 192]

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796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical
[54] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice.
[534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chaṇḍés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and
787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

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786 few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business
787 or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

786 After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money
[782] (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

[778] With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[170] [2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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796 the immense fire that is burning several yards from the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*. The chicken and a little toddy are offered to the *téré* representing Bhadrakāḷi.

[535] The Paṇika dancer gets ready for his performance which begins an hour later. He wears tiny bells (*gaggaras*) round his ankles, paints his face red and yellow, wears a turban, and ties an elaborate red skirt round his waist. He stands there waiting for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive and give him permission to place the circular *téré* on his head. The *téré* is kept flat on the head and held by one hand while the Paṇika dances and sings a song in praise of Bhadrakāḷi.

796 787 Three Poleyas, oracles of deities worshipped only by Poleyas, also wait for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive. The latter rushes into the Nandiyanḍa threshing-yard, stamps on the roaring fire with bare feet, and then touches the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*, signifying that the Paṇika may now place it on his head. He then rushes to the temple, where he starts dancing a very vigorous dance before the shrine of Bhadrakāḷi.

A change is noticeable in the Poleya oracles as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle rushes in. The deities of the Poleyas are regarded as subservient to, and dependent upon, Bhadrakāḷi, who is the deity of the higher castes. And the oracles, who are Poleyas of the deities of the Poleyas, are also regarded as inferior to, dependent upon, the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi, who is a Coorg. Thus the structural distance between Coorgs and Poleyas expresses itself in every sphere.

Two Poleya oracles run to and fro, with swords in their hands, while the third, the oracle of the deity Pūda, writhes on the ground and groans, while the Bhadrakāḷi oracle is stamping on the fire with bare feet. He stops groaning and writhing as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle leaves the threshing-yard.

The villagers place the *téré* on the Paṇika's head. The latter starts singing a song in Maylayāḷam in honour of Bhadrakāḷi. The entire body of villagers, headed by the Poleya oracles marching with their faces to the crowd, then run to the temple. The Poleyas stop outside the temple while the others go in. The votive sheep also may not go in, and they remain outside the temple. They are later sacrificed outside the temple.

The villagers go into the temple and walk round the shrine thrice. The village goat heads the procession inside the temple.

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Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the 796
shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, 787
and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on [785]
his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the 796
priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, 782
children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

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796 before decapitating the animals. As soon as a few drops of blood
782 drip from his finger, he sacrifices the 'village fowls'. Then he decapitates the 'village goat' before the shrine. The decapitation of the other animals takes place only after the decapitation of the 'village fowls' and 'village goat'. The Paṇika receives as his perquisite the heads of the 'village goat' and of all the fowls.

After all the animals have been cut, the assembled villagers turn their backs on the scene of carnage and remain silent for a few minutes. This is to enable the deity to consume the essence of the sacrificed animals in peace. They then turn round and sing the *ānanda pāṭ* (the song of joy), after which the villagers depart for their homes with the headless carcasses. The headless 'village goat' is tied to a high branch of the *dēva kaṇigalé* (oleander) tree near the temple. It remains suspended there till noon of the twelfth day, when it is taken down and cooked for the communal dinner. It is said that vultures and kites do not touch the carcass of the 'village goat', nor does the flesh go bad as it normally would in the heat of summer. This is attributed to the power of Bhadrakāḷi.

VI

796 On the eleventh morning a representative of the Karṇaṇḍra
[783] *okka* cleans the temple yard of bloodstains and he is paid three *paṇas* (about nine annas) for performing this duty. The Brahmin priest then ritually purifies the temple and temple yard by sprinkling consecrated water everywhere and uttering the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*.

Races are held on the eleventh afternoon for 'prostitutes' (*chūḷé*) and for 'horses' (*kuḍuré*). The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇaṇḍra, and Nandiyaṇḍa *okkas* are each required to send one 'prostitute' and one 'horse' for the races. 'Prostitutes' and 'horses' are regarded as votive offerings. For instance, when a boy is ill, his parents might
[782] make a vow to the effect that they will dress him up as a 'prostitute' at the coming festival.

Getting the 'prostitute' and 'horse' ready in time is not very easy, and clear, if elaborate, rules are laid down requiring certain *okkas* to help each of the three *okkas* charged with the responsibility of making the offerings. For instance, the Tātaṇḍra *okka* is required to help the Māḷeṭṭira *okka*, the Kuṭṭaṇḍra *okka* (now split into two) to help the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and the Māḷeṭṭira *okka* to help

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the Nandiyanḍa *okka* to get the 'prostitute' ready. Elaborate rules are again laid down as to which *okkas* should help each of the three *okkas* concerned to get the 'horse' ready. The punctilious regard for detail is characteristic of the festivals of village-deities. 796

The Moṇṇanḍra 'prostitute' and 'horse' are conducted by the Poleya oracles to the Moṇṇanḍra rice-fields, and after leaving them there, the Poleya oracles accompany the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to the Māḷeṭṭira house. Together they escort the Māḷeṭṭira 'prostitute' and 'horse' to the Moṇṇandra rice-fields. Finally, the entire body proceed to the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*, where they meet the latter's 'prostitute' and 'horse'. At first, the three 'horses' run a race and then the 'prostitutes' follow suit.

The villagers, oracles, 'horses', and 'prostitutes' then proceed to the temple, where they walk round the shrine thrice. The 'prostitutes' and 'horses' perform a dance and this is followed by the villagers dancing the 'torch dance'.

Tengé pōré or 'coconut scramble' takes place afterwards. The *nāḍ-* or temple-headman holds a coconut aloft in his right hand, and this is a signal for youths to gather round him. He then lowers his right hand and stretches it horizontally before him. This is a sign for the youths to try and snatch it from him. After snatching the coconut, the man in possession of it has to run a few yards to a stone where he should break it, but before he does this, anyone may pounce on him and snatch the coconut from him. He who breaks it on the stone is the winner. He is given a prize. [526]

The Brahmin priest then worships the goddess, using Sanskrit *mantras*, and this brings the proceedings to an end on the eleventh day.

On the twelfth morning there is an elaborate purification rite which the priest performs before the assembled villagers. The accounts of the money-offerings made on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh days are checked. Out of this sum fees are paid to the priest, oracles, cooks, Mārāya drummers, Paṇika, and Mēda, and Poleya musicians. The Bhadrakāḷi oracle then decides how much money should be spent on the evening's dinner.

The 'village goat' is brought down from the tree, cut up, and cooked into curry along with the 'village fowls'. There is a huge dinner at which all the villagers take part. Toddy is also served at this dinner, as at other village dinners.

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VII

791 The Bhadrakāḷi oracle plays a most important and, to the out-
796 sider, rather puzzling role in the festival. He directs the festival at every stage and these directions are given while he is believed to be possessed by the deity whose oracle he is.

It should be remembered here that the tasks which each *okka* has to perform in the festival and the contributions it is required to make are all determined by custom. The oracle rarely sets aside or countermands these tasks and contributions, and he does so only when there are good reasons: for instance, if the sole adult male representative of one of the concerned *okkas* is seriously ill during the festival the oracle will ask another *okka* to take over the duties of the sick man.

Sometimes the oracle is given the discretionary power to act with some latitude. For instance, he is required to allot some of the votive animals brought by the upper-caste devotees to the deities of the Poleyas. In 1941, when I witnessed the festival, he did not allot any goat to the Poleya deities as only three goats had been brought as offerings. The Poleya deities had to rest content with a few sheep and fowls.

The oracle also decides which day of the festival should be the fast-day or *paṭṇi*. He usually chooses the eighth day, but if it is unsuitable for some reason or other, he chooses an earlier or later day.

[787] The point to note is that all these instructions are issued while the oracle is believed to be possessed by the deity. The oracle's words are regarded as the deity's words. Coorgs commonly talk about 'the deity said this', and 'the deity did that', and it is only after a while that the outsider understands that they are referring to the oracle's acts and words. The oracle no doubt issues instructions while possessed, but these instructions only restate, confirm, and support what has already been decided by custom. The oracle exercises his discretionary power only in certain known and definite contexts..

The villagers know every step of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle beforehand. They tell you that 'he will be running in a minute', or that 'he will be gashing his head', and so on. It is like a play which they have seen before and you have not.

Shri Tātaṇḍra Kāryappa is the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi and unlike

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other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him 791
greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, 796
who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from [789]
possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of [437]
some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is 621
in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

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are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village, and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed. This was easier in the past because the hierarchy was tacitly accepted by the people, and low castes like Mēdas and Poleyas did not object to participating with the other castes in the village at a lower level, or even being completely excluded on certain ritual occasions. Again the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nāḍs* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste.

At the *tappaḍaka* ritual, the members of the village or *nāḍ* celebrating the festival of the local village-deity undertake to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions while the festival lasts. The villagers may not kill an animal or break an egg or coconut for the table; and toddy may not be tapped within the village. Villagers who want to consume these articles have to import them from outside. The festival-priests, who are more important than ordinary villagers, may not consume even imported meat and toddy. They have to observe strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. They are also required to observe strict continence and avoid touching laymen.

In the Kētrappa festival, women in their periods are required to leave the village and return to it only after the festival is over. Such a woman is in a condition of pollution; and her presence in the village is regarded as inconsistent with the ritual status of the village. People in a condition of birth- or death-pollution are also not allowed to participate in the festival.

No marriage may be performed during the festival. If a person dies in the village he has to be buried quietly, without the customary firing of guns and band.

These restrictions serve to show that the village (or *nāḍ*) is the concerned entity in the festival. The restrictions increase as concern increases—the festival-priests have to observe more restrictions than the laymen. The village (or *nāḍ*) observing the festival is marked off from other villages by these restrictions. Every villager knows that failure by any one of them to observe the restrictions might result in some misfortune to the entire village. The unity of the village is projected to the 'mystical' plane and is supported by ritual sanctions.

A brief account of a part of the ritual of enumeration of restric-

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tions at the harvest festival is necessary here. The headman of the most important temple in the village begans by asking whether everyone (every adult male, that is to say) is present.

The village-headman replies,[1] 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Village-headman: 'Has the *okka* which has committed the wrong, the one who stays outside (Poleyas), the one who heats and beats (Airis or smiths), the one who lifts and beats (Maḍivāḷas or washermen), without a single absentee, is everyone assembled here?'

Temple-headman: 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Temple-headman: 'He who knew how to sing, but refused to sing or dance at the festival, or when the villagers went singing and dancing to his house, he did not open the closed door, or he did not remove the bell-metal dining-dish leaned against the wall, or he did not light the sacred wall-lamp, or he did not mix with another, or he abused another villager during the festival, or he beat another villager all over the body, such a man shall pay a fine of forty-eight *paṇas* for violating the injunctions of god.' Saying this the temple-headman extends his palm towards the village-headman who strikes it as witness to the statement.

The above rite makes it clear that the members of every caste in the village, including the Poleyas, attended the meeting of the village-assembly, and that everyone in the village had to observe certain rules and restrictions during the festival. The villagers had to keep their houses clean, with the doors open to receive a party of singers and dancers, with the sacred wall-lamp lit, they had to join in the singing and dancing, and finally they had to refrain from quarrelling, whatever the provocation. Failure to observe these rules was punished with a heavy fine.

At the festival of a village-deity *tappaḍaka* ritual is performed in the beginning and the restrictions enumerated to the members of the village (or *nāḍ*), whereas in the harvest festival *tappaḍaka* is an occasion for meting out punishment to those guilty of

[1] I have given above a translation of the formulas as they occur in *Paṭṭōlé Poḷumé*, pp. 239–40.

In Kaḍiyetnāḍ the temple-headman, or a temple official, opens the proceedings, whereas near Mercara the village-headman does it. The person who has to reply again varies from region to region: it may be the village- or temple-headman, or some elder.

The date of the ritual of the enumeration of restrictions also varies from region to region.

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796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[521] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

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nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with 634
other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had 628
been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts 634
of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in 628
the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) 536
was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. 634
Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira 628
Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the 539
Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* 634
suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple 787
was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

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634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

782 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *stmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

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their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

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142
291

AN ELDER

142
292

A WIDOW

[Facing p. 208]

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Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names: Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayyappa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha kett pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

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779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

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769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
584 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēṇgūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
584 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēṇgūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

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the pot at the top. His followers woke up before he had climbed down and demanded an explanation from him. Kētrappa (i.e. Ayyaṇṇa) replied that until then he was only receiving sandalwood paste and flowers,[1] but from then on he would receive instead 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'.

Deities have a tendency to adopt the customs of their devotees. It is natural then for the deity from Malabar to switch over to the Coorg's diet on reaching Bēngūr. But this diet is not the diet of the Brahmins. Coorgs explain the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they 'lost their caste': a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude, an attitude which presumably prevails towards their own diet. They like non-vegetarian food and liquor, but at the same time consider vegetarianism as more ethical.

[1] Brahmin priests in Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara use sandalwood paste and flowers, among other things, for the worship of deities.

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[p. 212]

VII

HINDUISM

I

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ATTEMPTS to define an enormously complex and amorphous phenomenon like Hinduism have usually ended in failure. No definition will be attempted here, but instead some important characteristics will be mentioned.

Hinduism has a long history, in the course of which it has spread over the whole of India. Buddhism, in origin a Hindu schism, is now the religion of a great part of Asia.

The structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system which occasionally even survives conversion to Christianity or Islam. The hierarchical system, with the Brahmin and Untouchable at either end, represents a fusion of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic systems of ritual and beliefs. Each caste has both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic ritual and beliefs, but the proportions in which the two are found together vary from caste to caste, and also from region to region. It is now possible to understand how Hinduism is able to include within itself the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and cults of ancestors and village-deities, as well as the profound philosophy of the Upanishads and Vēdānta, and the mysticism of the Bhakti Schools. Reformist sects like the Jains and Lingāyaṭs ended by becoming castes which resulted in walls being built round them, while, at the same time, they remained within the fold of Hinduism. The caste system has enabled a vast number of tiny groups with distinct cultures, occupations, and systems of belief to live side by side, the autonomy of each being respected while at the same time co-operation was ensured between them. But in the history of India the idea of hierarchy has occasionally been questioned, and unsuccessful attempts have been made to overthrow the caste system. More frequent, however, has been the effort of lowly placed groups to raise their status as a group by Sanskritizing their ritual and belief.

Rites and beliefs have been constantly undergoing a process of Sanskritization. This is going on both inside and outside Hinduism. The rites and beliefs of the castes occupying the lower rungs

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of the caste-ladder as well as the rites and beliefs of outlying communities hidden away in the forest-clothed mountains of India have been subjected to Sanskritization. The presence of completely Sanskritized worship of rivers, trees, and mountains in Hinduism, and their incorporation in the vast mythology of Hinduism, make easier the assimilation of the ritual and beliefs of the lower castes and of communities remaining outside Hinduism.

Hinduism is not static. Like every living religion it has continually reacted to the political and social forces of the time, both influencing them and being influenced by them. In the last hundred years it has produced reformist movements like the Brahmo Samāj, Ayra Samāj, and the Rāmakrishṇa Mission. Mahātma Gāndhi himself in his fight against Untouchability and in the many other reforms he advocated provides us with an instance of the dynamic nature of Hinduism.

While the intellectual has all along concentrated on the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gīta, and the Philosophical Systems, to the ordinary Hindu the innumerable feasts, fasts, *vratas* (rites and austerities performed to achieve certain ends), pilgrimages, and occasional visits to nearby temples constitute the stuff of religious life. The *purāṇas* (stories illustrating the works and powers of the gods), *itihāsas* (consisting of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata), and stories about local saints and the songs sung by them, all have a conspicuous place in day-to-day living.

II

The concept of 'spread' has been used throughout this book: Hinduism has been split up, for purposes of analysis, into 'All-India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and finally purely 'Local Hinduism'. All-India Hinduism is Hinduism with an All-India spread, and this is chiefly Sanskritic in character. Peninsular Hinduism spreads over the entire peninsular part of India, while Regional Hinduism has a more restricted spread. A 'Region' has to be defined in every case, and in this book Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg Proper may be said to constitute a Region. Local Hinduism is Hinduism with its spread confined to Coorg Proper, or even a smaller area within it. In a very broad sense it is true that as the area of spread decreases, the number of ritual and cultural forms shared in common

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779 increases. Conversely, as the area increases, the common forms decrease.

'Spread' might vary for different castes in the same village or town: Brahmins everywhere have much Sanskritic ritual in common, and this we call 'horizontal spread'. A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking, and the Brahmins in any linguistic area share some cultural and ritual forms with all the castes, including the lowest, in that area. This type of spread, common to all the castes in an area, has been termed 'vertical spread'.

It is essential to distinguish here between the possession of common ritual and cultural forms, and of common deities and other objects of worship. The latter is more directly productive of solidarity than the former. The possession of common cultural and ritual forms is also a factor making for solidarity, but not as directly as the possession of common deities. It is possible to imagine situations in which the strength of the latter bond might result in a denial of the former. Members of two different religions living in the same area sharing the same language and other cultural and ritual forms might be involved in a mutually destructive conflict.

779 All-India Hinduism, as mentioned earlier, is chiefly Sanskritic
177 and it spreads in two ways: by the extension of Sanskritic deities and ritual forms to an outlying group, as well as by the greater Sanskritization of the ritual and beliefs of groups inside Hinduism. Both these processes are at work, and the first results in Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India, while the second results in local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. The Vēdic deity Kshētrapāla becomes Kētrappa in Coorg, while the local cobra-deity becomes identified with Subramaṇya, the warrior-son of Shiva.

All-India Hinduism possesses certain features which make easy the absorption of local elements. The worship of the river Ganges which is one of the features of Sanskritic Hinduism makes easy the absorption of river-worship in every part of India, including the worship of the River Kāvēri which rises in, and flows through, Coorg. The Kāvēri is sacred to Hindus all along its course from the source to the estuary. Temples are built along its course, and especially where other rivers join it, and on islands formed by the river. Bathing in rivers is productive of spiritual merit (*puṇya*) and

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water
171 is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

773 On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamaṇḍla there is an
778 immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

778 While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is
788 mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially
171 Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

776 Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are
171 sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

171 Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

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of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

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779 ties. The identification of Subramaṇya with cobras in Coorg, and
171 in the Tuḷu, Telugu, and Kannaḍa countries is a case in point. Subramaṇya or Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva, is a Sanskritic deity having an All-India spread. Cobras are reverenced throughout India by Hindus and their worship takes different forms in different parts of the country. But the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya is confined to certain areas in peninsular India, and such an identification marks them off from other areas. At the same time such an identification draws the Regional phenomenon into the All-India complex.

A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking. All the castes in such an area possess in common certain cultural and ritual forms. This type of 'spread' has been called 'vertical spread'.

The upper castes in every part of India have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common, and this has been called 'horizontal spread'. Thus a Brahmin in Coorg will have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common with a Brahmin in Kashmir.

Every caste in practically every linguistic area in India shares in both horizontal and vertical spreads. Generally speaking, the higher castes have more of the former than the lower, and the lower castes share more of the latter than the upper castes.

The systematic reconstruction of Indian history which has taken place in the last seventy years, the all-round improvement in communications, newspapers, radio, films, and books have all contributed to greater and greater Sanskritization of Hinduism. The various reformist movements in Hinduism, while conducting a propaganda for the removal of what they considered to be 'defects' in Hinduism, tended to stress the value of Sanskritic Hinduism. The greatness of Sanskrit literature and the vitality of Indian philosophical thought in Sanskrit have also contributed to the increasing importance of Sanskritic Hinduism.

III

564 The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste. The exact position which such a group occupies in the hierarchy might be a matter of dispute, but this is not important. Once the popular idea of caste as a rigid, five-fold hierarchy is given up and it is thought of as

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consisting of innumerable groups, each of which has a certain amount of cultural and ritual autonomy, then it is realized that any attempt to fit them into a hierarchy results in disputes as to relative status. When it is further remembered that the caste system includes sects which began originally by rejecting the idea of hierarchy, but which subsequently became castes, it is seen that disputes as to relative status are inevitable.

In south India disputes as to relative status are a feature specially of castes of the middle region. The Brahmins and Untouchables are known to belong to either extreme, though even here the presence of some subdivisions of Brahmins who are said to be inferior to practically every other caste complicates matters. The group claiming to be Kshatriya might be a local peasant or artisan caste which has acquired political power. Sometimes it might even be an outlying group or tribe. This gives rise to disputes. There are always people who point out that a particular ruling family which has been governing a certain part of India for several centuries are not Kshatriyas but belong to a low caste. Similarly the claims of local trading castes to be called Vaishyas are frequently questioned by others.

The fivefold system does not do justice to the complexity of the caste system as it exists, but it makes intelligible the castes of various parts of India by reference to an All-India framework.

Coorgs are a handsome, well-to-do, and powerful people with a martial tradition behind them, and it is quite natural for them to claim to be Kshatriyas. It may be recalled here that members of rich and influential Coorg *okkas* occasionally married relatives of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas. The Lingāyaṭs of the Kannaḍa country occupy a high position in the caste hierarchy, and they are also very strict vegetarians and teetotallers. The fact that relatives of the Rajās married Coorgs over 130 years ago is testimony to the high position of Coorgs in the caste hierarchy and to their physical and mental qualities.

The Kāvēri Myth makes out Coorgs to be Ugras, the offspring of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. Certain sins committed by the prince in a previous existence prevented him from having children by a wife of his own caste, and he had to take a Shūdra wife for children to continue his line.

Why does the Kāvēri Myth make out Coorgs to be Ugras and not Kshatriyas? It is probably due to the fact that the Brahminical

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584 authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary,
773 plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

584 Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas.
186 In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivīni*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

773 Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas*
773 which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are
177 also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

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the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism. 773 779 177

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva. 773 177

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality. 773 778 177

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his 773 784 177

[1] [CF. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tānḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tānḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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clear what is meant. The deity Kētrappa of Bēngūr is identified 776
by knowledgeable Coorgs and others with the Vēdic deity Kshētra- 177
pāla (protector of the field). Whether there are any justifiable grounds for identifying Kētrappa and Kshētrapāla is a minor matter. What is of importance is that the two deities are so identified. Such an identification of a local deity with an All-India, Sanskritic deity, is very common.

In the Vēdas, Kshētrapāla is a deity presiding over every field, and he is invoked to grant cattle and horses, and to fill heaven and earth and plants and waters with sweetness. People pray to him for prosperity and wish to have him as a neighbour. An ox is sacrificed to him.[1]

In the course of 2,500 years Kshētrapāla has travelled to every part of India, and he has different attributes in different parts of the country. In Bengal he even changes his sex: he becomes Kshētrādēvi, or the 'goddess presiding over fields', and is regarded as a manifestation of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu. As the goddess presiding over fields she ensures a good harvest.[2]

It is not necessary to give here an account of the transformations undergone by Kshētrapāla in the various parts of India. It is sufficient to note that in Coorg he loses all touch with the land. He is referred to as Kētrappa; '*appa*', which means 'father', being a common suffix to the names of gods all over south India, just as '*amma*' or 'mother' is a common suffix for goddesses. In Coorg, Kētrappa takes to a diet of 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'. People explain this by saying that he 'lost his caste' while travelling from Malabar to Coorg. The Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa temple does not act as a priest to a deity who has 'lost his caste'.

Ayyappa is a Sanskritic deity who is very popular with Coorgs and it is clear that his character has changed in the process of becoming acceptable to his worshippers. In Sanskritic mythology he is Shasta, the son of Shiva and Mōhini (feminine form temporarily assumed by Vishṇu). Shasta is also referred to as Hariharaputra, or the son of Shiva and Vishṇu, and he is a very popular deity all along the Malabar coast.

[1] Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 211; *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonnell, p. 138; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 227. The absolute prohibition on the killing of a cow or ox is a post-Vēdic development.

[2] C. Chakravarti, 'The Saivite Deity Ksetrapala', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. ix, 1933, p. 237.

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176 In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he
177 inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

[224] Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa
[551] is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

177 The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours every-
779 where Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars,
793 from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

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with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare. 177 779

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status. 793

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Armēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year). 779 795 177

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive 793 177

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793 offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-
177 Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

779 The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-
177 growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains,
564 and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots
776 everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly
779 and in a thoroughgoing manner.
177 The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

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The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main 779 body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat 177 and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering 182 balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty [792] years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

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VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

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The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astrologer, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

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243 This latter rite is the crucial point of the festival which lasts nine
788 to ten days, the seven days previous to the sheaf-cutting being spent in singing, dancing, and playing games. On the day following the cutting of sheaves there is a domestic feast, a dance, and sports for all the villagers. This is followed by a dance for the entire *nāḍ*, and a collective hunt and dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*).

243 The rite of cutting the sheaves takes place on the full-moon day
787 in the month of Scorpio under either of the constellations, *krittiké* or *rōhiṇi*. Formerly the hereditary astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi in Nālknāḍ used to decide the day and time for the ritual cutting of sheaves for the whole of Coorg Proper excluding Kiggaṭnāḍ. The local astrologer then decided for each high caste *okka* in his village the member who was most suitable for performing the rite of cutting the sheaves. The member selected for this honour had to wear the white gown.

243 On the festival day, very early in the morning, various leaves and
788 creepers are gathered for the rite of *néré kaṭṭuvudu*. The trees and creepers most common locally are chosen for this purpose, and they frequently vary from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*. They seem to symbolize the principle of fertility in vegetable nature. A wish for growth is also indicated in another rite, and such a wish is commonly indicated in harvest festivals in south India.

A part of the kitchen floor is cleaned with a solution of cow dung and a new mat is spread on it. A tripod-stool is made to stand on the mat, and a dish-lamp is placed on the stool. A harvest-basket containing the leaves, and short lengths of creepers, is kept near the dish-lamp. Later, at an auspicious time, a leaf of each variety is taken, arranged one upon the other, a short length of *inyoḷi* creeper crowning the pile of leaves. The leaves are then rolled round the creeper and the roll is secured with a length of *achchi* fibre. A number of such rolls are made.

A harvest-basket is filled with paddy and this is placed on the mat near the dish-lamp. Two measures and a small pot, filled with paddy, rice, and rice-flour respectively, are arranged one upon the other on the paddy in the basket. The new bamboo vessel (*kutti*) which the Mēda brought in the morning is stood near the basket on the mat. A little milk, honey, and *ghī* are poured into the vessel. Bits of coconut, fresh ginger, and green rattan cane, and a small quantity of gingelly grains are also put into it. Finally, the new sickle which the blacksmith brought is left in it.

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The members of the *okka* then eat a dish of cooked harvest yam (*putri geṇasu*, which ripens at the time of the harvest festival) mixed with honey and *ghī*.

At the auspicious time fixed by the astrologer, the sheaf-cutter leaves the house carrying the bamboo vessel in his hand. Before him goes a girl carrying a dish-lamp. A band marches farther ahead.

As soon as he reaches the rice-field, the sheaf-cutter salutes the sacred eastern direction and the field. He ties a leaf-roll to the bottom of a rice plant and pours a little of the contents of the bamboo vessel on it. Everyone shouts '*poli, poli, dēva*' (increase, increase, O god), and a shot is fired from a gun. The sheaf-cutter cuts a number of plants, taking care to see that each time he cuts an odd number.

After the party reaches home, the sheaf-cutter's feet are washed, and he is given milk to drink. He deposits the bamboo vessel in the kitchen.

He then prepares *yēḷakki puṭṭ* (seven rice-pudding), kneading together a quantity of rice-flour, a few plantains, some milk and honey, and seven of each of the following: new rice grains from the sheaves, gingelly grains, tiny stones, and bits of coconut, ginger, and green rattan cane. Small balls are made of this mixture and offered to the lamps in the south-western room and ancestor-shrine. Later everyone eats a little of the mixture.

Leaf-rolls (*néré*) and sheaves are tied to every part of the house. The sweet, liquid dish, *pāyasa*, is prepared and into this are put seven new rice grains.

The rites performed at the harvest festival stress, directly or indirectly, the great value of rice to Coorgs. The astrologer decides not only when the sheaves should be cut but who should be chosen for this important task. New articles are used for this ritual. Elaborate taboos surround the person of the sheaf-cutter, and solidarity rites, in which valuable articles like milk and honey are used, are performed towards the sheaves before cutting them.

Some of the rites performed, like tying plants and creepers locally prolific to every part of the house, and uttering a prayer for increase before cutting the sheaves, express a desire for plenty. The ritual eating of the new rice, and the eating of the yams and vegetables which ripen at this time, are another aspect of the harvest rites.

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243 788 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhagaṇḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 186 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignorance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by [773] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

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maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg.

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Caṇara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar.

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'.

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed

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the mountains separating Coorg from Malabar by following the Pāḍitora Pass. The pass brought them to a mountain to the south-west of Nālknāḍ, and standing on top of the mountain they saw the whole of Coorg stretching before them. One of the four suggested that they should all shoot arrows from the mountain-top and find out which of them shot farthest. The arrows shot by the brothers fell in Ammangēri village while the sister's arrow fell in Pannangāla. The sister had beaten the brothers decisively.

The sister then asked the brothers, 'Will you eat without salt if I cook food without fire?' Calculating that it was impossible to cook food without fire, the brothers readily agreed to the sister's suggestion. The sister put some rice into a bamboo vessel containing milk and buried the vessel in sand which was very hot from the midday sun. By the time the brothers and sister had bathed and changed into ritually pure robes, the rice had been cooked in the boiling milk.

The sister served the insipid rice to the brothers who sat before the disagreeable food looking up and down. The brothers then took the rice in their hands and threw it up into the air saying, 'O younger sister, this is how hailstones fall during the monsoon.' The sister hit the brothers on their jaws with her ladle saying, 'O elder brothers, this is how lightning crashes in the monsoon.' The infuriated brothers got up from their meal at once, and washed their hands and mouths.

The brothers, beaten in the two contests with their sister, seem to have decided to take revenge by underhand means. I deliberately say 'seem to have', as in the version of the folksong I have secured there is no reference to any premeditated plan on their part. But their subsequent actions make such an inference necessary. There was another contest between the brothers and sister after the unsuccessful meal at the end of which the sister was tricked into putting back into her mouth betel stuff which she had taken out to show everyone. (For details see p. 104.) The brothers then told the sister that she had lost her caste because she had put back into her mouth something she had spat out. The sister was beside herself with grief: she beat her head, rolled on the floor, and wept bitterly. The eldest of the brothers then told her, 'Listen, younger sister, we did not deceive you, you are yourself responsible for your present plight. We are unable to help you. I advise you to settle down in Pannangāla village and become the deity of Poleyas, who will have

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartanḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
564 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
589 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
[301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

589 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

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181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

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Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

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181 trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon
539 was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help
821 the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

181 The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent pheno-
701 menon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a
785 life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

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APPENDIX

THE KĀVĒRI MYTH

I

THE myth woven round the River Kāvēri forms part of the Skānda Purāṇa.[1] In 1864 the Kāvēri Myth, called *Kāvēri Māhātmya* or 'the greatness of Kāvēri', was translated into Kannaḍa from the original Sanskrit by one Śrīnivāsa Iyengār at the instance of an influential Coorg official, Nanjappa, of the Biddanḍa *okka*. The Myth has also been translated into Koḍagi, presumably from the Kannaḍa translation of the Sanskrit original. 538

The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* as it is found in the *Skānda Purāṇa* is an extremely complicated story, containing many stories within it after the manner of *purāṇic* tales. It is inconsistent in many places, but then a *purāṇa* is intended for the faithful laity who have no disbelief to suspend. Richter, exasperated by the inconsistencies of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya*, has written, 538 177

> 'the extraordinary anachronism of Pārvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlēchchas or Turks [Muslim invaders of India], who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a *purāṇa*; for the *purāṇa* belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis (or the sages) who were long extinct when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honours and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and admonitions of the Kāvēri book, and though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanskrit and Old Kannaḍa expressions, that few do understand it.'[2]

[1] ' "The *Skānda Purāṇa* is that in which the six-faced deity (Skanda) has related the events of the Tatpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales. . . . It is said to contain 81,800 stanzas . . . ." "It is uniformly agreed," says Wilson, "that the *Skānda Purāṇa*, in a collective form, has no existence; and the fragments, in the shape of Sanhitas, Khanḍas, and Māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the *Purāṇa*, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number of which it is said to consist." ' J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, pp. 300–1.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 216–17.

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538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Ūrvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

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left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel 539
rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamaṇḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmaṇḍla, and to these 538
two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, 177
Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

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538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād).'[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Shānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudrē, a manifestation of Pārvati.

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In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes. 539

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Kṛōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for. [796]

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land. 538 177

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

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538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into
778 the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their
[551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an
773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

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GLOSSARY

104 **Aimara.** One of several sacred benches in the outer veranda or central hall of a Coorg house.

Kāraṇavaṇḍa aimara. Literally it means 'ancestors' bench'. One of the benches in the outer veranda, or a portion of it, so called. It is regarded as more sacred than other benches in the veranda.

Aruva. Family friend. Traditional relationship of friendship, frequently mutual, between two *okkas*.

Bainé palm. *Caryota urens*. Palm from the spathe of which toddy is drawn by a Kudiya, or low-caste man, for the consumption of himself and others, including Coorgs.

Bhāraṇi. Offering of cooked meat, liquor, puffed rice, &c., to village-deity or ancestor-spirit.

Bhaṭṭi. Measure equal to eighty seers. A rice-field was taxed according to the number of *bhaṭṭis* it yielded annually.

Bira. Spirit of a man dying a violent death.

Nellakki boḷuk. Lamp burning in a niche in the western wall of the sacred central hall. Translated as 'wall-lamp' in the book.

Taiḷyakki boḷuk. Lamp kept on a sheet of rice spread in a bell-metal dining-dish (*taḷi*).

Dīkshé uttuva. Ritual, usually performed a few weeks after the death of a person, which completely frees the first-grade mourners from mourning.

Jaggery. Crude brown sugar made from the juice of sugar-cane, or the saps of various palms, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes.

Jagir. An assignment of the king's or government's share of the produce of a village or several villages to an individual for services rendered.

Jamma. Concession tenure under which Coorgs and certain others held land. A *jamma* landholder was formerly liable to be called up for military and other service by the state whenever necessary.

Jangama. Lingāyaṭ priest who wears ochre robes. Occasionally, a mendicant.

Jāti. Subcaste. One of the innumerable, tiny, endogamous, and occupational groups which constitute the effective units of the caste system. A *jāti* has only a regional application while *varṇa* has an All-India application.

Kaimaḍa. Ancestor-shrine near the ancestral house of a Coorg.

Kāraṇava. The apotheosized spirit of the dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka*.

Kāraṇava kola or **Kāraṇava téré.** The elaborate propitiation of the ancestors of a Coorg *okka*. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-propitiation'.

Kāraṇava taré. Raised platform round the trunk of a milk-yielding tree, in which stones representing ancestors are embedded. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-platform'.

Kāvukāra. One of several high-caste *okkas* having well-defined rights and duties at the festival of the local village-deity. Translated as 'festival-priest' in the book.

Kēkangaḷa. Portion of the ancestral estate where the dead members of the *okka* are buried. When it is decided to cremate a dead person, an adjoining portion of the estate, called *tūṭangaḷa*, is used.

Kinḍi. Bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side.

Kuḍupi. Hostility between two *okkas*. *Maradalé* is hostility between two villages or *nāḍs*.

Kupya. A gown, like a dressing-gown, worn by Coorgs on ritual occasions.

Lingāyaṭ. Non-Brahmin sectarian

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caste devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati in their various manifestations.

Māda. Ritual performed on twelfth or sixteenth day of death which frees all except first-grade mourners from ritual mourning.

Maḍi. Ritual purity.

Mailigé. Normal ritual status which is really a mild form of impurity.

Mandu. Cleared, open space in village or *nāḍ* for dancing, or holding meetings, &c.

Mangala. Auspicious ceremony performed on certain occasions in the life of an individual.

Mantra. Hymn, sacred text, mystical verse, incantation or spell.

Mūrta. The most important part of the ritual of *mangala*.

Nāḍ. Territorial unit consisting of several villages.

Okka. Patrilineal, and patrilocal joint family, the basic kin-group among Coorgs. It is also a co-residential, commensal and property-owning group.

Paṇa. Unit of money equal to two annas and eight pies. There are six *paṇas* in a rupee.

Pandal. Decorated shed or booth erected in front of the house at marriage or other occasion.

Makka parijé. Custom by which a man raises up seed for his wife's natal *okka*, in addition to his own.

Okka parijé. Custom by which a man lives with his wife and raises up seed exclusively for her natal *okka*.

Paṭṇi. Day of fast during the festival of a village-deity.

Piṇḍa. Balls of rice or rice-flour, mixed with gingelly grains and other things offered to the spirit of a dead person or ancestor.

Polé. Ritual impurity of any sort.

Kuruḍu polé or **Tinga polé.** Pollution caused by menses.

Petta polé or **Puruḍu.** Pollution caused by birth. 104

Tinḍu polé. Pollution caused by a low-caste man coming too near.

Poleya. Untouchable caste.

Kail poḷud. Festival of arms.

Putri poḷud. Harvest-festival.

Pūja. Worship.

Ganga pūja. Worship of the sacred river Ganges. Water in any river, pond, or well is identified with the Ganges on certain ritual occasions.

Purāṇa. One of eighteen mythological works treating chiefly of cosmogony and divine genealogy.

Sammanda. Ritual conferring or withdrawing membership of an *okka*.

Seer. A grain measure of capacity or weight, varying in different parts of India. In the Kannaḍa country it is equal to the weight of twenty-four rupees or 0·6067 lb.

Takka. Headman.

Tappaḍaka. Ritual enumeration of the restrictions to be observed during a village-deity's festival.

Téré. Elaborate equipment, made principally of split bamboo, and coloured cloth of pith, worn by low-caste oracle at an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, and at the festival of a village-deity.

Tiké. Extreme form of pollution from which mourners and the house in which they live suffer until the celebration of *Māda* ceremony.

Tiruvaḷkāra (m.), **Tiruvaḷkārchi** (f.). Oracle.

Ugra. A mixed caste, result of the marriage of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

Varṇa. Traditional scheme of classification of castes. According to this scheme there are four castes, three of which are 'twice-born', and the Untouchables are outside the pale of the caste system.

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[For information on the cult practices of the patrilineal extended family, or okka, see category 116, pp. 123-175.]

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[This entire source deals in a general way with the functional interrelationship between religion and social structure.]

/Specific information on the duties of the Rajahs as heads of the Coorg state will be found in category 643./

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

LETTERS

Vol. IV, 1938, No. 1

[title page]

CALCUTTA
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS
PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1, PARK STREET

Issued July, 1939

10 UNITS

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in macvn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

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It is the sib, moreover, that

614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:daga near Mercara at the padra:inamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:ru, a dance called kodia:ṭu, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a kodi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the kodi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name:
[243] putēri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

614 585 [551] 614 587 [768]

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organised society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit. [114]

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 2

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 2 [see p. 129]

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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

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601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage.
171 Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship
582 terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's stepmother is called cikavvē, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyē, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa-
[115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in
[614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are
[613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter-
[115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144–145 -- Analyst]

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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñandukku mande ille, kodavēkku ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

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The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

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614 764 178 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiē), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

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wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyē] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikatī) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvē and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:|ia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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585 [1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

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585 614 537 ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood!'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina kɯ:tianḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ tandu: bendu: paranditɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yitɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭitɯ inde:këtɯ dinatwlɯ maṇgɯla kuricitɯ indɯ maṇgɯl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ sammanda koḍɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tianḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi kɯ:tianḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumano na:lɯ kë:ṭ(ɯ) aramano ni:rɯ balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ṇe upëḷa ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tianḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib!'

[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patɯ kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynumane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

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Speaker of bride's party: okuvë kaḷa kaḷatɯlɯ boːṭi citaːril(ɯ) aki kommel(ɯ) upɯ tuyyatɯ maḷu karavatɯ puḷi kalatɯlɯ paːra bindigel(ɯ) ënne baraṇilɯ ney allate kaḍacekallɯ ammikallɯ biːjuvë kallɯ meypë|(a) oḷake cavṭuvë raːṭe bakatɯ guḍḍa kaːcuvë gañji koːtuvë cembɯ katuvë puḷḷi kuḷipëḷa paːre atakoṭɯ kaḍɯcikoṭɯ meypë koṭɯ puḷḷikoṭɯ kuːḍa sammanda koḍɯtiraː.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

Speakrr of bride's party: eːlatoːṭa kaːpitoːṭa puḷitoːṭa haːḷetoːṭa toŋgɯtoːṭa iñjitoːṭa mañjatoːṭa pañjetoːṭa kuːḍa sammanda koḍɯtiraː.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the cocoanut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nëːti ketuvë matɯ biːḍi ketuvë kati maŋgaḷapë guddali cuki poːnë coːmë madici poːnë poːri patɯkuḍi aːḷɯ paytakëtɯ patɯ karapa paymbaṭi nellɯ nell(ɯ) aḷapë paːni koci aḷapë seːrɯ aki aḷapë maːna neːleɯ toːkɯ muːleɯ baːḷɯ aːṇilɯ kati taːkɯnë taḷia tuːkɯnë boḷica cuːdɯk(ɯ) irɯmbɯ cuṇḍekɯ modalɯ ondɯtoṭɯ nuːroːḷa sammanda koḍɯtadallate kɯːtiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭɯl(ɯ) ajjë toṭɯlɯ kuññi olekët(ɯ) ajji saːlaḍaŋga baːlaḍaŋga sammanda koḍɯtiraː.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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535 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa manekɯ ba:ḷɯ ba:ke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rɯ nëḷatɯlɯ iññi mañja naṭitɯ ko:ḷi pandi ca:kitɯ ɯ:ḷemba:ḷe ma:ritɯ në:ḍɯnë paṇatɯna cepɯl(ɯ) ɯṭɯ beca:na na:ḷe piniandɯ niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ëḍɯtit (ɯ) allasalla: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇɯce:ṇgi iḍɯṇgm javabda:rën a:nantë aṇgënaruvë da:rɯ.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvë who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

The aruvë of the groom's sib: na:nɯ.
'I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeda ennɯ.
'What is your sib-name ?'

Aruvë: tamba:ṇda.

Speaker of bride's party: a:ḷɯpeda ennɯ.
'What is your personal name ?'

Aruvë: mutaṇṇë.

Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvëna: ponnaruvëna:.
'Are you the aruvë of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvë ?'

Aruvë: maṇṇaruvënu: aku ponnaruvënu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavë^{n}na: a:ḷɯperiavë^{n}na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rë or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

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Aruvē: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnu. ē:ra unḍe:ṅgi taralu. kammi unḍe:ṅgi kē:ṭavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: uḷḷē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnu illi haku sta:paneku becaṇḍi:tu.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kaṇeku i: taṅgammē: nd(u) ēṇṇuvē kanni niṅgaḍa taṅge maka. indutoṭu me:vara ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapē: nd(u) ēṇṇuvē baymbēṇḍa pommaka maka. annane ba:ḷike bandē poṇṇu mane ca:yille: ndu: añci uṭitille: ndu: paṭi ja:ruva: ndu: koṭu to:ruva: ndu: o:ṇilu kete: ndu: ca:ṇaku kayya: ndu: ni:ruku du:ra: ndu: ma:vē"ṇḍa ba:yiguṇa po:ra: ndu: ma:vi"ra kayguṇa po:ra:ndu: oḍeyēṇḍa mayguṇa po:ra: ndu: maciṇicira managuṇa po:ra: ndu: ku:ḷu kuycatu: ndu: kari kaycatu: ndu: na:yi kaḍicatu: ndu: pu:ñe ma:nduci: ndu: ētu kutuci: ndu: payyu cavṭuci: ndu: kokaci ketuci: ndu: ba:kemane buṭitu ta:manek(u) o:ḍi oḷici po:yitu aḷatitu ba:manena paḷandaṇḍu ta:manena tudicaṇḍu aḷataka ña:ya" paranditu tiddi ni:kitu baṭeku tu:ḍu: ku:ṭuk(u) a:ḷu: koḍutitu ayci tapantē aṅgēnaruvē da:ru.

'Until today this girl called Taṅgammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:ḷapē of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nuu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (= paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makakuu nu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le samo:ta i: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭituu maṇguul(a) aḍli po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kō:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi idwṇguu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda = 4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this!'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallu annane takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taṇgammē became Taṇgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. [114] Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe naḍo:mi:illavé nu:bendu: aggoaruvénu: ea:lu hāṭi nindira:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvés, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the ammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvé of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.

'They have stood.'

Aruvé of the woman's sib: a:nak(u) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apēyyē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷira ba:ṇu ba:ko bandalli apēyyē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷira a:yisa korn a:yitu: co:makē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷira adrunḍa kēṭṭd(u) a:yita: pattu ka:la baddu ba:vēkku runa illata:nagguṇḍu indakaṇo niggaḍa pommaka maka: nd(u) ḍṇṇiṭṭijē co:makē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷina poṇṇu kēṭṭate:ggi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyakku kakinaṇḍu po:ḷuva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: kuṇṇaḍu mariyādi ammane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷi apēyyē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷira ba:ṇu ba:ko bapaka ahbu:ru bira: nuru poṇṇu a:yira bira:nuru ma:huna a:laḍagga ba:laḍagga tarakiṇaṇḍu bandaḍa uḍitu uḍutitu miñjuna:na bayyak(u) ḍṇṇtaṇḍu po:ḷuva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 800 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: kuṇṇaḍu mariyādi ammane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: idari a:kkiṇaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvé.

Aruvé of the husband's sib: ba:ṇu. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷi apēyyē: nd(u) ḍṇṇuvē kuḷḷira va:ṇu ba:ko bandalli co:mavvēggu ondunk(u) irumbu ennḍaku mudu:ṇu mudutotu ma:roḍa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manaku ammanda kōḍuṇaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manaku co:mavvēgg(u) iḷḷē ammandatanna kovvāḷḷi nigga tandē pannandari pon(u) idari. beri tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kēṭṭate:ggi aramane 'If a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; ar. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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even as small as the cuppe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Ocmavvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Arwet of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Arwet of husband's sib: idari ma:kuipana.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.

Arwet of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than himself (see I). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (*J*) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 69 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [9], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, *ojoyõ* and *pouna* respectively.

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A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Anantrakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes* and *Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 129) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

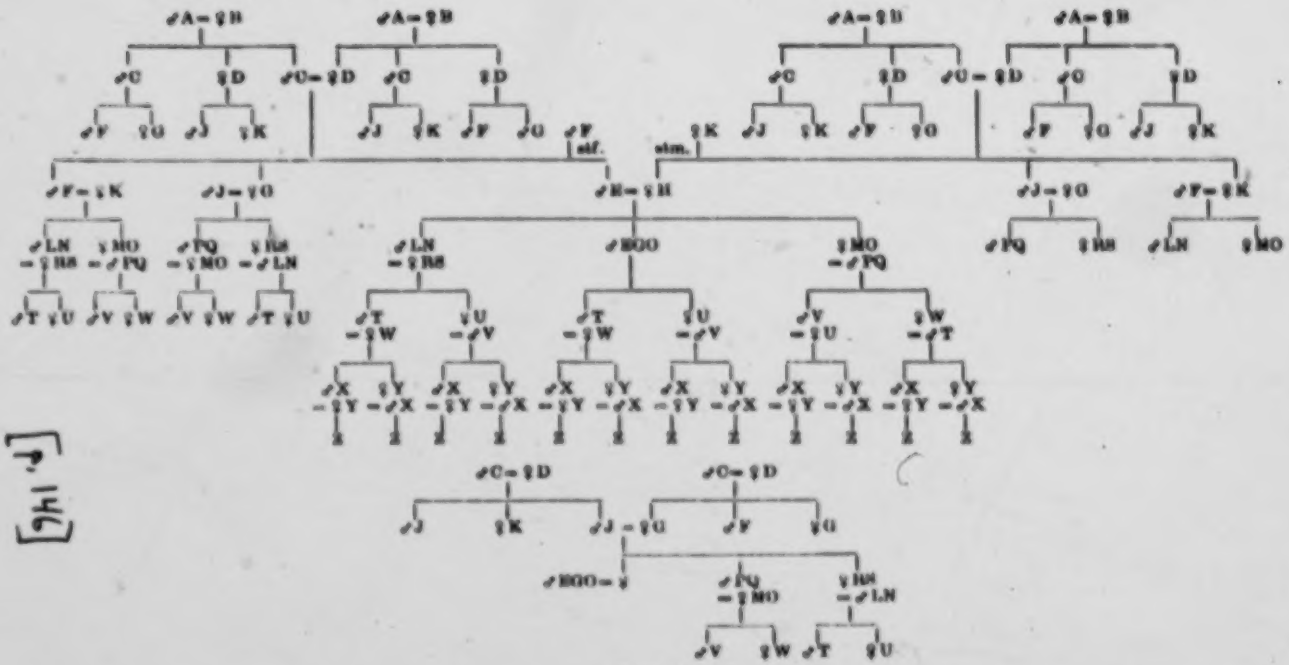

TABLE 1.

The Coorg kinship system. The terms corresponding to the letters entered in the chart are given in Table 2. The collateral lines have not been carried down through all the descending generations.

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TABLE 2. TERMINOLOGY MARKED IN TABLE 1 BY LETTERS.

A mutajjé.
B mutaːyi.
C ajjé.
D taːyi.
E apé.
F ayyé; if older than Ego's father, he may be called balliapé, if younger, ceriapé.
G maːviⁿ; Ego's father's sister, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tammaːviⁿ.
H avvé.
J maːvéⁿ; Ego's mother's brother, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tammaːvéⁿ.
K cikavvé; if older than Ego's mother, she may be called balliavvé (cf. F) or doḍḍavvé, if younger, boːjavvé.
L aṇṇé, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are older than Ego.
M aké, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are older than Ego.
N tammaṇé, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are younger than Ego.
O tange, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are younger than Ego.
P baːvé, used of those male cross-cousins who are older than Ego.
Q Maciṇé, used of those male cross-cousins who are younger than Ego.
R mammé, used of those female cross-cousins who are much older than Ego.
S maciṇi or maciṇici, used of those female cross-cousins who are younger than or of about the same age as Ego.
T moːvéⁿ.
U moːva; T and U may be called collectively maka.
V maymé.
W mayma.
X Kurumoːvéⁿ.
Y Kurumoːva; X and Y may be called collectively kurumaka.
Z no unitary term; collectively called kurumakaḍa maka 'children of grandchildren'; with distinction of sex kurumoːvéⁿṇḍa moːvéⁿ (or moːva) 'son (or, daughter) of grandson' and kurumoːvaḍa moːvéⁿ (or, moːva) 'son (or, daughter) of granddaughter'.

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THE COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

(WITH 27 ILLUSTRATIONS)

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etc. etc. etc.

With a Foreword

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OXFORD.

GORDON PRESS

MADRAS

1948

[Title Page]

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COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

COORG is a small British Province perched on the slopes of the Western Ghats. It has an area of about 1,593 square miles of which the reserved forests occupy about 519 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hassan and Mysore districts; and on the south and west by the Malabar and South Canara districts of the Madras Presidency. It is an extremely hilly country and is situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats. Its maximum length is about 60 miles from north to south, and maximum breadth about 60 miles east to west. The name of Coorg is an anglicized corruption of the word *Kodagu*. It is said to be derived from the Canarese term *Kodagu* meaning 'steep' or 'hilly'. The people are called *Kodagas*. In the Coorg language, the country is Kodagu and the people Kodavas.

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Natural Features—Mountains and Their Formations

The main range of the Western Ghats extends from Subramania in the north-west to the western point of the Brahmagiri in the south for a distance of over 60 miles. From this backbone several long and elongated ridges branch off from east to west. The grand mountain mass of Subramania rises to a height of 5,625 feet above sea level. Among the many

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A View of Talai Cauvery

The junction of the Kanika and the Cauvery at Bajamandala

[facing p.2]

133 ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Bengunad [491] Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmagiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemale, Iggutappa, Devarabetta, Tadiandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamale. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmagiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyalemale. Many spurs from the Brahmagiris branch off over the whole of Kiggatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittangale, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg. The Bengunad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara. One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kallurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanagalu hill.

137 Coorg was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was [249] cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorg (South) impenetrable evergreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree 133 is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November [137] morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmagiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kudaremukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilgiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below

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Pilgrims at Bejamandala

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Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bejamandala

[facing p. 3]

INTRODUCTION

the steep precipices of the Ghats are the coast line of Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers, and beyond, the dark blue Indian Ocean, dotted with sailing craft. The eastern frontier between the Cauvery and Lakshmana rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted jungle inhabited by the Kurumbar, Lambani, and other wandering tribes. 133

River Systems

Coorg is well favoured with rivers and streamlets which give it an abundant and perennial water supply throughout the year except South Coorg where there is a dearth of it. Though perennial, they are not remarkable for their breadth. Of the rivers that flow eastward, the most important are the following :—

The Barapole, rising in the Brahmagiris with its tributary the Kallhole descending from the Hebbale pass; the Udormbi, the Yeramakuth, the Cadiamale, and the Mundrotu rivers from the Padinalkanad Range. The Yertakarti and Nujikal rivers descend from the Pattighat, and the Maringundi river from the Pushpagiri Range.

Rivers of the eastern watershed consist of the Cauvery and its tributaries. The Cauvery has its source at Talai Cauvery near Bagamandala and is the largest and most important river in Coorg. Its tributaries are the Ramathirtha and the Lakshmanathirtha, both of which rise in South Coorg and join the Cauvery in the Mysore Province. The Kakkabe, Kadanur, Muttamudi, and Chickle rivers, all of which assume considerable dimensions during the monsoon, rise in Padinalkanad and Mercara taluks, while the Hatti, Nadapur and Choran rivers from the Haranagi river, and powerful tributaries rise in Nanjarajapatna taluk.

Flora

The flora of Coorg is typical of the prevailing vegetation throughout the Western Ghats. According to Conner, every species of vegetation attains a high degree of luxuriance, if not rankness, quite foreign in the neighbouring countries. Both flowers and blossoms have a brilliancy and variety unknown in the plains, and many of the wild plants possess a share of aromatic qualities both as to odour and flavour. The all-prevailing forest is distinguished by the people as Male-kadu (evergreen mountain forest), and the Kanave-kadu (deciduous growth at the lower levels of the passes). Arborescent growth at higher elevations varying from 3,500 feet is mostly represented by Vateria indica, Canarium strictum, Calophyllum tomentosum, Michelia champaka, Polyalthia coffeoides and others. 137

Fauna

Elephants range throughout all parts of Coorg. They frequent the forests towards the eastern frontier. They are not so numerous as before. 136

136 Since 1902 systematic arrangements have been made by Government for their capture in pits as in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Bisons frequent the densest forests and highest hills, especially in Maranad and Hormalnad. Bears generally abound in the north-west. Tigers and leopards are also found. Sambur, spotted deer, and barking deer are general in the woods. The most important bird is the hornbill, but there are peacocks, water fowl and jungle-cock, over and above the most ordinary and common Indian birds. Snakes are plentiful and cobra haunt the bamboo forests. There is a large variety of fish. The best fish in size and quality is the plantain fish.

Meteorology and Climate

132 Coorg is a small country, and yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence its atmospheric conditions. Still the dry eastern district may present as steady a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. The hot, rainy and cold seasons have to be distinguished. Throughout the year the atmosphere is humid, and humidity is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In November the north-east winds carry heavy clouds from the eastern coast which discharge themselves chiefly in the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightfully clear and fresh. The annual rainfall at Mercara is 133 inches. On the whole, the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 60° F. is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year.

Prehistory

172 Our knowledge of the prehistory of Coorg is very scanty. Prehistoric dolmens or burial cairns are found in Coorg as in other parts of South India. The first discovery of them in large numbers was made by Lieut. Mackenzie in 1868 on Bane near Virajpet. Captain Cole followed it up with great enthusiasm and his excavations yielded interesting results. All the cairns found are either level with the ground, or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber 7 ft. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. composed of four upright granite slabs, 7 or 8 inches thick, and a capstone which projects over the uprights. The flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 ft. in diameter broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a compartment may be two-chambered. These cairns are either

solitary or in groups, in some cases forming regular rows. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in the earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear-heads and beads. The pottery consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a lead or black colour. They are smooth and shining and can hardly be said to be glazed. Bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of ragi have also been found inside the chambers. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery. The iron implements, spears, and arrow heads are very much corroded so that their shape is hardly distinguishable. These cairns apparently were the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races. The dolmens are also called pandu-kuzhies or dwellings of the Pandus by the Coorgs. 172

Traditional History

The early history of Coorg is based primarily on Puranic legends and surmises covering a period of over ten centuries. The three names, Brahmakshetra, Matsyadesa and Kroda-Dess are applied to Coorg. The Puranic account is found in the *Cauvery Mahatmya*. It describes the origin of the Cauvery, and the place from which it arises. 173

According to *Cauvery Mahatmya*, the Coorgs are Ugras by descent, that is the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Sudra mother. The Kshatriya was a Kadamba prince of the Matsya country and known as Chandravarma. He was very religious by nature, and after a long pilgrimage to holy shrines in the south he came to Brahmagiri and propitiated the goddess Parvati, who bestowed on him a kingdom there and provided him with a Sudra wife by whom he had eleven sons. She also promised to bless the country by appearing in it as the river Cauvery. The sons brought up as Kshatriyas in their turn obtained as wives the three hundred daughters born of Sudra mothers to the king of Vidarba (Berar). Chandravarma having crowned his eldest son Devakanta as successor, took leave of him, predicting that Cauvery would soon appear as the river. These sons had more than a hundred sons each, and they spread themselves all over the country. This tearing up of the ground was like the work of boars, and the country was therefore called Kroda-Dess or boar-country from which arose the name Kodagu.

There is another popular legend which throws some light on the early history of the Coorgs. In former times there lived in Malabar six brothers and a sister. Five of them accompanied by their sister, Ponnan-galathamma, went to Coorg by the Peditoraghat. While they were on the road, four of them said, "How is it that our sister comes with us!

173 The people will say that she is our wife." One of them replied, "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to Chouripade hill near the Kakabi river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa asked her (the sister) to prepare some food. She replied that there was neither rice nor fire. Iguttappa said, "I will give you rice, but you must eat it without salt". The brothers agreed to this. Then she saw a cow, which belonged to the Paredandra house, and she milked her, allowing the milk to fall into an earthern pot full of rice. While her brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, she went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, when it began to boil. She then summoned her brothers to partake of the rice she had prepared. When they had partaken enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it into the air and exclaimed, "See how the hail is descending from this sky." The sister was incensed at this act. She took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow, and said, "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." The other brothers then laughed at this. While they were sitting together chewing betel, Palurappa said, "Let us see whose betel is reddest." All spat out the betel in their hand, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. Deluded by this act, the sister threw the betel into her mouth and began to chew. They then declared that she had lost her caste. This decision was confirmed by their brother in Malabar to whom they appealed. Their sister felt very sorry and wept very bitterly. Iguttappa then threw an arrow from Iguttappabetta and directed his sister to follow the direction of the arrow and stay where it fell. Assuming the shape of a crane, she flew towards Ponnangala. Some Holeyas were working in paddy fields near Karathandra house. She flew upon one of them who became possessed with the devil and ran towards the tree to which the arrow had stuck. The brothers separated into different villages where they settled down. The whole family was afterwards worshipped as gods. Beyturappa had a temple at Beytur in Malabar. The third has one in Maletambira forest in Chomamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Palur in Kuyangarinad, and the sixth Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in Wynad. A temple was built for Ponnangalatamma round the tree where the arrow struck. At her annual feast in April, she weeps and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is seen sticking to the wild mango tree to this day.

174 The foregoing traditional accounts go to show that the Coorgs
173 belong to the Ugra race and are the descendants of prince Chandravarma. The first colonists are made out to have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom. Lewis Rice says that it is a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg, and with the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region. There are also other traditions which lend

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support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinds of Jumcha and Coorg were of the same race. It is also observed that the aborigines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorg.

Population

The population of Coorg is composed of the following tribes and castes:—

1. Yerava
2. Kurube
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorg
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heggade
9. Vokkaliga

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CHAPTER VII

COORG

101 COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the
174 original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

141 Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without
174 any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that " it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenja Daru period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

174 Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

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ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and gnava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nandumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

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A View of a Coorg House and its sylvan environment

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A Front View of a Coorg House

[facing p. 40]

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342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, [352] resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. [177] Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna, Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

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A Coorg Male Group

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A Coorg Married Couple

[facing p. 41]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'katti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

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585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[174 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

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Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

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Coorgs in National Costume

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A Village Takka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

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764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each
[431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral
[783] lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her
[765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves
[589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)

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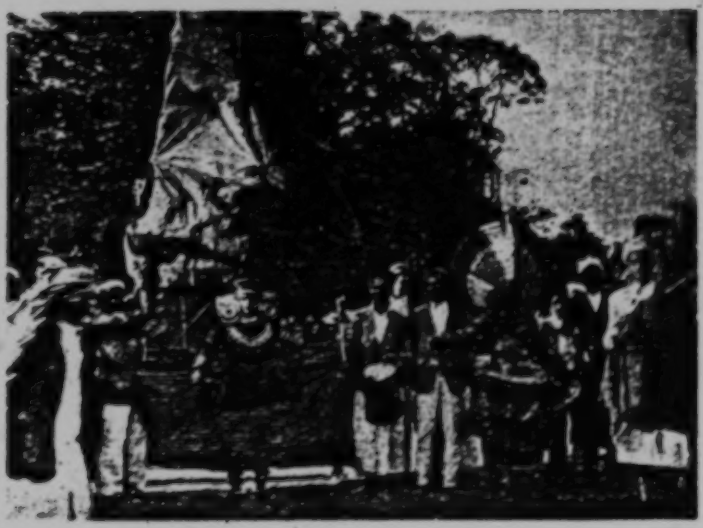

A Ghost Mask (Kernakola)

[facing p. 51]

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CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the [534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by [782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcass and bodies of the fowls [782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some- [785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud [illegible], they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhudrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadavaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

97
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

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During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 77 825 [782]

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmana-tirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares. 788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years. 771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kushikota* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preli-
minary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at
sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of
fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those
present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase,
O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a
national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[533] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but
the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance,
which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths
and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of
ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the
monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The
Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the
astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the
celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house
is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife.
Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When
this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt
before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show
offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then
[526] proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the
afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day
is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed
by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt
on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company.
The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs.

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 527 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] [394] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

sealling together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [432] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thaduvala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [521] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and [276] servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [641] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or goki from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *ch urigubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [553]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, 144 a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. 141 The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below :

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. [177] The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in [187] important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

197 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages ; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

161 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males 181 and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

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well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume. In the words of Sir Erskine Perry they are by far the finest race he has seen in India in point of independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being.

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824
771
291
782

Tree Worship

243
796

Huttari Festival

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[P 64]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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101
[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

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441
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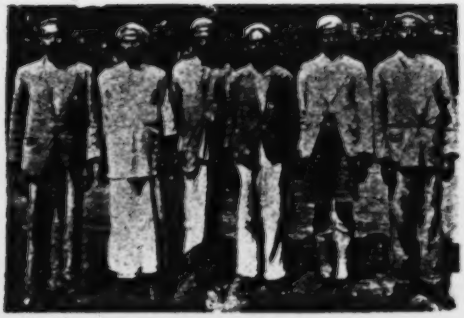
→

A typical Coorg in his smart attire



Amma Coorg Male Group

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137

An Amma Coorg House

[facing p.65]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 785 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 796 844 846 783 852 553

764 783

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

241

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They 171 worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior 42 to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now 262 trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They 582 marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

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View of Mercara, (from the East.)

Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[Frontispiece]

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Edward Lear: Dec. 7. 1874

[P. i]

MANUAL OF COORG

A

GAZETTEER

OF THE NATURAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY AND THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF ITS INHABITANTS

COMPILED

BY

Rev. G. Richter

PRINCIPAL, GOVERNMENT CENTRAL SCHOOL, MERCARA
AND
INSPECTOR OF THE COORG SCHOOLS

(WITH A MAP AND FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS)

MANGALORE
PUBLISHED BY C. STOLZ,
BASEL MISSION BOOK DEPOSITORY
1870

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[Title Page]

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DOCUMENTS

PRINTED BY STOLZ & REUTHER.

Motto:—"Nihil dicere falsi, nihil dissimilare veri."

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PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government.

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India.

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer.

M:84877

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114 In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was re-
[127] published in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

128 I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graeter, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

114 The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

104 In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

128 The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

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[P. 1]

I. PART

THE

COORG COUNTRY

AND ITS

Natural Productions

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[P. 2]

ooo

God Almighty, live and rule!
Rule as our Lord and God!
Rule, O glorious sun and moon
In the sky as king and queen!
Land of our fathers, thrive!
Land of houses and of farms!
In the famous Jambudwipa
There are many glorious kingdoms;
Which among them is the finest?
High above the lofty hills
Throned the snowy Mahamêru;
And among the flowering trees
In the Sampige the finest;
Thus in *Coorg*, a string of pearls,
Loveliest among the kingdoms;
Live in it, my friend, and prosper!

Coorg Poland.

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[P. 3]

The Coorg Country.

1. Geographical Features.

The Coorg country is formed by the summits and eastern declivities of the Western Ghats, which separate it on the south and west from the woody tracts of North Malabar (Wynád) and South Canara (Tulu); in the north and east it merges into the table-land of Mysore with the only partially, natural boundary of the rivers Kumáradhári, Hémávati and Kávéri. Its greatest length from north to south, from the river Hémávati to the Brahmagiris, extends over 60 and its greatest width from west to east, from Sampáji to Fraserpet, about 40 English miles. Geographically speaking, the whole country lies between north latitude 11° 55′ and 12° 50′, and east longitude 75° 25′ and 76° 14′. Its area comprises 1,585 square miles. Before the annexation of Coorg by the English, the limits of this little kingdom extended over a larger tract and included the two taluqs of Canara, Amra Sulya and Puttúr, comprising an area of about 580 square miles, which at the request of the inhabitants were separated from Coorg and added to the Collectorate of South Canara.

133

131

[648]

The present shape of Coorg, as represented on a map, is not unlike a baby's sock, a little contracted at the instep and with a loop at the top, by which it is suspended. In this situation the heel points north-west and the toe south-east, whilst the sole, heel and back seam are formed by the Ghats

133

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133 and the whole length of the instep by the Mysore boundary. Compared with the gigantic extent of the Indian Peninsula, Coorg is but of baby's size, however large it may appear to its inhabitants.

[103] As the Badaga people on the Nilagiris have been named Burghers, so is "Coorg" anglicised from Kodagu or Kodumale, a name which it has borne from the remotest ages and which in its meaning—"Steep mountains" graphically depicts the character of this remarkable alpine land.

2. General description of Coorg,

its mountains and their formation, its rivers and their course, its forests and their general flora and fauna.

Aspect of Coorg. Standing on a bright November morning on the summit of the Brahmagiri near Tala-Kávéri, (tale *Kg.* head) the observer is filled with delight and admiration of the grand and picturesque view, that opens out before him. As far as the eye can reach to the north-west and south-east it beholds ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills, now gently sloping down in gentle wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, raising their steep summits into the clear, blue air. Kudurcmukha-betta, the far seen landmark of the mariner, bursts into view from Canara; the Bettadapur and Chámundi hill in Mysore, the Wynád mountains of Malabar and Dodda-betta of the distant Nilagiris are clearly visible, and in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below the steep precipices of the Ghats the coast-line of North Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers and the dark-blue Indian Ocean with its sailing craft fascinate the spectator.

[137] Coorg itself is covered by forest, save here and there where the clearing of a coffee plantation or ragi patch or the park-like open glades (Báné) with their beautiful green sward and varied foliage afford a charming variety to the landscape.

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In vain, however, the eye searches for towns and villages, churches and castles or other indications of civilized life. Only here and there in nooks and corners, ensconced amongst groves and clusters of cultivated trees and betrayed by a wreath of smoke, can one discover the thatched houses of the Coorgs, who love a solitary abode near their fields. 361

The want of permanent sheets of water, such as extensive tanks or prominent rivers somewhat detracts from the picturesqueness of the landscape, but during a heavy mist or in the monsoon fancy may easily transform the whole country into innumerable islands emerging from a vast agitated sea. 133 132

The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Sómwárapet, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpet the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Virajpet, especially in Beppunád, Katiednád, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy doures[1] rise from extensive rice valleys. 133

The eastern frontier between the Kávéri and the Lakshmana-tírtha river exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest, inhabited in January, February and March by Kurumbers and Lumbánies and other wandering tribes.

Mountains and their Formation.—The most prominent ridge of mountains in Coorg as to height and extent, is that which culminates in the summits of the Ghats. It stretches in its main outline from Subramanya to the furthest point of the Brahmagiris over or upwards of 60 miles. Seen from the Western Coast near Cannanore the abrupt ascent with the

[1] [Errata: This should read "downs", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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133 great height and varied configuration of the Ghats present a most grand and imposing spectacle.

The most conspicuous subdivisions of the Ghats are, in the south, the Brahmagiris or Marenád hills, which constitute a formidable natural barrier between Coorg and Wynád. Their height averages some 4,500 feet above the level of the sea. The highest peak of the Brahmagiris is the Brahmagiri hill-station, which towers several hundred feet above a beautiful table-land called Huyále-male (huyále *Kg.* swing) and overlooks the temple of Pemmeya at Tiranelli in Malabar in the deep valley of the Papanashe river and beyond it the extensive coffee plantations and high mountains of North Wynád. Further on, to the west, rise the Hanumán-betta, the Kadanga-male and the Perumále-male. The many spurs that branch off in all directions from the Brahmagiris over the whole of Kigatnád (kiri or ki *Kg.* low) (district of the lower Ghats) and on to the eastern elbow of the river Kávéri produce a ramification of narrow ridged hills, now ascending to almost solitary grandeur, like the Ambate-betta (ambate *Kg.* a kind of mango) near Virájpet, the Bittangala, the Hátur hill or Kundada-betta (kundu *Kg.* height) the Sidéshwara hill and Maukal-betta (mau *Can.* mango, kalloo *Can.* stone) now subsiding into the undulating slopes of the most eastern elevations, and enclosing innumerable paddy-fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg.

From the Perambádi-pass near Virájpet to the Todikána-pass, (todia *Kg.* plantain, kána *Kg.* forest) near the source of the Kávéri, the main chain of the Western Ghats extends in a north-westerly direction in almost a straight line of 30 miles in length. Towards the west it falls with great abruptness, the descent from the summit to the foot being generally from 3 to 5 miles, the first part of which is particularly steep. Behind Nalknád palace, the highest mountain of this range, Tadiandamél ("broad-based-hill", tadi *Kg.* broad, molu *Kg.*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

hill) raises its gracefully shaped head over its majestic neighbours. Its height is 5,682 feet above the level of the sea, and as it has a central position in the whole range, the panorama commanded by such an elevation is grand beyond description. The ascent is easy, two-thirds of it may be achieved on horseback, and though the topmost portion is rather difficult the persevering climber is richly rewarded for his exertion when in the cool bracing air he stands on the narrow ledge of the giddy summit and gazes over the gloriously diversified highlands and lowlands at his feet. 133

About 6 miles to the south-east of Tadiandamól rises the Jómamale (jóma *Kg.* ox, male *Kg.* forest), the highest mountain in Katiednád. It is sacred to Maletambiran (Tambiran, a Malayalam god) and overlooks the Kodantora-pass. Two miles to the north-east of Tadiandamól there is another mountain giant, the Iggudappa-kundu (Iggu, a Malayalam god; appa, father; kundu, hill) near the Paditora (Padi, name of a village; tora, pass) and three miles further on the Pérur point and 4 miles still further the Srimangala point. The last notable mountain in the same range is the Brahmagiri in Tavunád (tavu *Kg.* descent, sunset, west) with the source of the river Kávéri.

At an acute angle upon this line the main chain of the Ghats is continued in a due easterly direction as the Benganád range (bengu, to stop) till, nearing Mercara, it makes a sudden turn to the north-west and forms with the latter the Sampáji valley which leads by a gradual slope into the low country of Canara. At the head of the valley and supported by a high ridge with steep abutments on its southern front the Mercara table-land is situated. This ridge branches off in two directions, one towards the south-eastern elbow of the Kávéri, culminating in the pointed peak of Nárokal-betta (núru *Can.* hundred, kallu *Can.* stone, betta hill) and the other, the Horur branch, (hora, outside; uru, town) due east in

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
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a zigzag line towards Fraserpet with several rugged hills, the most remarkable of which is Kalluru-betta clothed with teak forest. The Núrokal and Benganád range make up with the Western Ghats the watershed of the upper basin of the Kávéri, a valley, which between Mercara and Nalknád is 15 English miles broad.

From the main chain of the Ghats and the Benganád range, innumerable ridges jut out on either side. These are diminutive when compared with the parent stock; and they decrease in height as they recede, but have almost everywhere narrow summits and steep declivities.

The table-land of Mercara maintains throughout an average altitude of 3590 feet above the sea, and may be said to extend as far as Somawárpet, a distance of 20 miles, but on the east it slopes down towards the Kávéri which near Fraserpet is still at an elevation of 2720 feet above the sea. This plateau, crossed in all directions by minor hills and ridges, is bounded on the west by the continuation of the Ghats which culminate near the Bialy-pass[1] in the Subrahmanya or Pushpagiri hill, 5548 feet above the sea level. This is a remarkable two-pointed hill of precipitous height and peculiar shape, and resembles, as seen from Mercara, a gigantic bullock hump. The ascent, which, on account of the precipices of the southern and western face of the hill, can only be effected by a circuitous route, is more difficult than that of Tadiandamól. Starting from Bhagati, at the base of the Pushpagiri, it is about 6 miles walking, the ascent taking a good walker 2 hours 40 minutes and the descent to the Hiridigadde of the village Bidehalli 2 hours. A dense jungle, dear to wild elephants, has to be penetrated, and the ascent is severe; but the summit commands an extensive prospect over Coorg, Canara and Mysore. There are on this hill numerous Hindu memorials in the shape of stone mounds. Within an enclosure there are

I [178] [211]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Bisilu-pass." see corrigenda sheet, CAT. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
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two rude stone structures, with the customary imprint of two feet (páda) of celestial origin!

Amongst the many ridges that branch off from the Subramanya range of the Ghats the most remarkable is that, which attains its greatest height in Kóte-betta, about 9 miles north of Mercara. Its elevation is over 5000 feet, and its base covers a very large extent of country. Its summit, which is divided into two peaks, one rather pointed – the Harangal-betta—and the other broad, forms a comparatively flat table-land, while its sides are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses. Close to the apex there are two reservoirs of water, one for the use of the Brahmins and one for the Coorgs, which all the year round retain a constant supply. Close to the summit on a spacious platform is a small temple of rough granite slabs dedicated to Shiva. This hill as well as the Nárokal-betta offer, on account of their height and central position, the finest general view of Coorg, and even to the lover of nature, familiar with mountain glories in Scotland, Switzerland or Italy, no more delightful excursion could be recommended than that to these hills.

C [312]

From Kóte-betta to the north is another ridge running parallel with it, the Shanthalli hills, and beyond them is a bluff hill with almost a precipitous declivity on its western face—the Múkri-betta (múku, nose) with a fine coffee plantation at its base.

C [245]

The last remarkable range, that extends from the northern frontier of Coorg down to the Kávéri almost due south, is the Yélusávira hills with the Málimbi and Kanangala peak. The former is distinguished by its beautifully conical shape which strikes the eye in every part of Coorg.

The Geological formation of the Coorg mountains is indicated by the sharply defined outline of the Western Ghats, a feature characteristic of granitic rocks. The constant action

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The constant action
[132] of the stormy monsoon rains, however, followed by scorching east winds and a burning sun, has greatly affected the surface of the mountains, and a perpetual process of disintegration of the uppermost portions has imparted to them a somewhat rounded appearance, which does not occur, where the atmospheric influences are less severe, and the alternation of temperature less sudden.

The several members of the metamorphic class of rocks of which the Coorg mountains consist may be found in almost every mountain torrent. They are: granular and foliated or stratified granite (gneiss), which consists of quartz, felspar and mica; syenite, a rock of the appearance of ordinary granite, in which however hornblende is substituted for mica, and mica-schist, a slaty rock chiefly composed of mica and
133 quartz sometimes with imbedded garnets. Near Mercara may
135 be found clay-slate or argillaceous schist of coarse variety. This consists of silica and alumina, combined with a little iron, magnesia potash and carbon; crystalline limestone is present in the neighbourhood of Bellur near Fraserpet and supplies nearly all the requirements for building purposes in Coorg. Among this limestone, which is dug out from the ground in small earthy lumps like the kunkur in the N. W. Provinces and which is perhaps more properly termed magnesian limestone, nodules of magnesite are occasionally met with.

A ferruginous laterite, composed of silicate of alumina and oxyde of iron, appears sporadically in almost every part of Coorg.

135 The ingredients of all these rocks, which are subject to
134 an unceasing process of decomposition, constitute the nature of the soil all over the country and, as a matter of course, on the predominance of the one or other or several of their constituing parts combined with other conditions depends as elsewhere the fertility or sterility of the ground.

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Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of 135
it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many 134
places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes [137]
of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region.

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that 316
except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. [135]
The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz.

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the 133
country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean.

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or [312]
depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains [487]
and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The minor streams vary only in size, which depends upon the length of their course, their general characteristics being the same. They swell with the freshes in the early part of June and flow with violent and boisterous rapidity till October, when they gradually subside in their normal dimensions.

[132] The south-westerly monsoon floods the uplands of Coorg against which it partially breaks, with such a torrent of rain, that during its prevalence small rills, out of which a thirsty herd does not care to drink, are suddenly transformed into streams that are impassable for many days.

133 103 Of the rivers that flow to the westward the *Barapole* (bare *Can.* empty, bare; pole or hole *Can.* river) is the most considerable. It rises with the *Lakshmana-tírta* and *Pápanáshe* on the same plateau of the Brahmagiri hills in Kiggatnád and flows for several miles in almost a straight line through a deep mountain gorge, where it is joined by a tributary that falls over a perpendicular rock of great height and forms a beautiful cascade near the Kudiál coffee estate. Near the Malayalam frontier the Barapole leaps into a chasm upwards of 200 feet deep, and forms a waterfall that, with the wild gloomy forest scenery around, is remarkably picturesque. Then for two miles this river runs along the Coorg frontier up to the point where the *Kallahole* (kallu *Can.* stone) descending through the Heggala-pass unites with it, when the combined streams enter Malabar and debouch near Chiracal [487] into the sea. The Barapole receives the rainfall of 192 square miles, and is navigable from the sea to within 16 miles off the foot of the Ghats. Near Chávachári on the road to Cannanore it is spanned by a wooden bridge, resting on high stone pillars.

The next stream of importance is the *Nyikal* which drains the Sampáji valley, and follows the main road as far as Sulya, when it turns to the west, receives a tributary that originates on the western slopes of the Todicána-pass and Tala-Kávéri,

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and falls, under the name of Basavani river, near Kasergóde, into the sea. C 133 103

The *Kumáradhári* (Kumára *Sans.* son, god of war, the son of Shiva; dhára *Sans.* edge, stream) rises near the Subramanya hill and carries off but little of the Coorg waters. For some distance it forms the northern boundary along the Bisilu-pass (bisilu *Can.* heat). A number of tributaries from north and south swell its waters, the largest of them being the *Nétrávati* (nétra *Sans.* eye) which joins it near the village Uppinangadi (uppu *Can.* salt, angadi mart) and thenceforth gives its own name to the rest of the course of this fine river, which near Mangalore meets the sea. The Nétrávati, though useless for purposes of irrigation, is of considerable commercial value. C [487] Boats of large size are safely carried from Mangalore as far as Bantwal or Pánemangalur and smaller craft proceed even beyond Uppinangadi.

The chief of the Coorg rivers, both as to size and importance, is the *Kávéri*; considering the volume of water it gathers during a course of nearly 400 miles through Mysore, along Salem and Coimbatore through Trichinopoly to Tanjore, where it is almost lost in that garden of India; the Kávéri may well be included amongst the principal rivers of the Peninsula. It rises on the Brahmagiri at a place called Tala-Kávéri (tale *Can.* head) on the very verge of the Western Ghats, where they form a sharp angle with the Benganád range. Another stream, the Kánake, starts close by and after a short run joins the Kávéri at the foot of the hill near the village Bhágamandala (bhágia *Sans.* wealth, felicity; mandala, region). I At both places on the top and at the foot of the hill there are [778] temples of great repute for sanctity among the Hindus, which [788] are yearly resorted to by thousands of pilgrims from the adjoining countries. [823] The Kávéri is, according to Brahminical [805] legend, the holiest river in India. Even the holy goddess Ganga resorts underground to the all purifying floods of the

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C 133 103 I [178] [823] [805]

Kávéri once a year in Tulámása (tulá *Sans.* the sign of Libra; mása, lunar month) i. e. October, November, to wash away the pollution, contracted from the crowds of sinners, who have bathed in her own waters.

The course of this fine river through Coorg is very tortuous, but below Bhágamandala its current with the exception of a few localities, where it traverses beds of granite rock, is generally tranquil. Its banks which are high and steep are usually formed of rich clay or mould and covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. The bed over which it flows differs in various places, being alternately sandy, pebbly or rocky, but the latter feature is predominant. In the dry season it is fordable at almost all points, but there is always a good body of water, considering the vicinity of its source.

C [134]

During the monsoon it rises to an impetuous torrent whose mud-stained waters roll with thundering velocity through its wide channel, floating down shrubs and trees from its crumbling banks and overflowing for a few days the adjoining country. During these freshes the river rises near Fraserpet, where it is spanned by a magnificent stone bridge 516 feet in length, to a height of 20 to 30 feet.

C [491]

Descending through the great valley between Mercara and Nálkanád, the Kávéri makes a sudden turn near Siddhapur (Siddha *Sans.* a divine person) to the north and flows for 25 miles along the eastern frontier, being swollen in its course by several large tributaries. From the Tadiandamól it receives the Kakabe river which separates for some distance Padinálkanád from Katiednád. In Beppunád it is joined by the Kadanur river; and in Yeddenalkanád by the Kummahole.

The Muttáremutta collects the waters of the southern slope of the Mercara ridge, and the Chikkahole those of the valley of Horúrnárokalnád. The *Háringi* or Suvarnavati (Suvarna *Sans.* gold) with the Kakehole from Sómawarpet, the Chóvanhole[1] from Shanthalli, the Mattapur and Hattehole

[1] [Errata: This should read "Choran-hole". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts.

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarábád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps.

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál-

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312 773 guna in the year Párthiva. This was written by Venkadasya Mallia Bomarsia at the time of Basawalinga Déva Rája Vodea."

The legend is shortly this: "A merchant Malla Shetty of Yelusávirashíme vowed to build this tank. When it was [782] finished, there was no water forthcoming. Animal sacrifices were suggested by the tank diggers and offered, but in vain. In this distress the goddess Ganga appeared and demanded the little finger of the Shetti. Unwilling to make this sacrifice, he offered the life of Akkony, his daughter-in-law instead, whose husband was away on a journey. Akkony agreed, took an affectionate leave of her child and parents, who were ignorant of her intentions, and amidst great solemnities she stepped into the tank, when Ganga made her appearance in rushing water. Akkony's parents, hearing of the impending sacrifice, hastened to rescue their daughter, but she refused to leave the tank, uttered a curse upon her father and mother-in-law and disappeared in the rising water. She then appeared in a dream to her husband, who speedily returned home, and, on hearing what had happened, killed his parents, and with his child in his arms rushed to the tank and in despair threw himself into it, when both were graciously received by Ganga."

312 Besides the small public tanks, there are only private wells, that yield, if dug deep enough, everywhere sweet and clear water; but it appears, that the natives of Coorg do not bestow enough attention on the great blessing of wholesome water, and are often satisfied with the muddy contents of a hole, carelessly dug by the side of their paddy-fields, though from their own experience they assert, that most of their diseases are owing to the bad quality of their drinking water.

137 *Forests and their general flora and fauna.*—In Coorg extensive forests clothe every mountain range almost up to the summit and bamboo jungles, cover the more level eastern districts,

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interspersed with such trees, as are peculiar to these localities. 137
The flora of Coorg is almost identical with that of Southern India. It is of course beyond the scope of this Gazetteer and equally beyond the knowledge of the compiler, to attempt anything like a full description of the Coorg flora; we can only glance at its distinguishing features and enumerate a few species, that are of practical value, reserving those which fall under the care of the agri-horticulturist for a special consideration.

The first collection of Coorg plants appears to have been 114
made by Captains Munroe and Gough, who probably placed 137
their collections at the disposal of the famous botanist Dr. Wight. Mr. Metz, a German missionary on the Nilagiris, also collected a good many plants about Mercara, which were afterwards distributed in Germany by Hohenacker and named by Miguel. In Major Heber Drury's book on "Useful Plants" and Dr. Bidie's "Timber Trees of India" (1862) much information is given about the principal timber trees in Coorg.

Looking upon Coorg with the eye of the forester, rather 137
than that of the general botanist, the most superficial survey will not fail to discover invaluable treasures of timber trees and their produce, scattered all over the province. Small as the country is, there are nevertheless distinct tracts with trees peculiar to them. The two prominent zones are by the Coorgs called Male-kádu or Hill-forests and Kanive-kádu or Hillock-jungles (Kanive, a ridge between paddy-fields, hillock). Botanically they may perhaps be determined as evergreen and deciduous forests, the former clothing the Ghats, the latter the eastern hill-tracts.

All along the slopes of the Ghats the Poon spar—"Calophyllum augustifolium"—rules as king of the forest. When 396
full grown, it is often upwards of 100 feet in height, its wood 824
is clean, tough and elastic and there is perhaps no other tree so well suited in every respect for making ship's spars and masts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 masts. By its side may be seen the black Dammer tree or
137 (*Can.*) Dúppa-mara (Canarium strictum) which attains a great
314 height and may be recognised at a distance by the peculiar red colour of its foliage. The resin obtained from this tree has a brilliant black lustre, when adhering to the ash colored bark, but when held up to the light, it is of a rich brownish yellow tint.

Another resin producing tree is the white Dammer tree (Vateria indica). When an incision is made into the bark of this tree and fire applied to it, the charred trunk yields an increased quantity of the fluid resin.

The Calophyllum inophyllum or Alexandrian Laurel supplies a fragrant resin, and from the seeds is extracted by pressure the Pinnay oil of commerce.

The beautiful order *Guttifera* is also frequently represented by at least 2 species. The *Garcinia pictoria* yields a very superior kind of gamboge, and the other species an inferior sort. The gamboge is obtained from the fruit of the tree by pressure and maceration. A very common tree of the dense forest is the wild cinnamon (Cinnamomum iners) the bark of the branches of which is supposed to form part of the Cassia bark of commerce.

137 The following trees are noted for the excellence of their
313 timber or other useful qualities: The Sampige—(Champak) Mi-
314 chelia champaca—with its beautiful and sweet scented flowers; the perfection of beauty in the poetical fancy of the Coorg bard, the Ebony—(Diospyros ebenaster) *Can.* Kari-mara, the Wood-oil tree (Dipterocarpus laevis), the Kanagala tree (Dillenia pentagyna), the Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolius—*Can.* Halasina-mara). The Iron wood (mesua ferrea) with large white fragrant flowers and very hard wood; the Indian Mahogany or White Cedar (Cedrela toona—*Can.* Bellandi-mara), the Red Cedar or Chittagong wood (Chickrassia tabularis), the timber of both trees is little inferior to Mahogany; the wild

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Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia). 137 313 314 [273] [262]

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's 137 314

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. [415] A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On 137 open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

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[137] and the Brambles: Rubus Lasiocarpus or country raspberry, R. Rugosus a scandent, prickly shrub and R. Wallichiana [245] which yields a delicious fruit. The Conocephalus nivens appears here in great abundance, and proves a troublesome [314] weed on some coffee plantations. Its stem yields a beautiful fibre much resembling that of the Rheea or China grass plant.

The forests in the Ghat region are so dense and tangled by thorny underwood and creepers, that they can only be penetrated by beaten paths and under the guidance of one familiar with their formidable mazes. The many densely shaded mountain rills and torrents are generally lined with a great variety of ferns, prominent amongst which is the stately *Tree fern*. In other places delicate reeds (Wotte) stud the more humid banks of streams. Stout ratans with terrible spines and slender flagelli lashing the air to keep, as it were, intruders at a distance, climb in all directions and surmount with their feathery leaves the highest trees. Favored by the constantly moist atmosphere the stems of many of the trees are speckled with lichens or covered with rare orchids, mosses, and other parasites especially the Mandali-parasite with its large glossy leaves, irregularly cut on one half of the limb. Festoons of wild pepper and gigantic creepers, which again support the more slender herbaceous vines of Convolvulus, Thimbergia,[1] Ipomoea, &c. stretch from tree to tree in the most fantastic interlacings and gorgeously decorate the grand timber trees verdant with their foliage and many hued flowers.

[134] The soil, almost everywhere covered with a humid rich stratum of vegetable mould, highly favors the growth of moisture-loving plants, such as the Indian Arrowroot (Curcuma angustifolia), the long rooted Turmeric (Curcuma longa), the Wild Ginger (Zingiber cassumunar) and especially the highly valued Cardamom.

Wherever the hills are denuded of forest, they are clothed

[1] [Errata: This should read "Thunbergia". See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a dense coarse grass, which at times greatly impedes their ascent. As the western forests are left and the eastern districts approached, many of the trees just enumerated are still met with, but added thereto others more characteristic of a drier climate. On entering into the more open country, there are found upon the grassy glades (Báné) smaller trees and shrubs, disposed with an artless grace, that the landscape gardener in vain seeks to imitate. Here spring and summer, in sweet embrace, hold perpetual sway, and the very air, so cool and fresh, seems imbued with life and health. 139

The aromatic Jasmine with its pure white flowers, the Coorg Rose in its rustic simplicity, the Gloriosa superba with its flaming corolla, the Melastoma malabathricum with its strange looking ribbed leaves and splendid mauve coloured flowers, the Coorg Lilac (Callicarpa Wallichiana) with its small red cymes of flowers, and the Adisia humilis with translucent rose coloured flowers, that look as if they had been cut out of a rare cornelian; these and many other flowering shrubs and herbs greet the eye here.

As we approach the Coorg houses, we come upon groves of Orange, Lime, Guava (Psidium pyriferum), Rose-apple (Jambosa vulgaris), Pomegranate, and clumps of Plantain trees, all of which thrive remarkably well. The Bastard Sago is much esteemed for its toddy and the Areca palm occasionally keeps its company, and their foliage, blended with the dense crown of the stately mango or jack tree, forms a beautiful back ground to the large paddy flats below. [245] [273]

We enter now upon the eastern or bamboo district of Coorg called Kanawé-kádu. The character of this district is indicated by the prevalence of large clumps of bamboo, interspersed with Blackwood, Matti, Hony, Teak, Sandal and other trees. Whoever had the good luck of seeing a Coorg bamboo jungle a few years ago when in its full vigour of growth, cannot have failed to be struck with the elegance and

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137 beauty of its general appearance. Captain Basil Hall, who in 1813 entered Coorg from Mysore by way of Siddhapur and Virájpet, thus vividly describes his first impression of a pure bamboo jungle. "It seemed as if I were travelling among the clustered columns of some enormous and enchanted Gothic cathedral. . . . . The ground extended on all sides as smooth and flat and clear of underwood as if the whole had been paved with grave stones. From this level surface rose on every hand and, as far as the eye could penetrate into the forest, immense symmetrical clusters of bamboo, varying in diameter at their base from six feet to twenty or thirty, as I ascertained by actual measurement. For about 8 or 10 feet from the ground each of these clusters or columns preserved a form nearly cylindrical, after which they began gradually to swell outwards, each bamboo assuming for itself a graceful curve and rising to the height some of 60, some of 80 and some even of 100 feet in the air, the extreme end being at times horizontal or even drooping gently over, like the tips of the feathers in the Prince of Wales' plume. These gorgeous clusters stood at a distance of 15 or 20 yards from one another and, being totally free from the interruption of brushwood, could be distinguished at a great distance—more than a mile certainly, in every direction, forming under the influence of an active imagination naves and transepts, aisles and choirs, such as none but a Gothic architect ever dared to conceive . . . . . ."

A view so grand would now, however, be sought for in vain. The whole of the Coorg bamboo jungles are in a state of decay after the periodical seeding during the last few years. This is a remarkable phenomenon, asserted by the natives, to take place once every 50 or 60 years, though not every where at the same time. In the north-east of Coorg the general seeding took place in 1860, and in the south-west in 1866 and 67, so that there is hardly a green bamboo left

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[539]

in these jungles, but it is said, that on the western slopes of the Ghats the bamboos are still alive and in vigorous health.

The Coorgs have a Canarese proverb:

"Arvattu warushake ondu katte,
Yeppattu warushake ondu yette."

which means:

"Once in 60 years the bamboos will decay,
Once in 70 years a famine may hold sway."

Lieutenant Connor in his "Coorg Survey" states it as a curious fact, that in 1817 in the whole of the district of Wynád there was scarcely a bamboo clump to be seen, that was not dead, dying or in blossom. Clumps of all ages growing contiguous to or far apart from each other were in the same condition. The same thing happened again there, as well as in Coorg, during the last few years, which occurrence would prove conclusively, that the bamboos, growing from seed and multiplying their reeds from the roots like the grasses, live for a period of about 50 years, when the whole clump with old and young reeds produces flowers and seeds and dies off the same year. From the seed a new progeny springs up, which grows very fast, but not, as has been supposed, to its whole length in one season. This is only true of such shoots as spring up from the main clump, after it has nearly reached maturity, which requires a growth of 12 years. These shoots, being armed at their extremity by a sharp, smooth hornlike cone, and without any lateral branches, force their way through the intricate mass of the parent reeds and contribute to the density, stability and stateliness of the whole clump, which may contain from 50 to 200 reeds. The several reeds are from 5 to 8 inches in diameter, jointed at every 12 or 15 inches, and hollow between the joints where thorny threepartite branches are alternately attached, of which the middle ones are strongest and make good walking sticks. The branches are repeatedly subdivided and present with their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and appearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

C [262] [735] [823]

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

Y 313

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 313 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

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of a crocodile. Under the knotty swellings of the bark of the Matti tree small quantities of water are hidden, which the lynx-eyed Kuruba readily discovers in his jungle-wanderings during the hot season and from which providential fountains he draws a thirst-quenching draft. ⁄ The *Hony* or Kino tree (Pterocarpus marsupium) yields an excellent yellowish timber fit for exposure and a valuable brownish gum, the kino, which oozes out from the wounded stem. Chunam brought in contact with it turns bright yellow. 137 313 [312]

Teak or Tectonia grandis occupies a distinct girdle along the eastern boundary of Coorg, within the basin of the Lakshmanatirtha and in Nanjarájpatna and Yélusávirashíme taluq; but, with the exception of the Amali-topu in Kiggatnád, the teak forests in Coorg are neither so dense, nor so stately as those in Burmah, where trees of enormous size and height are found. The large and strongly nerved leaves, rough above, whitish and downy beneath, and the numerous white flowers in terminal branches on the high and many branched trunk, mark the beauty and strength of the tree. Both for house and ship building teak is the best of woods, easily worked and almost indestructible by climate or insects owing to its oily nature. Coorg teak is of most excellent quality, oily and free of heart-shake. It is a Government monopoly and sold from wood-yards at the rate of 12 Annas per cubic foot. [655]

In close proximity to teak and in an equally limited tract of dry and elevated slopes grows the *White Sandal-wood*, (Santalum album) scattered between other trees and on cultivated land. It is rather a small tree of a more or less crooked stem, but its spreading branches with tiny, light-green leaves and yellow or purple coloured small flowers give it an elegant appearance and a marked feature in the landscape. The wood is close-grained and hard, especially the duramen or heart-wood, which for these qualities and for its agreeable scent is highly prized and employed for ornamental boxes, [322]

⁄ [Errata: This should read "draught;" see Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suc-
kers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with
its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the
giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Arto-
carpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house
and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak*
or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excel-
lent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very
large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission
Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and
the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is
employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

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so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Heddle-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semercarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

137 314 [313] [372] [386] [388] [386] [333] [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is Preserved in sugar.

[313] [245] [271] [251]

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137 preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa),
314 though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its
[386] scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg Laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of
[298] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia.
137 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave
245 Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. The re-
137 cognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has
314 brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Spones Wightii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-mdoina-mara*

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(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought after and eaten by the natives. 137 314 [262]

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pandanus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farinifera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms before the hot season in January presents the appearance of, what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee estate. 137 [285] [293] [262]

At Frasrpet in the compound of the Coorg Superintendent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading, and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13 a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enterprise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open, but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several representatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

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137 Fraserpet to which the elegant lines of Southey so truly apply:—

"It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree.
For over the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swang.
Others of younger growth, unmoved, were hung
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor
And through the leaf-cope which bower'd it over
Came gleams of checkered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer."

(*The Curse of Kehama, Book* 13.)

The *Pippal* (Ficus religiosa) is likewise a large tree and found nearly in every temple in Coorg, but growing best in the drier districts. This tree proves most destructive to neglected buildings; when once rooted in crevices, nothing can with-
[262] stand its progress. More common than both preceding trees is the *Atti-mara* or "Ficus glomerata" with fruit much like the common fig and which is eaten by the natives. The *Indian Caoutchouc tree* "Ficus elastica" also occurs and is
[314] not only a useful but highly ornamental tree. The milky juice obtained from incisions into the bark is exposed to the air, when the *Caoutchouc* or elastic substance spontaneously separates, leaving a foetid whey-coloured liquid.

[655] Almost a stranger to Coorg and growing only in several places along the Káveri between Fraserpet and Sómawarpet,

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is the *Tamaind*[2] *tree* (Tamarindus Indica) which Government has reserved and partly made over without tax to certain Brahmins in Ramaswámy Kanawé, partly formed out on yearly rent. It is a stately tree and yields a dense shade, under which however, many plants do not grow and natives do not like to sleep. 137 [655] [513]

It would lead me too far to enter upon a description of the many shrubs, herbs and grasses of these jungles. Suffice it to say, that there are many and very beautiful ones, but most of them are annually swept away by the periodical fires, the purifying messengers of nature, that run through every jungle from February to April. These fires once established in the high coarse hill-grass rush madly in their onward career to the very tops of the mountains, and beautiful is the sight at night of these distant serpentine lines of flame extending over whole ranges of hills.

Coorg is rich in ferns and as these elegant plants will always attract the lover of nature, it may perhaps prove acceptable, if I append a list of such, as have been collected about Mercara and identified according to Major Beddon's work on Ferns by an enthusiastic admirer of these humble productions of nature:— [127]

Alphabetical list of Coorg ferns.

Names.	Where to be found.
Acrophorus immersus	On trees and at the foot of trees, near Ball-practice ground, Falls, etc. common.
Acrophorus pulcher	On trees and rocks; near Ball-practice ground; abundant almost anywhere.
Adiantum capillus veneris	In a well close to the Fort.
Do. candatum	Near Ramaswámy Kanawé.
Do. hispidulum	Near Ball-practice ground, 3rd milestone, Bentiappaia Road.

[2] [Errata: This should read "Tamarind", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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Names.	Where to be found.
Adiantum lunulatum	Common everywhere.
Alsophila glabra	Road to Falls.
Alsophila latebrosa	Road to Falls, (common tree fern.)
Angiopteris evecta	Road to Falls, common in all moist places.
Aspidium polymorphum	Road to Falls, abundant in a deep kadanga.
Aspidium contractum	Same place as former one, also in a lane near 3rd milestone, Santicoppalu Road.
Asplenium contiguum	On trees between 1st and 2nd milestone, Mangalore Ghat.
Do. *falcatum*	On trees, Sapper Lines, Road to Falls.
Do. *formosum*	On trees, in a deep ditch near Race-course.
Do. *furcatum*	On trees, near Ball-practice ground; common.
Do. *heterocarpum*	In a kadanga on Road to Falls, in moist shady ravines.
Do. *planicaule*	Very common, on trees.
Do. *resectum*	Near 3rd milestone, Santicoppalu Road in a ravine, also on Road to Falls.
Do. *trapeziforme*	Near 3rd milestone, Santicoppalu Road, and in a ravine near Race-course.
Athyrium Hohenackerianum	Abundant on all banks during the monsoon.
Blechnum Orientale	Common everywhere.
Botrychium virginicum	On trees, at the foot of Prospect Point Hill on Road to Kadle-hddu.
Do. *Subcarnosum*	Road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore at Louden Valley Estate.
Ceratopteris thalictroides	In a swamp in Mustoom Sahib's Estate, Halkandd Road, 3 miles from Mercara.
Cheilanthes farinosa	Very common (silver fern).
Do. *tenuifolia*	3 miles out on Halkandd Road, also Rajah's seat, generally in dry places.
Davallia bullata	3 miles out on Halkandd Road, on road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore Ghats, grows on trees, pretty common.
Do. *tenuifolia*	Common everywhere.
Diplazium dilatatum	On Road to Falls.
Do. *lasiopteris*	On Road to Falls; near Ball-practice ground.

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Names.	Where to be found.
Diplazium polypodioides	Between 1st and 2nd milestone Mangalore Ghat; quite a tree fern.
Do. sylvaticum	On Road to Falls.
Drymaria quercifolia	4 miles out on Halkanâd Road on trees.
Gleichenia dichotoma	Very common.
Goniopteris prolifera	Fish river, Kadur-kâdu Estate.
Gymnogramma leptophylla	Near 1st milestone Mangalore Ghat. On a bank on Road passing Government School.
Gymnopteris Feei	Mactoom Sahib's Estate, Halkanâd Road; on rocks, trees.
Hemionitis cordata	Very common on Sunticoppala Road.
Lastrea aristata	Common on Road to Falls.
Do. cochleata	One of the very commonest ferns.
Do. falciloba	Very common.
Do. hirtipes	Near Halkanâd palace.
Do. membraniifolia	Mactoom Sahib's Estate, Halkanâd Road.
Do. ochthodes	Very common.
Do. sparsa	Near Ball-practice ground; on Road to Falls.
Lygodium scandens	In a swamp 3 miles out on Halkanâd Road; 4 miles down Cannanore Ghat.
Microlepia polypodioides	In a ravine near 3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat.
Nephrodium abruptum	Mactoom Sahib's Estate, Halkanâd Road.
Do. molle	Very common.
Do. propinquum	Mactoom Sahib's Estate; also Anundapur "Kumba Kolli" Estate.
Do. terminans	Abundant on Halkanâd Road.
Do. unitum	Mactoom Sahib's Estate.
Nephrolepis exaltata	A common wayside fern, in moist places.
Do. tuberosa	Near Rajah's seat; common.
Niphobolus porosus	Halkanâd Road on trees; rather common.
Oleandra neriiformis	On Halkanâd Road; on Road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore Ghats; on trees.
Ophioglossum reticulatum	On Ball-practice ground and in the Fort.
Do. previpes	Near Kadur-kâdu on banks of Fish river.
Osmunda regalis	Abundant on banks of Fish river.
Pleocnemia aristata	Two miles beyond Murnad bungalow.
Pleopeltis irioides	On trees and in bamboo stumps, Halkanâd Road.

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Names.	Where to be found.
Pleopeltis membranacia	3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat; abundant in moist, shady places, on trees.
Do. oxyloba	Abundant, on trees.
Do. phymatodes	On trees.
Do. wightiana	Very common.
Pacciopteris contaminans	Falls
Do. terminans	Falls.
Polybotrya appendiculata	In ravines near May-male Estate; also Sinnawarpet Road.
Do. asplenifolia	Falls.
Polypodium ornatum	3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat; on Road to Falls.
Do. regulosum	Banks of stream near Post-Office; near Falls, etc, common.
Pteris aquilina	The commonest fern in Coorg.
Do. cretica	On Road to Falls, abundant.
Do. geraniifolia	Near 3rd milestone Suntiooppale Road; also near Ball-practice ground.
Do. longifolia	Abundant in and about the Fort.
Do. pellucens	Near Nalkanâd; also near May-male Estate, Beltamale Estate.
Do. pellucida	Common in all jungles about Mercara.
Do. quadriaurita	Very common.
Do. argentea and rubroserva	Varieties, both abundant especially the latter.
Sagenia coadunata	Very common.
Schizoloma ensifolium	At the top of the Falls, very abundant and handsome.
Do. heterophyllum	On Road to Falls; near Sapper Lines.
Do. nitens	Mustoom Sahib's Estate; has not been met with anywhere else as yet.
Trichomanes filicula	On trees near 3rd milestone Suntiooppale Ghat; Nalkanâd Road.
Do. rigidum	On the Bank of the stream that forms the Falls.
Vittaria elongata	On trees, Nalkanâd Road about 4 miles out on the right hand side.

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To facilitate reference to the vegetable products of Coorg jungle trees and plants, they are here enumerated under the classification of 314

a. Gums. (soluble in water)—They are obtained from the cashew-nut tree (Anacardium occidentale), the Ambate-mara or hog-plum (Spondias mangifera), the Atti-mara (Ficus glomerosa), the Gambali-mara, the Halumatti-mara, the jack tree (Artocarpus hirsutus), the elephant or wood-apple tree (Feronia elephantum), the bastard teak (Butea frondosa) and the Babul tree (Acacia Arabica).

b. Caoutchouc—or elastic gum is supplied by "Ficus elastica" and "Isonandra acuminata".

c. Gum-resins—the produce of Garcinia pictoria (gamboge), Pterocarpus marsupium (kino), Boswellia glabra (kundricum), Odina wodier (odina gum), Neem tree and Bombax Malabaricum.

d. Oleo-resins—obtained from the Canarium strictum (black dammer), Shorea robusta (rál), Vateria Indica (Indian copal), Dipterocarpus laevis (wood-oil), Calophyllum Inophyllum and Terminalia coreacea.

e. Oils—extracted from the seeds of the Neem tree, the Alexandrian laurel, the Powali, the Nirala and the Kákorate tree.

f. Fibres—obtained from the Kóli, Antupurle, and Bendé-mara, the Indian fig, pippal, banyan and red wooded fig tree (Ficus racemosa), the variegated American aloe, the long aloe (Agave vivipera), the Indian hemp (Crotalaria Juncea), the bow-string hemp (Sanseviera zeilanica). The plantain (musa paradisiaca and textilis), the paddy straw (Oriza sativa), the mat-rush (Cyperus textilis), the broom grass (Aristida setacea), the cotton plant (Gossypium Herbaceum), the silk-cotton tree (Bombax Pentandrum), the Conocephalus nivens, the Sponia Wightii or Charcoal tree,

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314 the Nerium grandiflorum and the Isora corylifolia or sham hazel.

g. Tannin—the produce of the bark of the Babool tree, the Neem tree, the Bauhinia variegata, the Buchanania latifolia, the Hymenodyction excelsum, of the pod of the Divi-divi tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria), and of the nut of the Alalimara (Terminalia Chebula).

[386] *h. Dyes—Red*, obtained from the Rottleria tinctoria, the Indian madder (Hedyotis umbellata), Indian mulberry (Morinda citrifolia) the red sandal (Pterocarpus Santalinus). *Yellow*, from the bastard teak (Butea frondosa), the gamboge tree (Garcinia pictoria), the Xanthochymus pictorius and the Berberis tinctoria.

[388] *i. Saponaceous matter*—yielded by the bark of the Babool tree, the pods of Mimosa saponaria and the fruit of the Soapnut tree (Sapindus).

*136 *General fauna of Coorg*—It may be easily imagined, that a country, so well watered and wooded and with a vegetation abounding in nourishing produce, will sustain a great variety of animal life. This was still more the case ere the resounding axe of the planter and the still more frequent echo of the sportman's rifle have disturbed the animals' secluded abodes and driven them to remoter regions.

A brief grouping of the more prominent representatives of animal life in Coorg will be all that can be attempted within the small space allotted to the subject. Descending in the scale of zoological classification, it is the monkey tribe, that first claims our attention and there are 3 species for inspection: the black, the grey and the brown monkey. The black monkey or "Wanderoo" (Silenus veter. Linn)—*Kg.* Karingódo—is rather scarce and only found in the Malo-kádu or Ghat forests. It has greyish whiskers, chest and belly, and is of small size. Its intelligent look and playful disposition render it a favorite with the natives, but like other monkeys,

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it is an unsavoury pet, and its capricious and vindictive temper, when getting old, render it a dangerous playmate for children. 136*

The grey or Hanumán monkey (Semnopithecus entellus, Duff)—*Kg.* Kóde—prefers a more open country and does not shun the neighbourhood of native dwellings, where there are Upali trees of the fruit of which it is very fond. Troops of them may sometimes be seen on an open glade near a large tree, gambolling unmindful of the passing by of a native, but quickly disappearing in the dense foliage on the appearance of a European, chattering all the while with their little ones, whose frightened expression is pitiful, clinging to their sides. This monkey is considerably larger than the former species and has a long tail, which is of service in gymnastic feats on slender branches. Its face is bare and rather reddish. It is more docile than the black monkey, but when big more vindictive and dangerous. A case happened in Mercara, where one of these monkeys attacked a baby in its cradle and might have killed it, but for the timely arrival of the parents.

The brown monkey—*Kg.* Mucha—is only found in the Mále-kádu and eagerly hunted by the Coorgs, who eat its flesh roasted and in curry, and consider it a great delicacy. A soup made of its flesh is given to sick and weakly people. When full grown, this monkey is in a sitting posture about two feet high; it has a long tail, a light grey face and chest. It is never kept as a pet by natives. Of the skin of all the three named species the Coorgs make their tom toms or drums. [224] [262] [237] [534]

A little animal of the Lemur kind is the slender *Loris* (Loris gracilis. Linn). The Coorgs call them Chínge-kúli or devils of the Chínge or soapnut shrub which grows all over the central and northern plateau of Coorg. Its silent and slow gait, its thin limbs, its closely set and large protruding eyes and pointed visage are enough to frighten on a sudden en-

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*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [250] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 231 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (new palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

*The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

* [Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers, each holding as high as his face, an immense billhook or knife, the blade of which near the extremity could not be less than three inches wide and diminishing gradually towards the hilt. This formidable instrument, well known in Indian warfare under the name of the "Coorg knife", is often used as a sword, and when handled by men, who are not afraid to close with their antagonist, is said to be a most efficient weapon. 136* 231 411

"On a signal given by the Rajah a folding door was thrown open on one side of the court, and in stalked two immense royal tigers, held by several men on each side by long ropes, attached to collars round the animals' necks. These beasts appeared very tractable, for they allowed themselves to be led very close to us. I confess, I did not much like this degree of propinquity and eyed the slender cordage with some professional anxiety. Meanwhile the Rajah and his son and the officers of the household appeared quite unconcerned, though the tigers passed within a few yards of them, and, as it seemed to me, might easily have broken loose. 136* 231

"What degree of training these animals had undergone, I know not, but after a little while, the Rajah, probably to increase the surprise of his guest, directed the men to let go the ropes and to fall back. There we sat in the midst of the open court with a couple of full sized tigers in our company, and nothing on earth to prevent their munching us all up! The well fed and well bred beasts, however, merely lounged about, rubbed their noses together and then tumbling on the ground, rolled about like a couple of kittens at play. I could, however, detect the Rajah spying at me out of the corner of his eye and half smiling at the success of his trick. After a time the men were recalled and the tigers dragged off.

"A pair of lionesses and two furious looking buffaloes were then introduced, but nothing could be more innocent or more respectful to the Rajah and his son. Like Falstaff, in-

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*136 231 deed, they seemed to have an instinctive knowledge of the true prince. Yet for all this, I caught myself several times edging my chair back a little bit and looking out for a clear place to escape, as the monsters stalked up and down the court, and once or twice actually touched the edge of our carpet with their feet. On these occasions, that part of the circle of guards which stood behind us advanced just so far as to bring our chairs on the outside of their ring and to place themselves between the beasts and us. On clapping their hands and flourishing their knives the lionesses and other beasts moved a little further off, after which the guards again dropped to the rear. Still this seemed rather a poor protection; at least I had my recollection so full of the rapid motions of the same class of animals, which I have seen baited at Mysore, that I could discover nothing which need have prevented the lionesses from whipping off the heads of the Rajah and the heir apparent, or at all events, that of their guest, who having no particular claims to the throne of Coorg, could reckon on none of the benefits of instinctive respect.

*136 231 541 "The Rajah gave orders for half a dozen tiger's cubs about eight months old, and as many puppy dogs to be set to play before us on the carpet, while a full grown royal tiger was at the same time dragged forward and pitted against a bear for a real battle in the open court. Any thing more disproportionate or absurd cannot be conceived than this match; and so, perhaps, the poor brutes thought, for fight they would not, although both of them were well thumped and forced against each other by the attendants. At length a brilliant thought struck the Rajah. 'Tie them together!' exclaimed his majesty; and accordingly the rope which was fastened to the tiger's collar was hitched to the belly band of the bear. Neither party liked this. The tiger roared and the bear growled while the Rajah and his son laughed and clapped their hands in ecstacy at their own good joke. Of course the guards and

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courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Waleer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear." 136* 231 541

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of 224 224 554 588

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224 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger.
554 Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the
588 carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each
[431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his
[574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for
[654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's
[789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round
[825] the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested.
[554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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black roundish spots. It is 2½ or 3 feet high and 4 feet long from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail. 136*

The tiger-cat (*Can.* huli-bekku) is a cheeta in miniature and its sleek, glossy, speckled fur renders it a very beautiful animal. It is about 3 feet long and 15 inches high; it is destructive to fowls. The Holeyas eat it.

The black jungle-cat (kabbekku), of the size of a house-cat, but with pointed muzzle, is very common; it lives chiefly on the fruit of the wild fig tree and sago palm. The Coorgs are fond of its flesh. Similar to this in form, but different in colour is the civet-cat (punugina bekku) which yields a peculiar musky secretion. [262]

The hyæna (katte kiruba) is very seldom seen. Of the dog-family there is, besides the Pariah, the wild dog (*Can.* kennai). In resemblance it approaches nearest the wolf. It is a powerful and dangerous brute, remarkable for the strength of its neck and jaws. Its colour is reddish brown, and in size it is like a Pariah dog, whose barking it imitates. It is seldom seen alone but in packs of 10 to 20, and thus united they will attack any beast of the forest, even the tiger. They are swift and never fail in catching what they once give chase to; on coming up with their game, they seize the animal from behind or in front, immediately destroying the eyes and having once fixed themselves, they maintain their position, sucking the blood of their unfortunate victim and never quitting their hold, till it has fallen from pain and fatigue. The samber and other deer are the principal animals they prey upon. Remarkable for his peculiar and piercing yell in moonlight nights is the jackal, so common over the whole of India. Besides feeding on small game and poultry, he is not averse to carrion of any kind. The jackal is no favourite of the planters, for he pilfers a great deal of ripe cherry-coffee, but is honest enough to deposite the beans, which are considered all the better for their transmigration through his body!

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*136 The fact is, that, as the jackal eats only the ripest berries, the beans are naturally of a good quality.

The mungoose or Ichneumon Múngos (Viverra mungo *Can.* kíra)—is frequently found on the bánes, where it is seen running from one copse to another. Its elongated, slender body with pearly, ash-grey fur and thick long tail, its pointed head and bright eyes and its rapid movements give it a pretty appearance, and, but for its wanton depredations amongst the poultry, it might become a useful pet, as [824] it destroys rats and snakes. The natives say that after its struggle with a poisonous snake, it takes recourse to the Nágadále (Ruta, Rue) the leaves of which act as an antidote.

Black bears (*Can.* karadi) are found in Marenád on the Pushpagiri, Kóte-betta and Kálur-betta, where there are colonies of beehives, for Master Bruin is very fond of honey. [262] His flesh is not eaten, but pieces of his skin are attached to [789] the necks of horses and cows, to keep off the evil eye.

[231] On the wooded banks of the Hatti and Shóran-hole and elsewhere there are small colonies of a species of otter-hound, which the natives call Nírunái or water-dog (Lutra Nair Cuv.) The animal is deep reddish brown on the back, lightest on the sides and below, lives in artificial burrows and subsists on fish, which it catches with great skill. It is eaten by the Yerawas.

Mice and *rats* there are more of in Coorg, than the farmer and house-owner would wish. The musk-rat betrays itself by its piercing shriek, but has a safeguard in its strong smell against its pursuing enemies. Great havoc has been done on some coffee plantations by the bamboo-rat (Golunda Ellioti) which is gregarious and for want of jungle-food often attacks in great numbers the coffee shrub, selecting the tender and succulent shoots and, to get at them, cutting off the primaries near the stem. Most wary of traps of any kind, this destructive animal is difficult to deal with. The field-rat (*Can.*

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kádili) is of a brownish colour; in its provident care against the rainy season it commits great damage to the ripening paddy-fields and stores considerable quantities of grain in its subterraneous burrows, to the great satisfaction, however, of the lynxeyed Wotter (tank digger) who searches after the little granary and carries away in triumph the owner and its property for his own meal. A formidable rat for its destructive burrowing habits is the Bandicoot (*Mus bandicota Can.* Heggana). It grows to the size of a sucking pig, is of a blackish colour and lives near houses. To protect their rice against these enemies, the Coorgs store their grain in enclosures, called pattáya, which are raised 2 feet from the ground with an open space all round. It undermines walls and causes buildings to tumble down. Its flesh is eaten by the Holeyas, Kurubas and Yerawas.

136*

[251]
[343]

Of squirrels there are 4 species: the striped, the grey, the red and the flying squirrel. The first species (Tamias striatus) is very common in the open and warmer districts of Coorg, especially in Fraserpet, where it familiarly runs along the thatched roofs of the European bungalows and amuses their inmates with its little squeak. It is a pretty tiny creature; with its tail it measures about 9 inches. Its body is of a greyish colour, whitish below and 3 brown longitudinal stripes and 2 white ones on the upper parts. In Hindoo fable, this little animal is said to have been rewarded by Ráma for its services in constructing his bridge over the sea to Ceylon. Passing his hand over its back he said: "Shábás" (well done) and behold, it was marked with indelible streaks!

The grey squirrel is somewhat larger than the former, without stripes, and lives on trees. The red squirrel (Sciurus maximus, *Can.* kenjari) is a remarkably lively and handsome animal, when enjoying its native liberty. In length over two feet, of which its bushy tail measures half, it surpasses its European cousin in size and beauty. All that can be

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C *136 seen of its body from above is of a dark chocolate colour deepening into black along the centre of its back and tail, while the under parts are of a pale yellowish brown. When young, C [231] it is easily tamed and proves an amusing pet, but it tries its sharp teeth on most substances, that come within its power, and too confiding children, when ruffling its temper, may suffer harm. The Kurubas, who know the trees of the forest T [224] as familiarly as a police man the streets and houses of his beat, catch these squirrels by means of nets which they fix to branches that are in the track of the animals.

The grey flying squirrel or flying cat (Pteromys) has become better known since the destruction of so many forests, when hundreds of the harmless little animals were caught or shot. It is crepuscular in its habits and, unless disturbed, very rarely seen. Its home is in the holes of trees and it lives entirely on fruit, especially that of the wild sago palm, the toddy of which it is very fond of too. Strictly speaking, it cannot be said to fly, but is endowed with a furry membrane between the fore and hind limbs which enables it, when stretched out, to take leaps of almost incredible extent, sometimes 100 yards through which it passes with the swiftness of an arrow. In its flying mode of progression it moves invariably downwards, when it runs up a new tree and takes another leap, which is well sustained owing to the extreme lightness of the animal The flying membrane or parachute cannot be contracted, but is merely a lateral prolongation of the skin and therefore also covered with hair. The squirrel is of a dark grey colour with a black line down its face, which, with its prominent black eyes and grey nose, give it a peculiarly fiendish look, and it bites severely. C [262] Its fur is very soft and might be turned to good use. The flesh of all the 4 species of squirrels is eaten by the natives.

C [262] The common hare (*Can.* mola) is found chiefly in the open country, where long grass grows. The natives of all

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classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Báne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the ant-hills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [237]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Mussulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

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231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat [578] swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. Le HARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

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practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

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*136 real foes, never turning to bay, as long as he has moving
[224] space before him. Bison shooting is a favourite sport, both amongst Coorgs and Europeans.

231 The domesticated buffalo (*Can.* male: kóna; female: yemme) thrives very well in Coorg, but the existing breed is an inferior one; however, some Gaulikas from Dharwar have lately introduced a much larger and more powerful kind which will gradually improve the native stock. Buffaloes are more numerous in the woody districts especially in Kiggatnád and wherever there is marshy land, which is most congenial to their amphibious habits, as they delight during the hot hours of the day in seeking refuge against heat and flies in stagnant pools, where they wallow with supreme gusto with only their noses above water. Buffaloes are a treasure to the farmer; their strength qualifies them for the plough, for the threshing floor and for carrying burdens; they yield more manure and twice the quantity of milk of a common cow and of a far richer kind. With such a list of good qualities one may feel inclined to overlook the extreme ugliness of the beast. It is a bulky, clumsy animal of a greyish colour, with long, annulated horns, lying generally on the back of its thick-set neck; its stupid, motionless look, combined with its gurgling bellow, render its presence unwelcome, though it has nothing of the vicious temper of the hill buffaloes of the Todas.

*136 Of the deer-tribe there are several representatives in Coorg: the samber, spotted deer and jungle-sheep.

The samber or elk, (*Rusa Aristotelis*; *Can.* kadave) is a fine large animal with antlers of great size, resembling those of the stag. It is more frequent in the great mountain forests. It is not gregarious and ruts and drops its horns in spring. The spotted deer (*Axis maculata*; *Can.* sárga) haunts thick
[231] jungles in the vicinity of water. It is timid mild and easily domesticated, an elegant pet whilst young, but becomes rather mischievous with age, as it not only butts at children, but

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eagerly devours any paper within reach. The female has no horns and is smaller than the male, which reaches a hight at the shoulder of 2 feet 6 or 8 inches. The skin is at all times of a rich fawn colour, spotted with white. In almost every Coorg house one finds some horns of the spotted deer, fixed to the walls for hanging clothes on. 136* [231] [237]

The most delicate and beautiful of the deer-tribe is the jungle-sheep—*Can.* kuringi—which somewhat resembles an antelope. It is about 18 inches high, with short horns, a little twisted, their roots for the first inch and a half being enveloped in hair. Its colour is fawn, lighter towards the belly, i a legs are very thin, but in speed it is like the passing wind. Its graceful form, mild, bright eye and harmless habits make it an interesting little pet, but it does not long survive its captivity. The flesh of all the deer-tribe is highly esteemed by the natives. [231] [262]

The common pig and the wild hog abound, and their flesh is preferred by the Coorgs to all other meat. Both kinds thrive very well, but the former is not bred with any care and its unsavoury habits do not recommend its flesh for European consumption. What the goat is to the Mussulman, the pig is to the Coorg! [262] [231]

The largest of the Coorg Mammalia is the elephant (áne), but it is so well known, that it needs no particular description. The Coorg elephants are as large and powerful as any others of Southern India. They are gregarious, keeping in droves of 15 to 30, under a leader who directs their movements. They inhabit indiscriminately all the woody parts, but particularly those towards the eastern boundary. They are ferocious and mischievous, destroying garden cultivation and crops of paddy and sugarcane. As they are excellent swimmers, the Kávéri is no barrier to their depredations. When met in droves, they seldom attack the traveller, but it is dangerous to encounter a single elephant. Such brutes, called

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 "Rogues", are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree.

[224] Elephants in Coorg are caught in pits, covered over with a slight framework to conceal them and placed accross the paths which the animals frequent. It is however no easy matter to beguile the sagacious creatures into this kind of [231] trap. If caught young they are easily tamed, but when of maturer age, a year and sometimes two are necessary to bring them into subjection. There are now no tame elephants kept in Coorg, but the Rajahs used to maintain many. Wild elephants are now far less numerous and the periodical elephant hunts less productive, though the Coorgs like true highland-[656] ers are as eager for sport as ever. The indiscriminate slaughter of these useful beasts has however been forbidden by Government, and they are now only caught alive.

175 224 There is a granite slab in the Superintendent's Cutcherry in Mercara with an engraved record of a grand elephant hunt in the beginning of the reign of the late Rajah, which may well excite the jealous astonishment of modern Nimrods. The facts divested of oriental flourish are simply these: In 1822 the ryots complained of the great destruction of their fields and houses, caused by numerous herds of elephants, when the Rajah, "recollecting that it was the duty of a king to destroy the wicked and assist the helpless," resolved upon a wholesale destruction of the beasts and within 38 days he killed with his own hand 233 elephants and his soldiers caught 181 alive! Well may he exclaim in conclusion: "Is this not a great wonder, that men caught elephants alive, as if they were mice, and killed herds of them by using their seven weapons with the destructive force of roaring thunder?"

*136 The *Ornithologist* not less than the Botanist finds in Coorg a fruitful field for his researches, for birds of almost every tribe are plentiful throughout the country. The Mysore Museum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

already exhibits a goodly number of these, and through the kindness of Dr. Oswa'ii, I have been furnished with a classified list of 30 birds, collected last year in Coorg, but of course there are many more, that are common to Southern India. One would think that, during the heavy south-west monsoon, animal life in the open could scarcely exist, yet hardly does the sun break through the rainy clouds when all around there is life and joy amongst the feathered tribe. They seem to anticipate that happy time, when after the monsoon, in sunny October and November, they pay, dressed in their finest plumage, courtship to their spouses, and warbling and singing, are busy all day long, for the comfort of their expected offspring. 136*

The following survey is arranged according to Mr. Vigor's classification of birds:—Amongst the birds of prey (*Raptores*) the high soaring *Vulture* (*Vultur Indicus*) (*Kg.* adiya paddu), with wings turned obliquely upwards, stands foremost, both for his size and utility, as public scavenger of animal carcasses in which occupation he is assisted by the Pariah dog and the crow. Occasionally a solitary eagle (*Kg.* paddu) may be seen in the mountains; a fine specimen of the golden eagle (Aquila chrysaetos) came into my possession a few years ago; whilst on a mountain slope he was struggling on the ground with a large horned owl, both were caught alive. This eagle was a fine bird, in sitting posture 15 inches high; with outstretched wings 4 feet 5 inches; the upper part of the head and neck light buff, of a light brown and grey down the chest and dark brown, nearly black, on the back, and the wings tinged with brighter spots. The brilliant eye, with its brownish yellow iris and wary look, gave the bird an air of intelligence and its formidable curved and pointed bill and horny talons kept the inquisitive at a respectful distance. He managed to free himself from his chain and escaped. [127]

The Garuda or *Brahmany kite* (Haliastur Indus) is more

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 frequently seen. His plumage is very handsome, glossy white the head, neck and breast, and beautifully brown the back, wings and tail. In Hindoo mythology it is Vishnu's vehicle and therefore held in high veneration by the natives. He is a useful bird as he devours noxious reptiles, but sometimes he also carries away an unguarded chicken. The *Pariah kite* (Milvus Govinda) is very common and easily recognised by its greyish, brown speckled plumage and short shrill screech whilst soaring over its domain in small circles. He is the scavenger of animal refuse thrown from the cookroom, but preys chiefly on reptiles, which he carries off with a swoop, and devours flying. The sparrow hawk (Accipiter nisus), the Kestrel-falcon (Tinnunculus alandarius), the Sultan and the perigrine falcon (Falco peregrinator and peregrinus) are not unfrequently seen from the hill tops, soaring over the forests in pursuit of their winged prey. The Rajahs used the larger kind of falcon, the Kembakki (red bird) for hunting. The swiftness and majestic flight of the falcon is proverbial with the Coorg bards, who sing of the departed hero: "Like the falcon in the sky, thou wast roaming here on earth." In the eagle-fight we have already been introduced to the *Great Owl* (Bubo maximus; *Can.* guma); but there is also a smaller kind, which on house tops in nightly solitude often disturbs and frightens with its moaning cry: "Waugh O! Waugh O!" the [825] sleeping inmates, by whom the owl is greatly dreaded. My keeping one as a pet some years ago was regarded by the Coorgs with grave apprehension and, afterwards, when I was laid up with jungle fever, the cause was ascribed to the presence of the ominous bird.

The *Insessores* or Perchers are largely represented in each of the five tribes. Amongst the Fissirostres there is the gregarious *Bee-eater* (merops) of both a larger and a smaller green variety. They prey upon insects like the swallows, of which there are also several species found in Coorg. The *Goat-*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

sucker (Caprimulgus Asiaticus) in its modest greyish-black plumage is often observed in twilight along hedges or in abandoned buildings. Its flight is short and noiseless. Amongst the beautiful Tragonidae there is the Harpactus fasciatus or Malabar Trogon, a solitary bird of splendid plumage, that delights in the stillness of the forest, where it seizes the flitting insects on the wing. Remarkable for the gaudy brilliancy of its light blue plumage is the Indian roller or blue Jay (Coracias Indicus). It is frequently seen on jungle clearings or coffee estates perched on a solitary dry tree, where it freely surveys its hunting ground and discerns with wary look any approaching danger. It is difficult to get at, though it may be seen all the year round. Nearly allied to the jay are the Kingfishers. Of these brilliant birds, which are rather common along streams and paddy-fields we have three species: the brown headed (Halcyon leucocephalus), the white breasted (H. Smyrnensis) and the common Indian kingfisher (Alcedo Bengalensis; *Kg.* mingotti—fishcatcher). Their habits are similar; they live on small fishes such as stickle-backs and minnows; perched immovably upon some overhanging twig, they watch for a passing fish, upon which they suddenly dart with their long sharp bill, and kill and eat it. Their flight is very swift. They lay their round white eggs in holes of banks. 136*

Amongst the *Scansores* or Climbers foremost are the parrots, which are very numerous in Coorg, especially in bamboo jungles. They are remarkable for their beautiful colours, their climbing skill, their powerful bill, their fleshy tongue and their power of imitating the human voice; they are therefore great pets with natives and Europeans. The large green species (Palæornis torgatus; *Kg.* mále-gini) with a rose coloured ring round its neck, is for its docility and power of imitation most valued. There is also the blue winged Parrokeet (Palæornis columboides), the blue headed [231]

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*136 parrokeet (P. cynocephalus) and a pretty dwarf parrot, the Indian Lorikeet (Loriculus Vernalis).

The melancholy stillness of the forests is often interrupted by the "tap, tap, tap" of the woodpeckers, of which there are several species; the commonest is the one with rufous, speckled plumage and red crest (Micropternus Gularis), more scarce is the great black woodpecker (Mulleripicus Hodgsoni; *Kg.* Marakotta-pakki) chiefly found in Kiggatnád. The whole plumage is deep black, except the upper part, which, in the male, is of a lively red. In its pursuit of insects under the bark or in holes of trees, it ascends with great rapidity in a screw line, and its tap, tap seems to answer more the purpose of disturbing the hidden insects, which it catches in their precipitous flight, than to peck a hole into the tree. The female deposits 2 or 3 white eggs in the hollows of old trees. The flight of the woodpecker is short and generally only from tree to tree.

The Cuckoo-family is represented by the black cuckoo (Endynamys Orientalis) and the red winged crested cuckoo (Coccystes coromandus) both of which are suspected of parasitic habits regarding the disposal of their eggs.

Of the tribe *Tenuirostres* or Suctorial birds there is the purple honey-sucker (Arachnechtra currucaria), a beautiful little bird, glittering like a humming bird with metallic lustre, as it flutters over the flowers, whose nectar it sucks with its thin long bill. The Indian hoopoe (Upupa Ceylonensis) is an active elegant bird with an arched crest upon the head of a ruddy buff colour, terminating in black. When in search of food, it emits a sound resembling the word hoop, hoop, hence its name. During the monsoon it retreats to a drier district.

The tribe *Dentirostres* has also its representatives in the Malabar Woodshrike (Tephrodornis sylvicola) which resembles a falcon both in form and habits; the black headed

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Cuckoo-shrike, the orange Minivet (Pericrotus flammens), the large racked-tailed Drongo and the Paradise Flycatcher (Tchitrea Paradise; *Kg.* Nákare-bála=ribbon tail) which is most elegant in form and plumage. Its dark brown body is ornamented by a greenish black crest on the head and two pure white lateral tail feathers, which, when the bird flies along in wavy curves from bush to bush, present a most graceful appearance. 136*

The *Thrushes* (Merulidae) delight both with their sweet song and their pretty plumage. There is the Malabar whistling thrush (Myiophonus Horsfieldi), the blue headed chat thrush (Oreocetes cinclorhyncus) and the white winged ground thrush (Geocichla cyanotus).

The Neilgherry Blackbird (Merula simillima) goes here under the native name of Bhímarája or the Coorg nightingale, so sweet and powerful is its song. An interesting bird of this family is the southern Simitar Babbler, and distinguished for the beauty of its golden plumage, is the Black-naped Indian Oriole (Oriolus Indicus). The common Bulbul (Pycnonotus pygaeus) may be found throughout the year. When pursued, it leads the intruder away from its nest by its short flight to other bushes. It sings very sweetly and its crimson and black crest look very pretty. The Tailor-bird (Orthotomus) is called by the Coorgs "Gíjapakki," in imitation of its sharp cutting cry, which is like the noise of saw-filing and by its frequent repetition, as painful to the nerves. It is common about gardens and groves of trees, and celebrated for the artificial construction of its nest. I have one before me. Three leaves of the guava tree are by many stitches skilfully drawn together, and give throughout their length cover to the nest, the full upper half of one leaf forms a curved roof, completely protecting the entrance. It is a very active little bird, and, whilst hopping about, jerks up its tail, beating time to its piercing cry. It leaves Coorg during

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*136 the south-west monsoon. Of similar habits is the Wren (Prinia; *Kg.* Chirulichita) of which there are several species. The southern yellow Tit (Machlolophus Jerdoni) and the Indian White-eye (Zosterops) are also found, the latter in great abundance, likewise the Wagtails (Motacilla), which are often seen along reaped paddy-fields feeding among cattle on various insects. The Coorgs call them Bálátimoni (Bála tail, áta play) which coincides with the English name, indicating their peculiar habit of wagging their tails.

Amongst the tribe of *Conirostres* the first place is taken by the most impudent of birds, the common Crow (Corvus splendens; *Can.* kági). In Coorg it is less abundant than in the low country. Less frequent is the pretty rufous Tree Crow, or common Indian Magpie (Dendrocitta rufa), which is found in jungles. It is fond of the fruit of the banian and its cry is like that of the racked-tailed Drongo (Edolius Malabaricus) which frequents coffee estates in the bamboo-district. The well known Mynahs, especially the common mynah and the grey headed species (Temenuchus Malabaricus) are very common, less so the southern Hill-Mynah (Eulabes religiosa). They roost in numerous flocks and feed on berries and grain of various kinds. They also keep company with grazing cattle, feeding on the insects which are disturbed by their footsteps. They are remarkable for their power of repeating words and sentences, of imitating laughing, coughing and sneezing. To Europeans a pleasing acquaintance of the "Old Country" is the "House-Sparrow" (Passer domesticus; *Kg.* mane-pakki = house-bird) which is here as numerous, clamorous and amorous as at home! The yellow necked or Jungle Sparrow (Passer flavicollis) frequents light jungles and chirps exactly like the house-sparrow. The Weaver-bird or bottle-nested Sparrow (Ploceus Baya) is more numerous towards Mysore, but after the monsoon, when the paddy gets ripe, it may be often seen about Mercara in considerable flocks, which

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perched on a tree keep up a continual chirping. Its pending retort-shaped nest, which is over a foot in length, is woven of long fine grass. The entrance is from below and formed by the two inches wide neck of the retort, the main body of the nest is laterally compressed and divided by an open partition wall into 2 compartments, of which the lower one is occupied by the hatching bird that lays 2 or 3 white little eggs.

There are several species of larks rather common in Coorg. They have much the same plumage and habits as our European warbling lark, and are sometimes caged by the natives.

One of the largest birds here is the Hornbill (Buceros cavatus; *Kg.* Malérapa, malé forest, arapa sound, i. e. the forest resounding bird). It is upwards of 4 feet in length; black on the belly, chin, wings and back, with one band across the tail, the rest of which is white, as also the neck and parts of the wing. The curved, large bill, which now lies before me and which belonged to a male bird, is vermillion above, with a black central line, and yellowish on the sides, the lower mandible is whitish and the base below the eye black. On the upper mandible there is an extraordinary prominence of vermillion colour, 4 inches broad and 8¼ inches long, terminating behind in a black curvature and the concave front uniting its dip with the ridge of the beak, so that the two sides rise to a narrow ledge 2 inches above the true bill, from which they are distinguished by a black triangular stripe. The appendage looks as if 2 horizontal horns were superadded to the bill, which from point to gape is in a straight line 11¼ inches in length, and from point to the end of the protuberance I measured 16¼ inches. The Coorgs make powder flasks of its hollow bill and the quills they use for writing. The noise of its wings, when flying, is very loud and its progress is so slow, that a man can follow it. In its prey it is omnivorous.

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[413]

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*136 Of the third order of birds, the *Rasores* or *Scrapers*, Coorg can make a goodly show with a variety of Pigeons, of which the blue pigeon—*Kg.* tórapakki—is the most common, but the green and the yellow pigeon and the ring-dove are not scarce in the forests. The Peacock (Pavo cristatus; *Kg.* meilu) with its shrill morning call, and the timid jungle fowl (Gallus Sonneratii; *Kg.* kádgóli) with its self-betraying "cockadoodle doo" are numerous in bamboo jungles, especially during the last few years of bamboo seeding. Both species together with the Woodcock and the common Partridge (Perdix cinerea; *Kg.* ganjalakki) and the Quail (Coturnix) are at the time of the ragi crop frequently brought to Mercara for sale by a class of jungle people who are most expert in catching these birds, the voices of which they very cleverly imitate. In the neighbourhood of Subramanya peacocks may not be killed, as they are believed to be the vehicles of the god residing there. The neck-feathers of the jungle cock are much valued for their beauty, each being marked by roundish hornlike plates of various shades of yellow. The Coorgs keep these [237] [226] as trophies, as the Indian does his hairy scalp. The single feathers are turned into artificial flies, to fishes the most attractive bait, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid for by the devotee of "the gentle art." The Crow-pheasant or common Coucal (Centropus rufipennis), distinguished by its cinnamon brown wings, long tail and crow-like head, is very frequently seen on bamboo land, where it hides itself in the dense clumps, uttering as it slowly flies away a deep note [262] like a monkey. It feeds on insects and small reptiles and is eaten by the natives.

A few representatives of the fourth order of birds, the *Grallatores* or *Waders* are: the Egret (Egretta flavirostris; *Kg.* balya-póle = great crane) which towards the end of the monsoon is frequently seen stalking along paddy-fields or streams in search of prey. It is white as snow, about 3 feet high with

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long yellow legs and straight yellow bill. It keeps in small flocks. The little green Heron (Butstrides Javanicus; *Kg.* kiru-póle = small crane), the Indian Waterhen (Gallinula) and the Plover or Peevit (*Kg.* uppu-títe, imitating its cry) are found in marshy places, likewise the Snipe (Gallinago stenura; *Kg.* bandu-koneya = mud squatter) whose flesh is in great estimation with the Coorgs and Europeans; also the green Sandpiper (Aclitis Ochropus) may occasionally be seen. 136* [262]

As there are no large tanks in Coorg, few of the *Natatores* or *swimming birds* are to be found. There is only the Wild Duck or Teal of a larger and smaller species, which the Coorgs call Kóku and Yerande-pakki; the latter dive under the water, as soon as they observe a hunter and remain submerged for a long time. Geese and Turkeys are kept domesticated, but the cold and wet monsoon weather does not agree with turkeys. [312] [231]

A rapid glance over the remaining portion of the Coorg Fauna will be arrested by but a few species of general interest. The *Reptiles* are represented by two kinds of Tortoises, a variety of Lizards, Snakes and Frogs.

The *Tortoises* are found in paddy-fields and small tanks. The shell of one in my possession is 11 inches long and 7 inches broad, but of a bony nature, unfit for ornamental use. Since the devastations of the coffee-borer common Lizards, Bloodsuckers, and Chameleons, all of them insect-feeders, have become of greater importance to the agriculturist. Alligators are occasionally seen in the Káveri, especially near Rámaswámy Kanawé. Last year one of 9 feet in length was caught in Beppunad with a woman's nose-ring and a silver bracelet in his stomach.

Snakes are rather plentiful in Coorg, but the subject has not yet received sufficient attention, to enable me to give the correct name of the different species. Classifying them as poisonous and harmless snakes, the native name may at least

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*136 serve to lead the curious upon the right track. The Cobra di capella or Hood Snake (Naia tripudians; *Kg.* Nalla pámbu = good snake, in the sense of Eumenides?) is more frequent in the bamboo than in the málc district, and often takes possession of an out-hill for its habitation, but also deserted huts and the thick thatch of out-houses are its favourite haunts. It is kept and worshipped in demon temples and sometimes in rooms to guard treasure. In a specimen 5 feet long just examined, the hood which is formed by the expanded skin of the neck, when the snake is excited, measured 7 inches in length and 4½ in breadth. It is whitish in front and black on the lower part of the back, shading off into brown and white towards the flattened head; in the middle of the hood there is a peculiar mark resembling a pair of spectacles with the bridge downward, the frame being white and the space of the imaginary glasses black. Before an attack the cobra half raises its coiled body into a graceful curve, dilates its hood and swaying to and fro, its bifid tongue quivering all the while, it keeps its victim spell bound with its fiendish brilliant eyes, till it darts forward and hissing inflicts its deadly wound. In spite of the most strenuous exertions of science, combined with benevolence, no infallible remedy has yet been discovered against the bite of the cobra, and all the boasted native charms have proved worthless, though snake charmers have by their knowledge of the habits of the cobra and by the influence of the melancholy strain of their rude flageolet acquired a great power over the reptile.

[825] [778] [752] [825]

The number of the poison fangs of this and all other venomous snakes, is but two, one in front of each side of the upper jaw, and they lie flat along the roof of the serpent's mouth, whilst at rest. The fangs are curved inside and as sharp as the finest needle, yet they are hollow and their root is in direct communication with the venom lacts behind them. In biting the same muscle that raises the fangs compresses

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the venom ducts and by the force of the actual bite a drop of the venom is injected through the channel of the fangs into the tiny wound and in a few minutes the whole system of the victim is poisoned and inevitable death ensues. Varieties of the cobra with hood and mark are the Pillandi-murga and the kád-murga, the former is greyish white and 1 to 1½ foot long, the latter is dark brown; their bite is less poisonous. The Kare-náda (black snake) with white marks about the throat, is 8 or 10 feet long and very rapid in its movements. It is found in dense forests and is sometimes washed down by the mountain torrents. Its bite causes death within half an hour. The late Rajah is said to have ascertained the power of the venom by experimenting upon sheep and buffaloes. The bite of the Patte-kolaka produces festering sores over the body; the Coorgs string the bones of this snake together and wear them as a charm against sores or swelling of the glands. There are three kinds of Cardamom-snakes: the green, the black and the grey Mandoli or Kummo-pámbu or Kurudu-mandoli which during the day are in a state of torpor, but active at night. On this account the natives term them "blind snakes"; they are often trodden upon by the cardamom cultivators, but a certain charm is said to render the poison innocuous. The kádu-bale and kére-bale muri or the jungle and tank Bracelet-snakes have white rings round their dark body, which become visible when the snakes are irritated. They are from 4 to 6 feet in length. The Pachi-balli-murga is dangerous to cattle whilst grazing.

136* [789] [826] [789]

Amongst the innocuous snakes the largest is the Peram-pámbu (big snake) or Rock-snake, a kind of Boa constrictor, which grows to a length of 12 to 15 feet and has in thickness the girth of a man's thigh. It even devours spotted deer and, after the monsoon, is often shot by Coorgs in the cardamom jungles. Next in size is the Black-tank or Rat-snake

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*136 (*Kg.* karingere) which catches mice and small reptiles. It frequently lives upon the thatched roofs of native houses and its flesh is eaten by the lower classes. Remarkable for its beauty and graceful evolutions is the green Whip-snake (*Kg.* pache-pámbu), which is commonly seen in shrubs. In native opinion it enjoys the imaginary purity and sanctity of the Brahmin and its skin is said to get blistered by the very shadow of man, falling upon it! An extraordinary forest-snake is the Kánam-pámbu, which is said to have a crest upon its head like a cock. The one foot long Ira-tale or two-headed snake is considered as capable of progressing equally well forwards or backwards, being gifted with a head at either end of its body. The flying snake or Páram-pámbu is very thin, of a brownish black colour and 18 inches long. Equally thin, but shorter is the Elat-áni-murgu or writing-stile-snake, which is black with white spots. Other harmless snakes are: the Billulli, the Niru-kuduma, the Túra-pámbu or cane-snake, etc.

The *Batrachians*, or the family of *Frogs*, fill the air with their croaking concert before the monsoon and during the occasional breaks, prognosticating impending rain. There is the large bull-frog, which makes itself heard at night, the common brown frog, which chiefly infests paddy-fields and tanks, and a small green frog, that lives on shrubs and trees; but all of them are feeders on insects, which they catch very cleverly. Toads, very ugly and very large, are found wherever there is a convenient hiding place on damp ground.

The river Kávéri and its affluents and the small native tanks and even the paddy-field rills are well stocked with a great variety of *Fishes*, which are caught by every class of natives, who have leisure for and take pleasure in the sport. [226] Shooting, angling, netting, basketing and poisoning with [127] Cocculus Indicus are the usual methods of fishing. For the following remarks I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Nash's list of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

14 Coorg fishes and Colonel Puckle's "Memorandum" on Fishes about Bangalore. 136* [127]

The queen of Coorg fishes in size and quality is the *Lady-Fish*, Callichrous (Silurus) chekra H. B. or Bále-mínu as the Coorgs call it, on account of its resemblance in whiteness and smoothness to the inside of the plantain-tree-bark. They distinguish 3 kinds of decreasing size: the Patna-bále, the Bále and the Kincha-bále. Next in size and excellence of its flesh is the *Black Cat-Fish*, Clarias magur H. B.—*Kg.* Kulla-baro?—of a dark green colour approaching to blakish purple on the back and fading to a greenish white; it is chiefly reared in tanks, spawns in the mud and is full of eggs in April, May and June.

Similar in appearance and size is the *Black Murl*—Ophiocephalus striatus—*Kg.* Bare-mínu. It lives in muddy tanks, guards its young till they are about 2 inches long, before which they may be seen swimming in two lines above their parent. It grows up to 2 feet in length and is of a dull brownish green on the sides, darker on the back and whitish beneath. The *Painted Murl*—Ophiocephalus marulius H. B. (*Kg.* Kávéri-baro?) is a very handsomely marked fish of 4 feet in length; upon the darkish grey ground there are white markings like flowers, hence its name "Flower Murl". It is found in the Kávéri and other deep river pools. They spawn in April and May.

The *Black Dhok* (Ophiocephalus gachua H. B.) grows to within one foot in length and is commonly found in clear tanks. Its colour is greyish green with irregular herring bone bands of lighter colour. The anal and dorsal fins are dark grey, the edges being tipped with the light green belly colour, but the pectoral fins are dull orange and strongly marked with dark grey dotted bars.

The *Painted Dhok* is like the former in shape, size and colour, but the head is handsomely mottled and banded and 9

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#136 or 10 distinct blotched bands below and 8 or 9 dark coloured bands above them run along the sides of the body. The lower jaw is marked on each side by 4 black dots.

The *Stone Loach* (Nemacheilus striatus. Day; *Kg.* Pál-avari?) is found in sandy and stony river bottoms, where they lie hidden until disturbed or rising for air, when they quickly come to the surface and as speedily return. It is a small fish; its silvery sides and yellowish brown back are dotted with black. There is a well defined dot at the base of the caudal fin, which gives at the first glance the appearance of the little [262] fish having an eye at each end. If well dressed it is fair eating.

The *Manincha* or Malanchi-mínu (slimy fish) is a kind of Eel, that grows to a length of 6 feet and is perhaps identical with the Murana maculata. Its flesh is very good eating and [262] highly esteemed by the natives for its medicinal qualities [957] against piles.

The *Indian Trout* (Garra Jerdoni. Day; *Kg.* Pandi-mínu i. e. Pig-fish) may be found in all the mountain nullahs; it is about 6 inches long, its head and neck are thick like those of a pig, hence its name. Its colour is a mottled green and grey. It has a suctorial dish under the chin, by which it can attach itself to rocks.

[262] The *Carp or Roach* (Puntius) occurs in several varieties all of which are esteemed good eating.

The *Banded Gold-fin* (Barilius cocsa) is an exceedingly pretty fish about 5 inches long and found only in shallow running streams. The back is greyish blue, with 8 or 9 lateral darker bands, the sides are silvery with blue reflections and fading to white below.

The *Silver-fish* (Chella cultellus) is of about the same size as the former, handsomely shaped and covered with brilliant, silvery scales, which are easily rubbed off.

From August till November the flooded paddy-fields give

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

shelter to numerous little fishes from half an inch to 4 inches in length, the smallest is the bitter Keipe, next the Kumbalakotte, the Koile, the Ponakani and the Avari. They are eagerly caught by the natives who are very fond of fish curry. 136* [262]

The shells, which I have been able to collect in Coorg comprise the following: 3 species of the Genus Unio, 2 species of the Genus Helix, the Genus Melania, the Genus Paludina, the Cyrena Malaccensis and the Cyclophorus excellens. The Helicidae are eaten by the natives. [262]

With the termination of the monsoon the insect world, in its varied and often brilliant array, asserts its dominion in the sunny air, the reinvigorated vegetation, on the placid waters and the warm ground. Then is the time for the entomologist to enrich his collection with fresh specimens of the different insect forms, and certainly Coorg offers a rich reward to the enthusiastic lover of nature. A small collection of Coorg Beetles, sent to a German entomologist, was highly appreciated for the variety and beauty of its species. Almost every family of the Coleoptera has its numerous representatives and even a glance over them all, were I able to enumerate them, would be too much for the patience of the reader. Passing over the beautiful family of the Cicindelidæ or Sand-runners and the still more brilliant Buprestidæ and Elateridæ, the powerful family of the Scarabacidæ with the giant Stag-beetle (Lucanus Malabaricus) over 3 inches in length and with light brown elytra; our attention will be arrested by the formidable looking Cerambycidæ or Long-horns, for amongst this family we find the contemptible and yet terrible little enemy of the coffee planters in Coorg and Southern India generally: the Coffee-Borer (Clytus Coffeophagus or Xylotrechus quadrupes) of which our woodcut gives a very good representation. The

The Coffee-Borer-beetle (Xylotrechus quadrupes) slightly enlarged.

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*136 full grown beetle is about three quarters of an inch long and the male is considerably smaller; both have an elongated cylindrical body and are equally marked. The head is small and depressed; the eyes are large and brilliant with a small whitish indentation near the root of the antenna, which are of moderate length, filiform, eleven jointed and pointed at the tip, the first joint being thicker and the second shorter than the rest. The mandibles are short, strong and incurved. The prothorax is slightly oval, nearly as broad as long, covered with greyish green minute hairs and marked by three black roundish spots, the middle one being four times larger than those on the sides. The elytra are thin but horny, long and slightly tapering; on a black ground there are three symmetrically curved, greenish, transverse lines and a perpendicular one at the base forming on the left wing with the first curve the letter y. The last pair of legs are particularly long and indicate by their strong light brown femora considerable walking and jumping powers; the other joints are black and the tarsi armed with bifid claws. The beetles are most numerous directly after the monsoon, but many stragglers appear all the year round. They are diurnal in their habits, not gregarious or migratory and unaffected by light at night.

The telescopic Ovipositor, highly magnified.

They are generally quiescent during the cool hours of the day, reposing on the bark of the coffee stem or under the leaves, but the warm sunshine calls forth their full activity. The female beetle is more plentiful and constantly busy with depositing her eggs on the sunny side of the stem alongside and into the natural fissures of the bark. As the beetle moves over the stem, the ovipositor which is a telescopic tube is in constant activity, sweeping like the finest hair-brush over and into every little cavity, and with unerring instinct she stops at the proper place and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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securely fastens one or several eggs; but it is difficult to say how many altogether, perhaps not over 100. The beetle does not attack the tree and dies after a fortnight. The ova, just perceptible to the naked eye and in groups of 3 to 8 appear under the microscope whitish, elongated and pointed at the top and are so securely hidden, that they become visible only on removing part of the corky layers of the bark. The ova gradually enlarge till after 12 or 15 days the white membrane bursts and the young grub of the size of a maggot begins to exercise its mandibles, eating its way into the juicy part of the soft bark and gradually into the hard wood of the tree. It is in this state of the larva that the insect has its longest existence of about 9 months and commits such fearful havoc. The full grown larva is about three-fourths to one inch in length, broadest at the head and tapering behind; of a pale yellow or whitish colour and fleshy appearance. The body consists of eleven segments, has no legs, but some of the abdominal rings have small tubercles on the back, which aid the insect in moving forward. The head is hard, flattened above, of a brown colour and armed with powerful mandibles, with which it reduces the wood to a fine powder for its food and, having passed it through its body, the glutinous powder is accumulated behind and so closely packed, that the tunnel is completely filled up and inaccessible from without. The first working of the larva in and under the bark leaves an unmistakable trace behind in a clearly defined swelling of the wounded bark, which sometimes cracks along the course of the larva. With the growth of the larva the tunnel also enlarges and its progress is in a most irregular manner winding up and down the tree and penetrating to the very end of the tap root, but though there may be as many as 20 or 30 larvæ at a time in one tree, their tunnels do neither coalesce, nor do they emerge on its surface. When near its transformation into the pupa state, the larva turns towards the bark

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 and often makes a clear horizontal sweep round the alburnum, so that the tree must die and snaps off at the least touch. This last operation of the borer accounts for the sudden sickly change in a tree, seeming shortly before to be in perfect health and frequently occurs shortly after the March and April showers, succeeding a period of very dry weather. The flow of sap in the reinvigorated tree may also induce the larva to turn towards the bark, for, contrary to other boring insects, the Coffee-xylotrechus revels in the most juicy green-wood and dies in a dry stem. In its last lodgement the pupa occupies a spacious cell, prepared by the larva and separated from the outside by merely the bark or a thin layer of wood. The pupa is yellowish white like the larva exhibiting the outlines of the future beetle shining through the covering membrane. In this quiescent state, the head towards the bark, the pupa remains for about two months in its dark chamber, when it emerges from its pupa covering, matures its beetle nature and with its powerful jaws eats its way through the bark, where afterwards a small round hole will indicate its departure, to perpetrate its pernicious work on an extended scale by a numerous progeny. The whole existence of the coffee borer from the egg to the death of the beetle does not exceed 12 months. Its presence in a coffee tree becomes apparent by the sickly look of the tree, the older leaves of which become yellow and the young shoots peculiarly twisted. The formed coffee berries do not ripen and fall off with the leaves and the tree dries up or lingers in a sickly, unfertile condition. Its destructive operations are not confined to particular localities, but spread almost all over the coffee growing districts in Southern India, and the devastations and consequent loss on many coffee estates are the more lamentable, the less chance there is of finding an immediate and reliable remedy. The insect, which is no doubt indigenous, has through various collateral causes, real and hypo-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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thetical, such as: the destruction of forests, abnormal seasons, dying of bamboos, disturbance of the balance in the local fauna etc. increased to an enormous extent, so as to render its presence a pest to coffee cultivation since the year 1865, a pest which spread to an alarming degree all over the Province. The removal and destruction of far gone trees, the scraping, rubbing and washing with acids healthy ones, to remove or destroy the ova, the shading in dry localities with permanent shade trees such as the charcoal and jack trees, proper cultivation—these and others are the remedial and preventive measures, recommended by practical agriculturists and also by the Commissioner, whom the Government deputed to investigate this important subject.

A beetle, neither notorious for destructive habits nor particularly useful, but interesting on account of the brilliant phenomenon it affords, when swarming in myriads on trees and shrubs during the warm April and May nights, is the *Fire-fly* (Lampyris splendidula; *Kg.* Minambulu i. e. glittering insect). It is not peculiar to Coorg, but in abundance and brilliancy no where else seen like here. A thunder storm, succeeded by a rich shower, has closed a sultry day. The sun has set unobserved. The western sky is overhung with clouds. In the cloudless east, the full moon rises slowly. The air perfectly pellucid, the stars glittering in fresh glory; not a breath of wind; all still. You turn from the broad red orb of the rising moon to the host of golden stars on the deep azure, from them to the massive banks of clouds, lit up here by faint lightnings, there by the pale beams of the moon their bold edges fringed with silver, and wonder at the beauties of the world above, where on the dark blue depths of heaven light seems to vie with light in the illumination of the vast dome, built by the unseen Master. Now, as by magic, a curtain of clouds is drawn over this glorious view above; but a scene of strange beauty is spread below. Shrub

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
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* 36

and bush and tree, as far as the eye can reach, burn with fairy light. The ground, the air, teem with lustre, every leaf seems to have its own enchanting lamp. The valley at your feet, the wooded hills at your right and left, the dark distant forest, all are lit up and gleam in ever varying splendour, as if every departed star had sent a representative to bear his part in this nightly illumination of the dark earth. Whence all at once these innumerable lights? No sound is heard, silently all these shining throngs pass before you in fantastic confusion. Look at this bush, that tree! Myriads of fiery sparks brighten up with phosphoric glare through the labyrinth of leaves and branches; a moment and they vanish. Now they flash up brighter than ever, as if this world of magic lustre was animated by pulsations keeping regular time. You sit and look, and think you could sit all night beholding the fairy scene!

Among the membrane winged Insects (Hymenopters) we must pay a grateful tribute to the *Honey-bee*, for the Coorg honey is plentiful and of an excellent flavour. Some bees build their hives in hollow trees (Tude-jénu) some in rocks (Hed-jénu) others on shrubs (Kólu-jénu), they are most frequently found in Surlabi-muttu-nád, in Yeddava-nád, Gaddi-nád, Mudikéri-nád and Kiggat-nád, where I saw a rock called Tembare, on which from 200 to 300 beehives are to be found. In the forests on some trees, especially the Gony-mara, there are from 100 to 200 hives. A jungle tribe, the Jénu-kurubas, gather the honey in the month of June. Having hit upon a hive in a hollow tree, they tie a bamboo, the short cut branches of which form a convenient ladder, to the tree during the day time and at night, provided with a basket attached to a long rope and lined with leaves, they climb up with a strongly smoking torch which they hold near the hive. The alarmed and half stunned bees fly away and their honeycombs are removed and let down in the basket. Whilst thus eng-

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Travancore Tribes AW64

while thus engaged, the Kurubas have a peculiar song, made for the occasion and expressing their feigned sympathy with the spoliated bees, so rudely disturbed of their nightly rest. The Kurubas sell the honey at 2¼ seers for the rupee. The wax has to be delivered for a pittance to the contractor of jungle produce, who as Government agent is alone entitled to sell it at the rate of 2¼ annas per seer of 24 rupees weight.

T 222 [533] T [439] C T [655]

Wasp and Hornet-nests, suspended from trees like inverted cabbage-heads, are frequently met with in jungles and are better left alone, for their inmates attack any intruder with painful stings. Small and large Ants of a black and red colour are very numerous and maintain the ferocious character of the family, pursuing the disturber of the domicile of their bustling community and inflicting severe bites upon the unfortunate victim. They play an important part in the cleansing and purifying department of the economy of nature. Their structures, domestic economy and transport operations of objects many times larger than their own bodies, excite admiration.

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Of the numerous and most beautiful family of *Lepidoptera* or *Butterflies* and *Moths* Coorg presents a goodly show, but though fine collections of them have been made, their classification is still uncompleted. With the close of the monsoon the Lantana hedges and especially the sandy banks of streams seem to be the rendezvous of a great variety of butterflies, of which some are distinguished for their size and brilliant colouring. Three species of similar size and shape chiefly attract our attention: the . . . . . .
with black velvety upper wings of about 6 inches in width and light blue under wings; the . . . . . .
with similar upper wings and the swallow tailed lower wings ornamented with a pale yellow satin-like spot; the most beautiful, however, is the . . . . . .
the black upper and lower wings of which are dotted all over

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 with minute brilliant green little dots, in addition to which the tailed lower wing is marked with a brilliant greenish blue large spot. A darting showy butterfly is the green mottled . . . . . A slowly moving but high soaring butterfly is the large winged yellow speckled . . . . . Distinguished amongst the moths for the swiftness and power of their flight are those that appear in the twilight (Crespuscularia), called Hawk-moths, which include the remarkable Death's-head-moth, the Sesia, the Sphinx of the vine, of the oleander, the caterpillar of which I found in great numbers on Cinchona trees, and many others. Amongst those that come forth at night (Nocturna), the largest perhaps amongst all the moths is the Atlas . . . . . a beautiful specimen of which I caught only a few days ago on a Lantana hedge and which measures nearly 10 inches across the wings; the ground colour of the wings is a warm brown, with reddish brown curved bands faced by white black lines dividing the wings nearly into halves, a similar band running across the body and a little over the wings with an outward curve. The whole space encircled by these bands is of a deeper brown colour and ornamented by four triangular transparent mica-like spots set in black rims and by a small, elyptical second spot on each of the upper wings. These are curved downwards, tipped with an orange band and a black eye, which gives the extremities of the wings a striking resemblance to a serpent's head. The upper wings are edged with a fine black wavy line and the lower wings with black dots surrounded by yellowish bands. The male is of a darker hue than the female and whilst the antennæ of the former are broad bipectinate and like a feather in miniature, those of the female are narrow. Another large and beautiful moth of the same group is the greenish-white swallow tailed Lithosia sanguinobuta, 6 inches in width. Its upper wings are orna-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

mented with a crimson line on the front edge and two lunular ocelli or spots of a black and crimson, shading off into a pale rose colour; the lower wings, which terminate in long twisted tails, are marked with similar spots. The Bombycidæ, to which the former moths seem to belong are represented by several other fine species, especially the genus Saturnia. There are some moths, of a light brown colour, belonging to the same genus, the caterpillars of which attach their silken cocoons, to the branches of the "Careya arborea". They are chiefly found in the open parts of Kiggatnád, and the trees are sometimes covered with clusters of these pale yellow cocoons. The thread of this silk is so interwoven and gummed together that the cocoons seem to be worthless for any practical purpose. 136*

The larva of the Zeuzera Coffeophaga, commonly called "Red Borer" on account of its colour, is found in coffee and young Casuarina trees. It burrows its tunnel chiefly along the pith, leaving an open communication with the outside of the tree through which its globular woody excrements are discharged and which betray the active enemy within. A wire run up through the hole or stopping up the orifice with a peg are the safest means for destroying the insect, which otherwise is apt to take a horizontal turn in its progress and thereby to cut off the upper part of the tree. Its devastations are however insignificant compared with the "White Coffee-Borer". It is not usual to find more than one red borer in a tree. In its chrysalis state it is enveloped in a delicate silken cocoon. The moth measures about three-quarters of an inch across the wings which are pure white, and spotted with small dots of a bluish-black. The body is marked with a large black spot and the abdomen with rings of the same colour. The antennæ of the male are bipectinate to about their middle.

Still more destructive to young coffee plants is the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 "*Ringer*", the larva of the moth *Agrotis Sagetum*, as identified by Dr. Bidie. At times it multiplies to such an extent, that many acres of young coffee are rapidly destroyed by it, unless checked in its devastating course. The "Ringer" gnaws off a circle of the bark just above the ground, stops the circulation of the sap, and thus of course kills the plant. The grub is an inch in length, of a greyish black colour and lives in the ground. Its agency for evil is active only at night time when its natural foes, the birds etc. are at roost, and vegetable gardens, especially when planted with beans and potatoes, are equally subject to its attacks. which are only checked by digging it up close to the destroyed plant, or by applying quicklime to the ground. The moth measures about one and three-quarters of an inch from wing to wing. The upper wings are of a clouded brown and the lower pair of a greyish or bluish white colour. The Charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii) is infested by the larva of the family *Hepialidæ*. It is a very lively creature from 3 to 4 inches long, pale red, with 8 pairs of feet. Its large burrow in the tree is easily detected by the protruding bag-like cover over the entrance, consisting of a texture of threads mixed up with powdered wood. The moth, when in repose, bends down its greyish brown wings which measure nearly 4 inches across.

Of the *Hemiptera* or halfwinged insects there are some brilliant but disagreeably odoriferous species. The white and the black bug have come to notice by their attacking coffee, but the brown or scaly bug (Lecanium Coffeæ, Walker) is the more dreaded species. The male as is usual with moths is innocuous save as the progenitor of evil, but the female after feeding on the sap of the tender shoots or bark, scatters its hundreds of eggs over the coffee tree, the branches of which are soon covered, and the foliage greatly suffers, while part of the berries turn black and fall off. The bug generally first appears in some sheltered damp ravine, but rapidly spreads

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

over an estate and after 2 or 3 seasons disappears leaving the trees in an exhausted condition. Still it is not so much dreaded as the "White Borer"; for the bug-covered trees recover with propitious weather, and sometimes appear to compensate their owner for the temporary curtailment of produce by an unusually heavy crop. 136*

Amongst the clamorous *Chirpers* the large Cicada or "Knife-grinder" is conspicuous for the tremendous noise which it creates on a sunny day in a bamboo-clump or in a grove on Bâne land. It is nearly three inches in length.

The *Diptera* or two-winged insects are largely represented and some much dreaded, such as the Gadflies and Musquitoes (Culex irritans) which torment man and beast.

The Blue-bottle, like the vulture, makes its mysterious appearance, wherever animal substances are decaying. The common House-fly is at times very numerous, but its beneficient moisture absorbing services are hardly appreciated. Just before the monsoon Fleas (Pulex irritans), which are at large, seem to seek a sheltering abode in houses and become a great nuisance, but with the cold weather they make themselves scarce. Passing over the beautiful Dragon flies,

> "That flutter round the Jasmine stems,
> Like winged flowers or flying gems,"

our attention is arrested by the destructive Termite or White Ant, which also belongs to the order *Neuroptera* or nerve-winged insects. White ants are not so numerous in Coorg as on the coast, but buildings in the province are not free from their attacks, which they carry on in the light excluding mud-galleries which they construct on every exposed substance, they seek to consume. Their conical shaped mud-nests, which are sometimes 10 feet high, deserve the name of ant-hills, if compared with the tiny insect-architect. They are frequently seen in the dry Kanawé district, where the bark and alburnum of sandalwood trees seem to have great attrac-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 tions for the white ant. The habits of the Termites have been exhaustively described by Kirby and Spence, Dr. Lardner and other naturalists.

The order *Orthoptera*, or straight winged insects, contains besides the familiar Cockroach, silvery grey Fish-insect or Lepisma, Cricket, Grasshopper and Locust, some singular looking creatures, namely: the "Walking-sticks", the "Leaf-insects", and "Mantis" which are not unfrequently found in Coorg. The "Walking-sticks" or spectres (Phasmidae) closely resemble a vivified twig. When at rest the two pairs of posterior legs lie close to the slender body and the two anterior legs are joint and projected, covering with the 5 inches long body a space of 10 inches, at least in the specimen now before me. It is but seldom provided with wings; the long legs are three jointed and the femurs armed with short spines. The "Leaf-insect" (Phyllium siccifolium) is nearly 5 inches in length and midway 2 inches broad; its bright green body is on both sides expanded like a leaf and on it rest the two reticulated green wings, joining their back-seams like the mid-rib of a natural leaf, from which the opposite side-ribs branch off at regular intervals. The first two joints of the 6 legs are likewise green and expanded like the petiolary stipules of the lime tree; the last joint is short and provided with claws. The head is rather large and depressed, the eyes protruding and yellow, and the antennæ very short. In the *Mantis* or praying insect, the front limbs are folded as in the attitude of prayer. With these sabre-like forelegs the reputedly sanctimonious mantis entraps and decapitates the small insects on which it feeds. When two "Mantis" are placed opposite each other, they will fight with extreme ferocity like a pair of game cocks. A most extraordinary species is the dry-leaf-mantis which seems to be a compound of the three before-mentioned insects. It has the forelegs of the "Mantis", the thorax and posterior legs of the "Walking-stick" and the

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wings of the "Leaf-insect", with some peculiarities of its own. 136*
The head, with its large elyptical protruding eyes, its horn-like appendage and filiform antennæ, has a formidable appearance, which is heightened by its erect position as it bends upright the expanded protorax and puts forth its powerful long forelegs; the torax is like a thin stick one inch long, and the wings which overlap each other and are bent downwards resemble a withered leaf. The long legs have at the extremities of the first joint a lateral expansion of the same colour as that of the whole insect, which is a light-brown.

Amongst the *Aptera* or wingless insects we need only mention the Centipedes and Millepedes which are rather numerous in Coorg, especially the "Scolopendra" the bite of which causes severe pain and the "Julus" which is frequently found under the bark of trees, coiled up like a watch spring. Other unpopular parasitic genera, comprised in this order and which are coextensive with man's habitation, are not wanting in Coorg, especially among the uncleanly low caste people.

The *Arachnidas* or Spiders and Scorpions have also their numerous representatives. The "Coorg Spider" abounds in all parts of the province. Its central globular black body is supported by 8 hairlike 2¼ inches long legs, which give it a ghastly appearace. These spiders are gregarious and haunt dark and damp places, where often thousands are crowded together forming one black mass, which, if disturbed, disentangles itself with astonishing rapidity and spreads in every direction.

The yellow banded spider is an interesting object for observation, as it spans its extensive curious web on sunny thoroughfares, watching in the centre for its prey and rushing at the least vibration along the disturbed thread, to catch the unfortunate intruder. The largest spider perhaps in existence is the "Mygale" which lives in the ground. The one in my possession is from a coffee estate. Its body is two inches

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 and a half in length and one inch broad and the longest leg over 3 inches. The upper mandibles terminate in downward curved horny claws, with which it wounds its victims, the poison being conveyed through the perforated claws. It is of a greyish colour alternately marked along the legs with pale yellow and black bands. The creature is covered with grey bristles which are longest on the legs.

Scorpions (*Can.* Chélu), especially the large greenish black kind, are frequently met with on damp ground under large stones or near decaying trees, where they attain a size of over six inches in length. Their sting is very painful and the wound causes a considerable swelling of the injured limb that lasts for several days. The smaller greyish-yellow kind occurs chiefly in damp rooms and its sting is less painful.

The class *Crustacea* has its representatives in several kinds of Crabs (*Can.* Nalli), that live under stones, in streams (kallalli), in paddy-fields (hullalli) and on damp ground (mandalli), and are eagerly eaten by the natives. A mother of the Yeddavanád people will exhort her children with the proverb:

> "Eat Kallalli and you will become a clever man;
> Eat Hullalli and you will become brave as a tiger;
> Eat Mandalli and you will become master of the house."

The land-crabs often do great mischief to cultivation, especially to coffee-nurseries in damp ravines.

Of the *Annelides* the "Coorg Leeches" (*Can.* jigini) impress themselves on the memory of every one who ventures during the monsoon into the jungles. They are from one to two inches in length, very slender and astonishingly swift in attacking their victims. Thousands of leeches seem to keep right and left watch for the approaching wanderer, walking along a jungle pathway, and should he stop for a moment, the bloodthirsty creatures make up to him in their peculiar doubling-up way of progress from every quarter, and woe to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

him, should they unobserved gain access to any bare part of his feet; they will bleed him unmercifully till he feels the blood trickling down. The wounds produce with some constitutions festering sores. A simple means for keeping them off is a little salt-bag round the ankle. The medicinal leech (*Can.* atte) is also found in tanks and made use of in the Hospital. 136* [757]

3. Meteorological and climatic conditions of Coorg. 132

Though Coorg is but a small country, yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence the atmospheric conditions of the locality. Still the dry eastern or Kanawé district may in the mean present as constant a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. We have to distinguish the hot, the rainy and the cold season, though throughout the year the atmosphere is not without humidity which is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. From the end of December to the end of March, rain, indeed, is scarce, but in the mornings and evenings the valleys are seldom free from fogs or dews. During these months the dry east wind prevails, which has long ceased to carry remains of north-east monsoon clouds to the Western Ghats. Towards the end of March the clouds begin to collect towards the south-west and the cooling sea breeze blows with more regularity over the Ghats. In April and May the sun increases in power, banks of massive clouds extend along the western horizon, and occasional thunderstorms and showers, indicating the approach of the mohsoon, cool the atmosphere which is warm and moist. The thunderstorms during this season are even more impressive than in the low country. Mountains of clouds, in double and treble ranges, float against each other with the order of armies. The sound as of heavy

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132 cannon is heard from a distance; solitary discharges of the electric fluid shoot through the gloom. Now whole batteries seem to be in action; peals of thunder are heard at brief intervals, and the eye shuts involuntarily against the dazzling brilliancy of the lightning. Then the conflict seems to subside, the roar of thunder is heard at greater intervals, the flashes of lightning lose their intense and fearful glare and the rain pours down in torrents.

Towards the end of May the clouds take up a firm position in the western sky and grow in massiveness. In June the rapport between the western sea and the atmosphere of Coorg is fully established. Rain prevails, descending at times softly, but more frequently with great violence and heavy gusts of wind. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The clouds seem to be inexhaustible, the blasts of the wind irresistible! As much as 74 inches of rain have been registered within this month, and for several days in succession 5, 6 and 7 inches within 24 hours! The sun is often not seen for weeks, and existence in the province would be as dull and gloomy as the clouds overhead, did not the inhabitants adapt themselves to circumstances and learn to make light of the incessant downpour. But it is pardonable if one is sometimes tempted to envy those favoured few, who may bask all the while in the mild sunshine of pleasant Frasepet, the monsoon-head-quarters of the Superintendent, 20 miles to the east of Mercara, where the roaring Káveri river and an occasional shower from the fringe of the monsoon clouds are the only signs of the rainy season in the highlands. In August the rain is considerably less and a few days break with an open sunny sky, atones for all the past discomforts. The ancient Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In October the north-east

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wind strong and cold, gains the ascendency and clears the sky; in November, however, it often carries heavy clouds from the eastern coast, which discharge themselves chiefly upon the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightful, clear and fresh, the thermometer falling to a minimum of 50°. 132

The meteorological observations in Coorg are almost confined to Mercara, the principal station. From the tables in the appendix which are based upon my observations for 7 years, the following facts may be deduced for the meteorological condition of Mercara, near the Central School. The mercurial barometer shows its maximum height during the hot weather months and reaches 26° 60′ and its minimum during the monsoon, when it falls to 26° 15′. The thermometer indicates a moderate temperature, owing not to the latitude, but only to the elevation of the country. During the cold months, from October to January inclusive, the daily average variation ranges over 24° Fahrenheit between the extremes, giving a daily mean of 65°; during the hot weather months, February to May inclusive, the daily mean temperature is 70°, deduced from the average extremes 57° and 82° which show a daily variation of 25°; during the monsoon, from June to September, the temperature is most equable, moving between the extremes 60° and 75° which leave only a daily variation of 15° and a daily mean of temperature of 65° for these months. [654]

The prevailing winds are: west wind just before and during the monsoon; north-east wind directly after the monsoon; and east to south-east wind during the remaining season.

The percentage of humidity, as exhibited by Dr. Bidie in his "Report on the Ravages of the Borer", varies between 48 and 87, the minimum occurring in December and the

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132 maximum at the end of September; very gradually and steadily rising 10 cents from January until May, when with a bound it increases 10 cents in May, 5 cents in June, 5 cents in July, and after a decrease of 5 cents in August it reaches the maximum of 87 cents in September, falls 10 cents in October, 10 in November and 22 in December, when it attains its minimum.

The mean annual rainfall for the past 7 years amounts to 123·80 inches of which at a monthly average 1·90 inches fell during the hot, 26·43 inches during the monsoon and 2·64 inches during the cold season. According to the scientific theory of the south-west monsoon, the rainfall in Coorg would seem to be entirely dependent on the geographical position and geological configuration of the country, but practical experience attests the fact, which is also corroborated by the annexed pluvimetrical table, that the rainfall has for the last four years been steadily decreasing and the cause is attributed to the extensive denudation of forest-clad hills for coffee cultivation, contemporaneously with the natural decay of all the bamboos in Coorg. The same amount of vapours as in former years may be carried from the sea over the Ghats, but the local power of attracting the rain clouds has diminished with the disappearance of the forests. No one who has attentively watched the sailing of clouds over partially wooded hill-tops can have failed to observe their lingering hovering-over and descent upon the forests, whereas over the bare hills the clouds sweep past with unimpeded velocity. The rains are neither as heavy, regular or continuous, as they used to be, and since there is less rain sinking into the ground and the retaining qualities of the soil have been reduced by the extensive clearing of forests and jungles, there are fewer springs and shallower streams and the country in general has become drier. Were it not for the incidental droughts, injurious to coffee planting, and

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the increasing difficulty of rice cultivation in some parts of 132
the country, the change might be hailed as a most welcome improvement in the Coorg climate, which for the sake of human health might be still less loaded with moisture.

On the whole the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 66° 6′ is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year and Europeans are able to take exercise in the open air at all hours. European children in particular enjoy excellent health and their fat rosy cheeks form a striking contrast to the thin pale faces of those in the low country.

The rarified, often cold and damp air of Mercara with the usually prevailing high winds, necessarily does not agree with asthmatic and bronchial affections, chronic disorders of the liver and dysenteric complaints, but Fraserpet, which is 1,000 feet lower than Mercara, affords a salutary change during the rainy season.

The native troops, especially new arrivals from the low [701] country, suffer much from the cold and damp and are, during [164] their first year of acclimatization, subject to fever and bowel complaints, but in time even they enjoy the bracing climate of Mercara.

The climate of the valleys, particularly during the hot 132
months preceding the monsoon, when, as the natives say, the 164
old and new waters are mixed, is far from being healthy. Fevers, agues and bowel complaints are then very frequent and protracted. For the rest of the year the natives of the country pronounce the climate to be excellent especially after the monsoon. Besides the dreaded Coorg fever, which [751] appears in its worst form, especially to Europeans, in the vicinity of Atur in south-east Coorg and about Sampáji on the western boundary, small-pox has laid a fearful hold upon the natives though vaccination is much in vogue. Cholera but seldom makes its appearance; and yields readily to treat-

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132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate
[167] their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

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valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Módu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

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243 492 [772] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been col-
243 lected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and
[354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they
[782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 24 butties of grain are required for

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seed. The seed paddy is heaped up on the north side of the house, watered for 3 days, then covered up with plantain leaves and stones, till it begins to sprout. The nursery ground has meanwhile again been ploughed and harrowed, and the water allowed to run off, so that the grain when sown is just imbedded in the soft mud. After 20 or 30 days the blades have attained a height of about one foot and the seedlings are ready for transplanting. Beautiful as are corn and clover fields in Europe, there is no vegetation there that surpasses in beauty the brilliant green of a rice nursery. The eye is irresistibly attracted to these bright spots and rests upon them with the utmost delight! 243

Regulated by the monsoon rain the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women, covered with leaf-umbrellas, called Goragas, that rest on the head and protect the whole of the body, pull out the plants from the nursery, tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled with the Tawe, "till the soil is soft as treacle, white as milk the foaming surface," when all the men of the house, placed in a line and standing almost knee deep in the muddy fields, begin the transplanting in which women are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited over the field; each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left and with the right hand presses with great rapidity 6 or 8 seedlings together into the mud, keeping a regular distance of about 6 inches. Before the completion of the largest field an open space of about 10 feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorgs' race-ground and offers right good sport which greatly exhilirates their monotonous task. All the men engaged in the work—and 15 are reckoned for a 100 butties of land—may run, but 4 or 5 only obtain a prize. Wearing merely a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run, for which their powerful [293] 243 461 526

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243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

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natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it 243
appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quanti- [179]
ties of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater
favour.

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of 249
Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession
of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth.
In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, carda- [556]
moms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had [655]
to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving
from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules.
Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10
years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government
has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which,
owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as
80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not dis-
posed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for
Government.

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki)
grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along
the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to
5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to pro-
duce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by
a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part
of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which
holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the
ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a
change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will
favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many
other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention:
the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed
(Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii),
all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or
broken, but favourable soil.

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249 The cardamom requires a rich, moist soil in a bracing hill-climate, accessible to sea breezes and favoured by deep shade and partial sunshine. A western or northern hill-slope offers the greatest advantage. A working party of about 10 men start for the forest in February or March; and the site for a garden being fixed, one of the largest trees is marked for felling; a temporary hut is built on a convenient spot and operations are commenced. The smaller trees and brushwood are cut down to some distance round the giant tree, that is to be felled, and a platform some 10 feet high built close to the tree on the upper slope. This part being completed, the party sets out early next morning with 4 good axes and, standing on the platform, a pair of cutters, generally Kudias or Yeravas, belabour the tree with all their might. [977] When tired they are relieved by their comrades. Their work must be finished by noontide or they are unlucky. At noon the front part of the tree is cut and at last some strokes are given to the side facing the high ground; the tree now trembles bends over and topples down the side of the hill, with a thundering crash, carrying down in its precipitate fall a number of smaller trees. The thorough shaking of the ground is the essential object of this operation. A piece of ground thus prepared is called a garden and according to the size of the large trees the party may cut down more than one in a day and clear as many as four or five gardens.

Within 3 months after the felling of the tree, the young plants shoot up all over the ground, shaken by the fallen giant especially near its stem and roots, and reach a height of one foot with 8 or 10 leaves within the first year; in the third year they will be 4 feet high and require a little culling, whilst previously one annual weeding is all the necessary work. In April of the third year the fruit bearing racemes shoot forth from the ground; they are alternately covered with short-stalked, beautiful, pale-white, solitary flowers of a

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lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757]
use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

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249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 179 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

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now over fifty and the change already effected in the appearance of the country would surprise one who left Coorg 10 years ago. The capabilities of the province as a coffee-growing country have long been known to the natives, and it is a matter of surprise, that the European enterprise did not enter on the field till a much later date. It is conjectured that in the time of the Coorg Rajahs some Moplas, to whom they had given land near Nalknád, introduced the shrub from seed, which was brought from "Mocha" or perhaps second hand from Munzerabad. Its successful and profitable cultivation was at first concealed from the Coorgs, but these were shrewd enough to find out for themselves, that, whilst none of the fabled fatal consequences followed the cultivation of the shrub, there was a ready and lucrative sale for the produce. Through the exertions of the first British Superintendent, Captain Le Hardy, who took a deep interest in the material prosperity of the country, the coffee plant became almost universal, and now there is hardly a Coorg or any native house, that does not pride itself in a coffee-garden, comprising, it may be, a few trees or as many acres.

The native mode of cultivation was exceedingly simple. The plants, reared from seed in a nursery, were in the monsoon put out on a shady hill-slope, the underwood of which had been previously cleared away. An occasional weeding was all the attention bestowed upon the plants which in 3 or 4 years, according to the density of the covering shade, gave a promising crop, that was picked, dried and disposed of in the husk to the merchant, as they did with their cardamoms, the price of dry cherry coffee averaging from 7 to 10 rupees per batty of 80 seers measure.

When coffee cultivation was taken in hand by European skill and energy, the industry soon assumed greater importance. Mr. Fowler, the first European Planter, opened up the Mercara Estate in 1854, Mr. H. Mann became the pioneer on

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245 the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Peram-
177 badi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya found-
ed Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country! Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the
474 example of the European planter, and opened up large estates;
245 private and public companies were formed to embark in the
177 lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from
434 Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

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suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249]

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

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249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The 245 leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the 137 upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee.

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected 245 on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the [407] parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market.

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of 245 nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the 134 shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is 241 generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[2] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality.

[2] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (Period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 Of almost equal importance with manuring is the pruning of the trees, whereby the extravagant elaboration of the sap is checked and the fertility of the soil economised. It is this operation which makes the planter most familiar with his trees and which impresses upon the appearance of an estate as decided a stamp, as the system of training characterizes a school. It is amusing to hear a planter call one's attention to this and that "dear little tree", which he has "brought round by pruning"; but these are often the men who do justice to a plantation and who eventually succeed!

245 439 435 The export of coffee for the last 12 years, as will be seen from the subjoined table, has with the exception of the last two years been steadily increasing.

Statement of exports of Coffee from Coorg

from 1857—1869 in maunds of which 4 are equal to 1 Cwt.

Year	Coffee in maunds	Avoirdupois weight			Value at Rs. 500 per ton
		Tons.	Cwts.	Qrs.	
1857—58	46,336	579	4	0	289,600
1858—59	66,862	835	15	2	417,850
1859—60	1,11,768	1,379	2	0	689,550
1860—61	1,28,412	1,605	3	0	802,550
1861—62	1,53,781	1,922	5	1	961,125
1862—63	1,40,113	1,751	8	1	875,700
1863—64	2,34,182	2,927	5	2	1,463,625
1864—65	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1865—66	2,50,000	3,125	0	0	1,562,500
1866—67	2,60,000	3,250	0	0	1,625,000
1867—68	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1868—69	2,20,700	2,758	15	0	1,379,375
	20,92,154	26,133	17	2	13,066,875

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extent of actual cultivation is difficult to estimate, owing to the survey being incomplete. The land under coffee cultivation on the 1st April 1870 was 5,222 acres less than on the same date in 1869, when 55,750 acres were held by Europeans and 29,930 acres by natives, or a total of 85,780 acres, yielding a landtax of Rs. 91,251 whilst the acreage in 1869-70 produced only Rs. 89,942. The assessment for each holder is, after an exemption for the first 4 years, from the fifth to the ninth year 1 rupee per acre and rupees 2 ever after whether cultivated or uncultivated land. The planters, however, hope that Government will reduce this landtax to 1 rupee per acre in consideration of the sore disappointments and losses from unforeseen causes, under the pressure of which 204 acres have already been resigned by planters and, to recover rupees 3,497 for assessment due, several estates amounting to 3,702 acres have been resumed and sold by Government. 245 311 245 651

Chinchona cultivation, has been initiated on a small scale by Government in 1863 in a favourable locality 3 miles to the east of Mercara. There are now several hundred trees in a thriving condition, that yield quantities of seed for distribution and for rearing new plants in the hothouse, which was erected for the purpose on the premises of the Central School. Plants have already been distributed to those taluq cutcherries, in the compounds of which they were thought likely to grow, and the experiment has to some extent proved successful. Seed and plants have also been given to private persons. On several coffee estates small patches have been planted with chinchonas for estate use; but the special cultivation on a large scale has not found favour with any planter, though there is little doubt, that, wherever in the open coffee grows, which belongs to the same natural order viz: Chinchonaceæ, the Chinchona will also thrive. There is some diffidence as to its success as a financial speculation, seeing that the Govern- 249 [245]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 ment plantations all over India are likely to supply every possible local want.

Of the many species of chinchona the most generally cultivated is the "Chinchona Succirubra" or "Genuine Red Bark," which grows to a lofty tree and is rich in Alkaloids; but Mr. Broughton, the Government Quinologist on the Nilagiris, has lately discovered a species, which yields more than 11 per cent Alkaloids, and of these 10 per cent Quinine, the largest amount ever obtained from the Peruvian bark.

245 *Tea cultivation* has received but little attention. To judge from the experiments already made by Mr. Mann, Dr. Macpherson and Mr. Roberts, there is however no doubt, that tea will grow in Coorg.

249 *The cultivation of Sugarcane* is a purely native enterprise and chiefly in the hands of settlers from Mysore, who sell it for raw consumption or use it for the manufacture of jagry, a kind of coarse sugar. It is propagated from cuttings put down in April and yields ripe canes the year after in September. It requires a moist rich soil, that can be brought under irrigation. Some coffee planters have begun to stock their swampy ravines with sugarcane; but, the produce not being large enough, it is doubtful, whether it answers as a pecuniary speculation.

248 *Cotton* of a fair description has long been under cultivation to a small extent by ryots in the north-eastern parts of Coorg, where the fibre is used for home-made fabrics and the seed [137] for oil. New species: the Sea-Island, New Orleans, Egyptian and Hybrid Cotton have lately been introduced as experiments and they thrive very well, but the sudden depression in the cotton market discourages any further pursuit of the speculation.

The seed is sown in May on a well broken up rich soil, that is raised in long ridges 3 or 4 feet apart. The seedlings are sufficiently strong to withstand the heavy monsoon rains

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the pods ripen in October or November, when the sunny weather favors the gathering; perennial plants yield however ripe cotton almost at all seasons; and the monsoon crop is of course lost. My own experience on a coffee plantation near Anandapur with all available kinds of cotton seed led me to the conclusion, that the Sea-Island and Berar-Hybrid would yield most satisfactory results. Egyptian cotton grown in 1865 by Captain Taylor on the Sampáji Ghat produced a fibre, which was pronounced by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce the best that had reached the Bombay market. 248

The Plantain (Musa paradisiaca) of which there is a wild kind in the hill-jungles, is common all over Coorg near native dwellings. The 10 to 12 feet high succulent stem consists of a number of fibrous sheaths that may be considered the continuation of the leaf-stalks and is at the base nearly one foot thick. The leaves forming a tuft on the apex of the stem are 6 or 8 feet long and 2 feet broad. In the centre of the stem is a white solid substance forming a cylinder throughout its length. It is used by the natives for curry, when broken across, it shows bundles of spiral vessels to great perfection. The continuation of this cylinder beyond the stem forms the flower-stalk, it is therefore evident that one tree can bear but once, after which it is cut down and a new shoot springs up from the root, by which means the plantain is chiefly propagated. The closely packed conical flower head is not unlike a red cabbage in appearance, and by its own weight inclines downward in a graceful curve. Each of the purple leathery leaves or involucres coated with a pale bloom of great delicacy, covers a double row of 9 or 12 elongate yellowish red flowers, extending in a spiral line over one-third of the circumference of the fleshy stalk. With the maturity of each successive row of flowers, the involucre reclines and falls off, and the fruit appears, which when ripe is from 3 to 6 inches long and from half an inch to 2 inches thick. In its spiral clustering 245 [262]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
130 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

much divided roots, from which rise a number of straight, slender, slightly branching stems from the bark of which the fibre is extracted. The leaves resemble those of the nettle, are light green on the surface and silvery white below but are not stinging. The male and female flowers being separate and situated on different parts of the stem, the production of seed is uncertain. 248 137

From data, given in the December number of the Calcutta Review 1854, the "Rheea" is propagated either by dividing the roots or by cuttings. The plant is exceedingly hardy and thrives in almost any description of soil, but to have it grown to perfection, the land must be well manured and capable of irrigation. In planting a piece of ground, the roots or cuttings should be placed out in rows a foot or a foot and a half apart each way, so that the plants do not throw out too many lateral shoots which impairs the height of the stems. When once the roots have firmly struck, the plant grows vigorously, but more especially during the rainy season. The first principal shoots burst from the centre of the root, and are quickly followed by exterior ones. In two months generally may be expected, especially upon well manured land, the first cuttings, which must be taken off about one inch above the root. It is essential to mind, that the plant does not become covered with hard or woody bark, which is indicated by the former green coating turning brown, the discoloration commencing at the stem. A little browning strengthens the fibre, too much imposes additional costly labour. It requires a little experience to ascertain clearly the requisite time for cutting. There is another criterion by which the fitness of the plant for cutting may be known, by passing the hand down it from the top to the bottom; if the leaves break off crisply from where they are joined to the stem, it is a good indication that the plantation may be thinned out. If, on the contrary, the plant be not ready, the leaves, instead of breaking, tear off and strip 248

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at £ 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Devân of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ful tree, which requires a soil fit also for coffee, promises to 245
prove a most welcome addition to Coorg exotics, as it produces fruit when 5 years old and requires but little care or labour. The plants are grown from seed, to be obtained in March, much in the same way as coffee seedlings, and after 15 months when they are about 18 inches high, they are transplanted in large pits about 12 feet apart and protected by shade.

The fact, that a wild species of Nutmeg grows plentifully 137
in the Coorg forests induced me, to make an experiment with cultivating *the Nutmeg of commerce*, "Myristica officinalis," but the promised seed has not yet arrived. According to Dr. Bidie's instructions, the cultivation may be carried on on coffee-land and seems to offer no great difficulties.

Of *fruit trees* the *Coorg Oranges* are celebrated and as 245
common as the plantain. There are several varieties, but the best is the sweet, luscious "Loose Jacket" so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. The Coorg Rajahs owned fine orange gardens in the most suitable localities of the country, but they have since been neglected. There are also varieties of Citrons and the Lime indispensable in Coorg etiquette is in abundance.

Apples and Pears do not succeed in Mercara, as the heavy monsoon does not favour their growth, but there is perhaps no reason, why they should not grow in warmer and more sheltered localities, as well as in Bangalore. Loquats, Peaches, Figs and Pomegranates thrive better and the Guava, which makes a most excellent jelly, would be the Coorg Pear, if it were not for the numerous hard little seeds and the peculiar flavor which is not always appreciated. Strawberries and Pine-apples grow to a large size. Grapes have been reared in sheltered places in Mercara, but the vine soon degenerates. The Brazil-cherry is very common, the fruit is the berry of a herbaceous plant and is made into excellent jam.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

244 137 *English Vegetables* are satisfactorily grown by Mercara residents and still more so by some planters on their estates. Potatoes and Cabbage thrive remarkably well; also Peas, Beans, Knoll kohl, Salad, Beets, Turnips and Carrots of excellent quality are produced. The natives do now only attempt to cultivate these vegetables, but the markets are unsupplied with them.

244 *Native Vegetables*, which are reared on patches of paddy-fields after harvest time, or in small gardens, in the villages about Fraserpet, include: French Beans, Radishes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Indian Corn, Brinjals, Chillies, Coriander, Amaranthus and others, but even these are not plentiful in the Mercara market, and what there is comes chiefly from Fraserpet.

243 *Dry grain*, such as Ragy, Avary, Tavary, Huruli and others are chiefly grown in the open country of the Nanjarájpatna taluq lying along the western banks of the Kávéri. It is there also, that Tobacco is cultivated for sale, whilst in most of the Coorg farms little reserved patches of the narcotic is grown for home-consumption; but the Coorg tobacco is of an indifferent description, no particular care being bestowed upon its cultivation. The introduction of a new seed would [248] have a beneficial influence. A few Hemp plants are here and [296] there grown near native houses, but more for the use of smoking the intoxicating leaves, than for the sake of the fibre.

241 243 Similar to other hilly parts of India, there prevails a primitive mode of cultivation called "kumari," which is practised by the lowest classes of natives, the Kurumbas and Kudias, chiefly on the western slopes of the Ghats. They cut and burn a patch of jungle, and plant either the small reddish hill-rice, sown broadcast upon the slightly dug up land, or Ragy. The former yields a 10 fold, the latter a 200 to 300 fold return. Such fields are only once or twice cultivated, when they are abandoned in favour of a new piece

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of jungle and not resumed till after 5 or 6 years. This wanton jungle-waste has however been put a stop to by Government and brought within reasonable limits. 241 243 [656]

Bringing to a close the subject of Arbori-horti-culture in Coorg, it were ungrateful, did I omit to mention the many and beautiful exotic flowers and shrubs, that ornament the gardens of European residents and recall by their presence sweet remembrances of distant Home; I forbear however to enumerate any beyond the modest Violet, the fragrant Rose and the showy Dahlia, and leave it to the fancy of the reader to associate with these types of spring, summer and autumn the many other garden flowers, that are familiar to Europeans. 247

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

101 [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centuries have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 **A.** Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Kávéri-Amma, but under the British Government they reverted to their original sect, the Srívaishnavas, who have their Gurus in Talkád in Mysore and now think themselves superior to the Coorgs.

3. The *Hegadés* are independent cultivators, who immigrated from Malayálam and settled chiefly in Yedenalknád. Like the preceding tribe, they conform to Coorg customs, but are equally excluded from the community of the Coorgs, in whose presence they are allowed to sit only on the floor, whilst the former occupy a chair, or if these are seated on a mat, the Hegadés must not touch it. In bodily appearance and complexion they resemble the Coorgs.

4. The *Bínepadas*, formerly musical mendicants, now sober farmers, are also immigrants from Malabar, they do not dress in Coorg fashion, but wear jackets. On festive occasions they prepare the parched rice for the Coorgs, from whom they are quite distinct.

5. The *Airis* came also from Malayalam and are the carpenters and ironsmiths. They live and dress like the Coorgs, but have no closer connection with them. The *Badigés* are a similar tribe, but Canarese people.

6. The *Madivâlas* are found all over Coorg and, being descended from Malayalam washermen, they practise their hereditary trade in the Province.

7. The *Kâvatis* are farmers who in a small number live in Yedenalknád taluq only. They resemble the Coorgs in dress, but are of darker complexion and less favoured in personal appearance. Their origin is traced to Malayalam.

8. The *Naindas* or Barbers are emigrants from the same country and resemble the washermen.

9. The *Koyuvas* or Potters are met with in every Nád, where they ply their trade.

10. The *Kudiyas* and *Tômale-Kudiyas* live chiefly in the forests of the Western Ghats, where they cultivate their own

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 Kumari land, draw toddy from the Bainé-palm (caryota urens) for sale and work as labourers in cardamom gardens and on Coorg farms, when they live in the outhouses of the Coorgs and share their food.

11. The *Médas* live independently all over the country and subsist on the produce of their handicraft, umbrella making. They are the drummers at the Coorg festivals, and it is their privilege to receive annually at harvest time from each Coorg house of their district as much reaped paddy, as they can bind up with a rope 12 cubits in length. They dress like the Coorgs, only in a poorer style. Their religion is the worship of Káli and of demons. The Médas live on vegetable and animal diet, beef included; they are a quiet people, not robust in body and of a sallow brown complexion with black straight hair.

12. The *Holeyas* are found in the Coorg houses all over the country and do all the menial work for the Coorgs by whom, though theoretically freemen under the British Government, they were held as "glebæ adscripti" in a state of abject servitude until lately, when with the advent of European planters the slave-question was freely discussed and the "domestic institution" practically abolished. There are three kinds of Holeyas: the original Kémbati and the Máringi—from Malabar and the Canarese speaking Badaga-Holeyas from Mysore. They dress indifferently, are of dirty habits and eat whatever they can get, beef included. Their worship is addressed to Eiyappa-Dévaru and Chámundi or Káli goddess once every month; and once every year they sacrifice a hog or a fowl. They are a poor, ignorant people, generally of middle size and of a dark complexion.

B. Separate languages are spoken by:

1. The *Roman-Catholic Christians* at Virajpet, who are emigrants from North-Canara and belong to the Konkani

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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357
291
481
142
482

A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

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caste. They established the settlement in the time of Dodda-Virajender, when persecuted by Tippu-Sultan's cruel proselytism. Besides their own language, "Konkani," they speak also Canarese. They are cultivators and shopkeepers.

2. The *Shivächáries* who are farmers and traders and scattered all over Coorg; they speak Canarese and came from Mysore. They eat no animal food.

3. The *Gaudas* or Vokkaligas who are farmers. Those that came from the Tulu-country, speak the language of that locality and live chiefly in Távunád; the remainder who emigrated from Mysore, live in the north-east of Coorg and speak Canarese.

4. The *Páles* or farm labourers that live principally in the western districts. They also speak Tulu and have immigrated from South-Canara. The Páles are of a more robust appearance than the Holeyas, of coarse features, middle sized stature and black straight hair which is wavy with the women. Some dress in Coorg—some in low-country-fashion. They have no idols, but like the Tulu people, they call upon their gods: Guliga, Khorti and Kalurti, whose names they pronounce over their food before eating. Their diet is like that of the Coorgs.

5. The *Maleyas*, a small wandering gipsy tribe from Malabar who speak Malayálam. They pretend to cure diseases and exact money from the ignorant; they also personate demons and the departed spirits of the ancestors of their dupes.

6. The *Kurubas* who are distinguished as Jénu and Betta-Kurubas, but are of the same type which is more Mongolian than Caucasian. Their cheekbones are rather high and prominent, their nose short and nearly flat; their lips large, their eyes small, dark and deep set; their hair curly, through neglect matted and almost woolly. In stature the Kurubas are middle sized, well proportioned and in habits nimble and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 enduring. Their colour is dark. They have hair on the upper lip and chin but no whiskers.

The *Jénu-Kurubas* live in huts in the jungles of Coorg and wander from place to place in search of honey, whence their name. They worship the goddess Káli by pronouncing her name over their food, but once a year they sacrifice a fowl. They live on vegetable and animal food, but do not touch beef. They are skilled in the use of the sling and of the bow and arrow and are excellent climbers. Their language is peculiar, but allied to Canarese. They are a wild looking, but shy and harmless people.

The *Betta-Kurubas*, like the former, live chiefly in bamboo-forests, but have no social intercourse with the Jénu-Kurubas. Though they do not climb trees, they are excellent wood-cutters, but not reliable on account of their unsteady habits. They excel in making mats, baskets, umbrellas, boxes and cradles for which they chiefly use cane, Canarese: betta, hence their name or perhaps from the Tamil: vettu, to cut. In their scanty clothing and the woolly, top-knotted hair and broad features, their appearance is wild and repulsive, yet they are a good humoured, peaceable set of people and when employed are industrious at their work as long as it pleases them. They speak a language of their own, which is not understood by any other natives.

7. The *Adias*, a migratory tribe from Malabar who work as day labourers. They are like Pariahs and speak the Malayálam language.

8. The *Yeravas*, a wandering tribe originally from Wynád, where, like the Holeyas in Coorg, they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They speak their own language and live chiefly in Kiggatnád with the Coorgs to whose mode of life and worship they have conformed. Like them they eat no beef and therefore rank higher than the Holeyas and Médas. They are strong and diligent labourers and their frequent desertion

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to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Chátu, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

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16
634

Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajendrpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161 648 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

[Errata: This should read "exiles." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and 161
prosperity under the British Government considerably in- 648
creased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls.

3. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kshetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, 101
I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues.

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side 142
of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often [302]
distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set [554]
off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

142 distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the pre-
[302] sent military regulation, they shave their chin but sport
[554] mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than
might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life
[186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of
manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained
by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

291 The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white
[411] or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It
reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white,
short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour
extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash
of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist
and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or
silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief
or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at
the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms
the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light
[301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus
ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver
and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete
their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the
Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not
fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the
front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a
more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing.
714 His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and
411 shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti),
he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved,
broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the
[147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand
[527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young
Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to
decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 473 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ☙ upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most become- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the ker-
531 chiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata: This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg woman is rarely idle, her busy hands find always 592
some work to do, and no wonder, if we consider the life and 562
bustle of a Coorg house with its 40, 60, or 80 and more inmates. Two or three generations, grandfather and grandmother, their sons and daughters-in-law and the children of these families all live and mess together. The labourers also belong to the household and look up to the mistress for food and orders. The fattening of the pigs, the milking of the cows, the water supply for the house, these and many other cares are under the immediate supervision of the mistress. Where [578]
peace and harmony exist, a Coorg house presents a patriarchal life indeed, but the idyllic picture is too often marred by discord occasioned by the harsh régime of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heartburnings of married brothers, or the more material questions of family income and individual claims. The master or yejamána, who is always the senior male member of the house, has no easy position, especially in our days, when a tendency to break up these large houses clearly manifests itself. But Coorg women of a commanding spirit and superior character are often heard of who, like Abigail of old, with tact and wisdom subdue the unruly elements of this bustling human beehive and make the residents subservient to the common weal and honour of the family. Here is a story to the purpose:—"Six generations 592
ago, there was a woman called Doddi Auwa[1]—the great lady— 562
who lived at Almanda house, in the village of Arméri, which 173
belongs to Beppunádu. She was the mistress of the Almanda property, being the only child of rich parents. She was a woman of extraordinary size and strength of body. Nor was she less distinguished by qualities of mind and character. Throughout the country she was known as the wisest, the richest, the strongest of Coorg women. Independent owner of a Coorg estate, she was at liberty to choose a husband for herself. Her choice fell upon a man of the same clan. Utta-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodda-Auva," see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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592 562 173

cha, a son of the Mánanda house. He was a good sort of a husband, but much inferior every way to his great wife. Perhaps she had chosen him for this very reason. His place in the house was rather that of head-servant, than of husband and master. Every year the people of Arméri used to send a caravan to Irkúr, in the low country, near Cannanore, to fetch salt. At other times caravans, carrying rice to the coast, would start from Arméri during the dry season. On such occasions Doddi Auwa[2] would herself attend to every thing, put the cattle in readiness, prepare provisions, and at last accompay her husband and his oxen to the place of meeting, appointed for the whole train from the village. On parting, she would recommend her husband and his beasts to the kind offices of the best men in the caravan, and return home to her great house and her large business. Often, when husband or servants appeared too slow in loading the oxen, she would bid them step aside and taking the double sacks quietly with both hands, lay them softly and evenly upon the backs of the cattle. She was famed equally for wisdom and honesty.

Also Mudduráya who ruled Coorg in her time, respected and reverenced her, and often, on coming to Beppunádu, he stopped to have a talk with Doddi Auwa[2] of Almanda house. In the course of time Doddi Auwa[3] became mother of four daughters, but to her great grief no son was granted her, to succeed to the Almanda property. When the daughters came of age, she gave them in marriage to sons of neighbouring landholders. The eldest became the wife of a member of the Pálekanda family, the second married into the Púlanda house, the third was given to the Amnichanda family. The youngest, by a general agreement of the chiefs, was also given to the Pálekanda house, but, as heiress of the Almanda property, she had to give her sons, if she bore any, to her mother. This daughter, the youngest, bore 4 sons in succession. Of these, the two eldest were brought up by their grand-mother Doddi

[Errata: This should read "Doddi-Auva". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Doddi-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712]
ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

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000 cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead
775 are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices
782 and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may
182 despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come
771 to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of
157 their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance
648 self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation.
627 It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

871 The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

623 The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a
692 council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyasteru", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

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COORGS

grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[241] the housepeople under the management of the master of the house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

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ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. 591
A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the 423
spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the 178
work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment.

b. Prescriptive law of inheritance. 428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases 429
where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives 428
to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the [884]
village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of

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429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious
[178] mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

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The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

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584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [187] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

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the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

585 [574] [533] [788] 533 585 [574] 585 539

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

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He procured for heavy money,
And completed all his labours.
When he now lived comfortably,
Mandanna the mighty hero,
In his mind was meditating
And within himself he pondered
Constantly this one idea:
"I have rice and costly garments,
But no one to dress and nourish;
I have precious stones and jewels,
But where is the wife to wear them?
In a household without children
Vain is all our toil and trouble;
No! there is not here on earth
Without wife bliss of enjoyment.
If a tank is without water,
Has it not been dug in vain?
And a garden without flowers,
Has it not in vain been planted?
Who would like to eat cold rice,
Void of curds and void of salt?
Sons must be in our houses,
And our rooms be full of children."
So he thought within himself,
And, one lovely Sunday morning,
When the silvery dew was sparkling,
Took a meal, and dressed himself,
Joined his hands in adoration
To the ancestors and God;
Sent a man to call his Ar'wa
To conduct him on the journey,
Took his stick adorned with silver,
And then started with his friend.
Where between the woody mountains
Thronges the lofty Kuttamalé,
Wand'ring through the hilly country,
He went off to seek a wife,
Till his soles were off with walking;
Pond'ring sat in all the Mandus,
Till his dress was torn by sitting;
Wandered in the scorching sun,
Till his head was hot and giddy;
Wandered till the walking stick
In his hand was growing shorter.
Mandanna the mighty hero
Sought a wife in ev'ry quarter,
But no house would suit his mind.
If he found the house was right,
Then the servants would not suit him;
If he found the servants right,
Then he did not like the cattle;
If he found the cattle right,
Then the fields were miserable;
If the paddy land was good,
Then the pasture ground was bad;
And if all these things were good,
Then the maiden did not please him.
While he thus was sorely troubled,
News arrived of consolation: —
In the Nalkundé there lived,
In the Pattamédu house,
Chinnawwa, a lovely maiden. —
When he heard this information,
Mandanna, the mighty hero,
Slowly with his friend proceeded
To the house, and there sat down
On the bench of the verandah.
Chinnawwa, the lovely maiden,
When she heard of their arrival,
Came and brought a jar of water,
Poured it in a silver pitcher,
Placed it on a glittering mat,
Spread another mat for him
In the seat of the verandah.
Pattamédu Chinnawwa
Modestly stood on the threshold,
And she asked him: "Why, my friend,
Did you not take any water,

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A Coorgman armed.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by B. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 136]

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Use it and then call for more?"
So she asked, and he replied:
"Certainly I will, my dearest,
"If for ever you will bring me
"Water as to-day you brought it."
She replied: "You get the water
"If you come here ev'ry day."
Mandanna now took the water,
Washed his face and hands and feet,
Thought: I'll come for more tomorrow.
Mandanna, the wise and clever,
Took again the seat of honor
And began: "My pretty maiden,
"Tell me now, where is your father?"
She replied: "My father went
"To a meeting in the Mandu."
"And where is your mother then?"
"She went to the potters' village,
"Where they celebrate a wedding."
"And where is your brother then?"
"He went down the Ghat to Kóta
"With his bullocks, to get salt." —
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the father.
Mandanna made his obeisance,
Bowed, and touched the old man's feet.
When an hour or two were spent,
To her house returned the mother.
Mandanna again saluted.
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the brother.
Mandanna made his obeisance.
Then they had some conversation,
Talked about their friends and kindred.
Now they asked him: "Dearest cousin,
"Will you please to let us know,
"Why you undertook this journey?"
He replied: "My dearest father!
"I have heard, that in this house
"There are bullocks to be sold,
"And moreover that there lives
"In this house a lovely maiden,
"Whom you want to give in marriage." —
"All the bullocks have been sold
"In July," replied the father,
"And the daughter too has gone,
"In the month of May she left us."
Then gave Mandanna this answer:
"Those that went, let them be happy,
"Give me her who still remains."
Spoke again to him the landlord:
"Tell me, why you called me, 'Father'?"
Then spoke Mandanna the clever:
"I have seen your lovely daughter,
"That is why I call you 'Father.'
"Evermore with admiration
"You behold the stately palm-tree;
"If a tree is poor and crippled,
"You forgot to look upon it."
Then the father spoke again:
"I will let you have the daughter,
"Give a pledge, that you will take her." —
"Shake then hands with me," replied
Mandanna, "and as a pledge
"Take from me this piece of money."
After this the father sent
For his Ar'va to assist him
In the wedding ceremony;
Women swept the house and chambers,
Filled the store-rooms with provisions
For the merry wedding feast.
Where the beauteous brazen lamp
From the ceiling is suspended,
Aravas and near relations
Came together from both houses,
Stood and settled the engagement
And the lucky day of wedding.
Whereupon the happy bridegroom

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[539]

Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

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d. Childbirth.

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The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not 846 expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not 842 much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined 562 to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is 852 born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, 562 made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has [178] almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle 553 by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives 846 the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted 854 to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable bercaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing [539] love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva [624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

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preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

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765 the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to a feast in honor of the departed and for the quiet of his soul, and thus the last end of a Coorg's earthly course has come.

764 539 The Coorg funeral song is most pathetic and touches a kindred chord in every sorrowing heart:—

Funeral Song.

Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe is me! For ever gone!
Gone with all thy soul of virtue!
Oh! how can I live my father!
Woe! thy days are now concluded,
And the share, assigned to thee
By the Lord, is now consumed
And no further portion granted.
Oh! thy wish was not to die,
But to stay among the living.
Surely, man came to this world
But to die; not one of us
Is exempted from this doom.
Onward! onward roll the years;
Oh! how soon were thine concluded!
Like the eagle in the sky
Thou wast roaming here on earth.
Woe! the string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of our children
Is for ever burst and scattered!
Woe! the clear and brilliant mirror,
Fallen out of our hand,
Fallen to the ground, and broken!
Woe! the wrath of God Almighty,
Floods of fiery indignation,
Beating on the lofty mountains,
Swept their summit to the ground!
Like the enemies at night,
Breaking into peaceful houses,

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Slaying all the valiant men,
Even thus has God Almighty
Suddenly cut off thy days.
Like the top of Tumbomale
In the sultry days of summer,
When the sun is hot and burning,
And the grass is set on fire,
Thus, O father, was this house
Desolated by thy death!
As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
When the floods destroy the shed,
Where the stores of wood were sheltered,
All the house is in distress.
When the meeting hall is ruined,
All the villagers lament.
If the temple is destroyed,
All the land is full of sorrow.
Thus is our house distressed
By thy sudden death, O father!
As they quench the shining flame
Of the beautous golden lamp,
Thus has God destroyed thy life!
As the stately Banyan tree
In the lofty mountain forest,
Which the ax has never touched,
Is uprooted by the whirlwind;
Like the bright and shining leaf
Of the royal Sampigé,
Broken from the stem and withered;
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
In the days of life thy hand
Had supported our house,
Thou hast planted our fields,
Thou hast laid the corner-stone,
And completed our mansion
To the roof, with costly timber.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2¼ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-púJáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Káveri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 [264]

hood.) On the return of the man from the field, the whole family sit down in the kitchen and eat the cakes prepared by the mistress and the other females after their morning entrance into the cooking and dining-room. When the cakes are consumed, the ceremony of the Kávéri-day is over. In houses, where some one knows how to read, he takes the Góvina-pada book and recites *the Song of the Cow*, the rest of the family listening. The day is kept as a holiday; nobody is expected to work. But there is no further ceremony.

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The substance of the lay of the cow is as follows:—One great herd of cattle was grazing in the forest, when a royal tiger appeared and in a few moments by three or four leaps threw himself into the midst of the poor, peaceful animals. The whole herd, affrighted, ran off in wild despair in all directions. One cow only stood still, and was seized by the savage beast. The cow, however, made bold to speak to her destroyer, and said: "You will kill and devour me. Do it. But give me a few moments' leave to go after my poor calf, to let it drink for the last time, and to commit it to the care of kind friends, before I die." The tiger, astonished and moved by the speech of his victim, causes the cow to swear, that, after performing her last duty, she will return and deliver herself to her hungry master. She swears and goes to seek her calf. Having found it, she gives it to drink, and then commits it to the care of her friends, entreating them to allow it to share their milk with their own calves, not to kick, when it comes from behind to drink, nor to turn their horns against it, when it comes in front. Having sworn, she would rather die, than break her word, she returns to the tiger, and begs his pardon for having detained him so long and increased his hunger. But the tiger in the presence of such truth and goodness, is seized with remorse. His heinous sins rise to his mind in dreadful array. The slayer of a thousand cows sinks under the burden of his wickedness.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

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796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Punchâyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and [534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahádéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, [776] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahádéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824]
before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahá- [782]
déva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the [535]
beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [526]
another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

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796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

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an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déva!" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. 796 [262]

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When [534] [533]

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796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in
[535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins.
526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is
[634] done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large
[535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging,
796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-
[574] dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

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c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized. 296 293 [177]

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge. [346] [794] [754]

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796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs pûja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pûjâri and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padârthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

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open space before the temple, many of them possessed by 796
devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- 786
lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787]
lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation 796
of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers 782
of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535]
Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788]
the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787]
Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793]
hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

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796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

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accompany him to the house of the astrologer. They enquire of the wise man, what will be the most propitious day for the celebration of the Keilmúrta. By the sage's answer the day of joy for the village-youth is fixed. The hard labours of ploughing, sowing and rice-transplanting are over, there is a lull in the monsoon, and now and then a most lovely day spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and valleys, forests and fields of Coorg. The people have long been at labour in their fields and houses: a holiday is now most welcome. On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is collected in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to some room or to the centre-place, the Nadumane, and there placed in a corner. They wait now for the muhúrta, the propitious time, assigned by the astrologer. At the right moment incense is burned before the weapons, sandalwood-paste is dotted upon them in profusion, and a show-offering of rice and other food (nevédya) is made to them, as to idols. As soon as this ceremony is over, a mat is placed before the weapons, and the whole house sits down to dinner. After the meal, the men take their arms and proceed to the Urumandu (village-green) to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark, and in athletic exercises. When the cocoanut has been hit, some of the company jump over a rope extended four or five feet from the ground. After this exercise, plantain-trees are fixed upon the ground, standing three deep. Now the strength of arms and the goodness of knives are tried. He who succeeds in cutting through three plantain-trees at one stroke, carries away the palm. Then round, heavy stones, placed on the Mandu for the purpose, are lifted and thrown, or put as in Scotland, over the head by such as are strong enough. The evening has now set in, and the company disperses. On the following morn-

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527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

771
128

The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

778
177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular pája. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[632] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
[782] superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

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wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Kárana, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimnda*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

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769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarâtri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

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the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháriés, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the [778]
forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793] charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per- [825] formed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

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778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

82 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella 1 lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

1 [Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493. — Analyst]

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and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikns, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

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754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

754 787 648 [683]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

782 173 [776] As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Mâri-amma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Kâli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Koninchéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kâli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellûr in Tâvaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'luq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances. 782 173 782 796

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas. 782 [563]

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept. 782 535 237

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des- 782 789 791 178 [174]

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782 789 791 178 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 782 753 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 783 **e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.**

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

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nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asógo-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

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788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to
[177] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal-
[823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
778 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
177 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Govern-
788 ment! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
778 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with
177 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother
539 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[1] [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu! 788 778 77 539

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappakanda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift! 788 [793] [77] [782]

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth. 778 788 [842]

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778 [312] On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled [825] Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

796 788 For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of [532] Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

788 The *Pálár játre* in Kuyinghcrinád in honor of Pálárappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in [778] the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

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as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten butties of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkaréśvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or púJáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 779

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read 'Onkaréśvara-dévastána'. See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 659 private contributions. The lion's share of this large Government grant falls to the Mercara-Omkarésvara temple with Rupees 4,850, to the Bhágiamandala-dévastána with Rupees 3,956; to the Tale-Kávéri pagoda with Rupees 2,320 and to the Rajahs' tombs with Rupees 2,000 per annum—a total of Rupees 13,126! When the people once see the folly of their superstitious idolatry, what an amount of spiritual good for themselves and their children they may effect with these large sums, should Government continue its liberality!

778 795 The *Mottas* or *Jangams* are religious institutions, originated and endowed by the Coorg Rajahs, who were themselves Lingaites. They are now evidently of greater importance to the Siváchára-priests, who derive an easy living from the rich endowments, than of any practical use for the Coorg people, amongst whom this sect, in spite of its royal patronage, never struck any root. The Siváchárics are easily recognised by the silver capsule, enclosing the Linga, which they wear suspended round their necks. The 57 Mattas hold as endowments 31,457 batties of land, representing an annual revenue of 3,360 Rupees due to Government, if the land were held [659] by ryots. Government, therefore, contributes not only that amount of revenue, but also the actual produce of the fields less the working expenditure.

The most richly endowed Mattas are the following:—

Bassava-hally	Matta in	Yedavanád with	4,105	batties of land,
Abbi	do.	do.	4,005	do.
Madapur	do.	Gadinád do.	2,643¼	do.
Siddapur	do.	Horurnurocklenád	2,372¼	do.
Thanady	do.	Amatnád with	1,485	do.
Chadadarally	do.	Horurnurocklenád	1,430	do.
Cheppada Katte	do.	Yedenálknád with	1,188½	do.
Thorenur	do.	Gadinád do.	1,100	do.
their endowments amounting to			18,330	batties of land.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the PúJári of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Códagas

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
779 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
177 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "the Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

was built by Dodda-Virájender in 1794 and formed in those days an almost inaccessible small mountain-fortress, defended by strong barriers along the steep approaches. Now it is partly turned into the nád Cutcherry and the upper rooms are reserved for visiting Government Officials. In front of the palace near the right corner stands in tolerable preservation a handsome little pavilion (Dáremandappa), which was erected for the celebration of Dodda-Virájender's second marriage with Mahadévamma in February 1796. Under proper management the land belonging to the palace might be turned into fertile and profitable vegetable gardens or other plantations. The palace at Halerinád is built after the plan of other Coorg houses on a larger scale only and secured by breastworks and barriers. 344

The Palace in Mercara, thoroughly repaired during the last two years and an iron roof put on at an expense of 80,000 Rupees, is a conspicuous building of modern date. According to an inscription on a metal plate in one of the palace-rooms it was commenced on the first day of the new moon of the Bhádrapada month (15th August—15th September) in 1735 of the Sáliváhana era i. e. in 1812 and completed in 2 years and 1 month by Lingarájendra Vodeya, the younger brother of Dodda-Virájender. The inscription concludes: "The pious, who praise Almighty God, by whose grace this "magnificent palace was constructed after the removal of the "rugged hill-top, shall enjoy eternal happiness in this world "and in the world to come."

The ground plan of the palace is that of a Coorg house with a superstructure in European fashion. It forms a large square of 200 feet with an open space in the centre, is 2 stories high and presents a fine front. A range of arches runs nearly along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, the centre window projecting into a small [177]

[Errata: This should read "Kachéri." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 - Ana Nst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

344 balcony supported by two upright horses formed of masonry. Along the ridge of the roof runs a balustrade of ornamental masonry. The other three sides of the building present nearly a blank space varied only by a few irregular apertures to admit air, for they can hardly be called windows. The rooms which have been adapted to European convenience as best they could, are tenanted by the officers of the Native Regiment, stationed at Mercara. The whole palace is built of brick and excellent mortar and altogether finished with solidity and elegance, such as characterise no other modern buildings in Coorg. In one of the lower rooms the strongly secured *Provincial Treasury* is located.

A reception house for English visitors to the late Rajahs formerly stood on the site of the present Government Central School, in the midst of a plantation of orange and other trees. It owed its existence to the gratitude of Dodda-Virájender who had a warm attachment for the English. It was a handsome building in the form of a square with four turrets at the angles and 2 stories high. Both as to architecture and furniture it was executed in European style, and nothing was forgotten, that could render it a comfortable abode to travellers, accustomed to the luxuries of civilized life. It is referred to with high praise in the Memoranda of English visitors in those days. With the advent of the British Government it fell into disuse which did not justify an expensive up-keep, and being abandoned it soon became a ruin, and was demolished, its stones being partly used in the erection of the Central School.

349 **b. Mausoleums.**

The most remarkable modern buildings in Coorg are the *Mausoleums* of *Dodda-Virájender* and *Lingarájender* and their favourite Queens. These edifices are exactly alike and stand close to one another. The first was erected shortly after Virájender's death in 1809 by Lingarájender, and the other

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite PúJári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

349 [532] [354] [795] [796]

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is sorrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

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Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

349 *Nanjunda Arasu*, who had ruled over Periapatam. Shortly before his death, whilst on a visit to his nephew, the Coorg Rajah Dodda-Vírappa Vodeya, the fortress fell through treachery into the hands of the Mysoreans with the loss of all his remaining family. In his affliction he addressed the Coorg Rajah thus: "As old age had come upon us, we intended with your permission to have placed our son in the Government of Periapatam and, renouncing the desire of this world, to have given ourselves to constant adoration of Siva. At such time of old age the great God has shown us a misery, we ought never to have looked upon. Do you take possession of the country which has passed from our hands? ¼ Build and give us a house to live in till our life come to a close, and a temple for Vírabhadra, our household god. Besides, it is our mind, to consecrate a Linga in our name. For this purpose let a temple be built on the banks of the Kávéri river, in it a Linga be consecrated in our name after the close of our life, our grave be made in front of that temple, a stone portico be built over it and a Basavéshvara consecrated in it." In compliance with this request Dodda-Vírappa had a palace built near the river on the spot chosen by him at Holesálhálli, surrounding it with a ditch, settled him there and gave it the name Nanjaráyapattana. For his bodyguard he appointed 700 Coorgmen. He built also Vírabhadra's temple, erected another stone temple over the Linga, called Nanjundéshvara, and after Nanjunda's death he laid him in a grave constructed according to his wishes and made a grant of some lands for the perpetual performance of a religious service.

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e. Antique Sepulchres or Cairns and Monumental Stones.

Cairns, those mysterious prehistoric tumuli, which are found all over the old world from Scandinavia to the far East and which puzzle alike the simple peasant and the astute

¼ [Errata: This should read "hands." (Period), rather than "hands?". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

archæologist, have lately been discovered also in Coorg and upon further investigation, their structure and contents prove to be of a character similar to that of the Cairns so widely distributed over Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, Madura and other districts in Southern India. They are also remarkably like the ancient Allemanic tumuli, found in Southern Germany and Switzerland which contain similar pottery and implements. 172

The first discovery of them in Coorg in large numbers—for a solitary one had been opened at Almanda in Beppunád by Dr. H. Moegling in 1856—was made by Lieut. Mackenzie, Assistant Superintendent, in 1868 on Bánc[1] near Virájpet, but soon others were found and in better preservation near Fraserpet on the Mysore side of the Kávéri. The matter was taken up with great enthusiasm by Captain Cole the Superintendent of Coorg, and the excavations led to very satisfactory results. All of the Cairns found are either level with the ground or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber about 7 feet long, 4 feet wide and 4 feet high, composed of 4 upright granite slabs 7 or 8 inches thick and surmounted by a large slab that projects over the sides; the flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 feet in diameter, broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a large compartment is by a partition stone divided into two chambers. These Cairns are either solitary or in groups, in some instances forming regular rows, so as to give the appearance of streets. Others are surrounded by a single or double circle of stones from 2 to 3 feet high. Many seem to have been tampered with by the natives for the sake of the stone-slabs or in the expectation of finding treasure. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear heads and beads. The pottery

[1] [Errata: This should read "on a Báne" see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473-- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

192 consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a red or black colour. Some resemble the ordinary native pots of various sizes; others are from 1 to 2 feet high narrow urns contracted towards the mouth and tapering towards the bottom, where 3 or 4 short legs give them support for standing upright. Some smaller ones shaped like Roman amphoras without handles, have no such supports. They are smooth and shining, but can hardly be said to be glazed. Ornaments there are none on the surface, except perhaps a line round the brim, but their forms are well proportioned and even elegant. Some of the vessels are in miniature like children's toys from 1¼ to 2¼ inches in diameter. The earth which fills the pots is the same as that within the chamber of the Cairn; bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of rági have also been found within the chambers, but it is likely, that some practical ryot or wandering Kuruba selected a Cairn for his granary, as it is the practice with natives to secure their grain in earth-holes. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape and longitudinally pierced and ornamented with straight or zigzag parallel lines, scratched into the stone and filled up with a white substance, are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery.

The iron implements, spears and arrowheads, are very much corroded, so that their shape is hardly distinguishable.

It would be vain, to enter into the question of who were the builders of these Cairns. The Coorgs call them Pándupare (dwellings of the Pándus), but whatever is beyond their historical knowledge, they ascribe to the Pándus. It is certain, that the construction of these Cairns is quite disconnected from the life, customs and history of the present inhabitants of Coorg, nor can they have been the abodes of a legendary pigmy race; but were most likely the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation, that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Monumental Stones of a more recent date are the Kollekallu (from kollu, to kill—and kallu, stone) tombstones in honour of warriors slain in battle. They are found along the eastern districts of Coorg. One I saw in Tavalagheri-gráma in Kiggatnád, some in Kottecád, 6 miles to the east of Mercara, and many in Frasérpet and near the Sómawarpet; the same kind of monuments occur also frequently in the Mysore country, especially in Nuggur and as far north as Belgaum. In all these localities the stones show a similar character. A large collection of them may be seen in the town of Mysore in an open place opposite the Grave-yard. The slabs are of granite, with rough facings, about 6 feet high, 4 feet broad and 9 inches thick, and frequently the lower half is buried in the ground. The front side is generally divided into three compartments, each containing some figures in relief, the background being chiselled out, so that the figures are level with the frame of the compartments. The objects represented in the top frame are one, two or three central figures seated in various postures on low stools such as the Hindus still use, and two female figures standing by their sides with fans. The central figures are evidently the heroes, they sit sword in hand with consequential dignity. The second compartment is filled with a string of 3, 5 or 7 figures alternately males and females, the latter preponderating and in most lively attitudes, the male figures extending their arms and resting their hands on the shoulders of the females who support their partners' arms near the elbows. The extreme figures who are always females hold fans (or guitars?) in their hands. The third frame encloses a battle scene in which warriors on foot and armed with bows and arrows, swords and shields are engaged in combat, one man lying dead on the ground. In the right corner there is a warrior on horseback with sword in hand making gestures of command or encouragement and in the left corner one or two bulls are represented. The

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 to A. D. 1006 and the charter concludes with the solemn de-
192 nunciation "whoever takes away this land which he or others have given, shall for sixty thousand years be born as a worm."

712 **d. The Coorg Cadangas and other remains of defensive works.**

In the April number (1855) of the "Fortnightly Review" in the article: "Were the Ancient Britons Savages?" by W. Walker Wilkins, there occurs a passage which has a most appropriate bearing upon the Coorg Cadangas: "Probably "no country in the world possesses so many ancient earth-"works, certainly none upon such a stupendous scale as our "own.—They are extremely difficult of access from the steep-"ness of the mountain height on which they were formed. "This difficulty the primitive engineer greatly increased by "the most simple and natural means. He sunk one or more "deep trenches round the summit of the hill and raised lofty "banks with the excavated soil. Undoubtedly this is the "most ancient species of rampart known; it existed ages be-"fore the use of mural fortifications and originated in all pro-"bability with the nations in the East. But be that as it may, "the examples above indicated incontestably prove, that the "realization of vast works was as familiar to the mind of the "British regulus or chieftain, as to that of any oriental prince "his contemporary. The organization of labour necessary "for carrying them out evinces besides a condition of society "here in prehistoric times, utterly incompatible with the pre-"vailing notions on the subject."

The description here given literally applies to the Coorg breast-works called *Cadangas*, which are seen in almost every part of this country and which testify to the indefatigable perseverance with which these highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their Hills. They are of a very remote age, for in the time of Dodda Vîrappa Vodeya who ruled for 49

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years (from 1687-1736) war-trenches (Cadangas) already existed to which he added new ones, as the passage in the Rájéndranáma states: "He caused ditches and trenches, etc. "to be dug all over the Coorg kingdom, erected frontier "gates, etc. repaired all the *war-trenches* within the country and "thus fortified the Principality of Coorg." 712

These Cadangas stretch over hills, woods and comparatively flat countries for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill tops. In the Méndalanád they show a great conformity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggatnád they are of smaller dimensions. As stated in the preceding quotation they were "*war-trenches*," but it is more than probable, that at the same time they formed at least to some extent also the boundaries between different náds. In their conflicts with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Coorg Rájas strengthened these works, established Ukadas or guard-houses wherever a road or pathway intersected them, every opening being faced with rough stone-walls and even in the last campaign at the taking of Coorg in 1834 the Cadangas proved no contemptible obstacle to the advance of the English troops. [634] [648]

Other remains of defensive works in Coorg are the *Fort at Mercara*, the *Fort ruins at Fraserpet*, *Beppunád*, *Bhágumandala* and *Palupáre*.

Mercara Fort is still in pretty good preservation, but of little strategical value, as it is commanded by hills all round within short range of cannon. The Fortress was originally built by Muddarája Vodeya in 1680 or thereabout, and then consisted probably of mud walls, but it was rebuilt with stone by Tippu Sultan, who called it "Jaffarabad," and it was held by his generals till 1790, when Jaffar Ali Beg evacuated the place and left it with all its guns and ammunition to the Rája, Dodda-Virájender. It simply consists of a rampart

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712 8 feet thick and outside from 15 to 20 feet high with parapets 2 feet thick and 5 feet high. The fortress is an irregular hexagon and nearly conforms to the shape of the hill top, leaving enough space for a ditch all round and on the north side for a glacis. At its 6 corners there are bastions and the whole is built of strong masonry. The entrance on the east is intricate and circuitous and guarded by 3 successive gates, which close in the space, that is now occupied by public buildings the Jail, the Taluq-Subadar's, the Assistant Superintendent's and the Superintendent's Courts with the local
(778) Treasury. On the left side of the third gate there is a shrine erected against the wall, dedicated to Ganapati, the lord of hosts, whose image is daily worshipped by a Brahmin and who gets the first offerings, flowers and cocoanuts by Hindu devotees, because all who wish to prosper should begin their undertaking in Ganésha's name, and in former days it was not so dangerless for a Coorg to present himself before the Rája, as it is now before the British Superintendent! The fantastic superstructure has been added about 20 years ago by a devoted ministry who had been engaged in the building of the Frasepet-Bridge, and who must have made large profits, to spend his money so lavishingly. Within the fort itself, there is in the centre the palace, to the left and in front of it the English Church, to the right the Quarter-guard and
346 armoury and behind the palace the powder magazine. The
712 English Church stands near the place which was formerly
797 occupied by a temple dedicated to Vírabhadra and which was demolished in 1855 to make room for the Church. The latter was built by the Rev. A. Fennell in 1856-57 by private subscriptions, the Church Building Society and Government assistance and consecrated in April 1858 by Bishop Dealtry. It is a remarkably neat structure in plain Gothic style, having a tower surmounted with a low spire. From its position and elevation it is a conspicuous object from whatever side Mercara

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is viewed. Its interior is light and chaste, the fittings,—chiefly the handiwork of the Rev. Mr. Fennell—in remarkably good taste and the whole much set off by ground glass windows, with apex and borders of coloured glass, that at the east end being of larger size, of a more elaborate design and extremely elegant. The interior contains also an ornamental monument in white marble by Westmacott to the memory of the late Major Frank Vardon and a circular tablet in memory of Mrs. Barclay, the wife of Dr. Chr. Barclay.

The *Fort at Kushálanagara* (Fraserpet) built by Tippu Sultan was taken by the Coorgs in June 1789 under Dodda-Virájender, who sacked and burnt the place. When in 1846-1848 the fine bridge over the Kávéri was constructed, the ruins of the Fort supplied excellent building material.

The *Fortress at Arméri* in Beppunád was razed to the ground in August 1789.

Bhágamandala Fort, where Tippu seized some 5,000 Coorgs with their families whom he sent into Mysore in 1785 and forcibly made Mussulmans, was invested by Dodda-Virájender in 1790 and taken after 5 days' siege. The Rája himself fired the first cannon from the hill of Mumbáratu. During the bombardment 3 copper tiles of the Dévastána were destroyed by a cannon shot, but Dodda-Virájender replaced them by 4 tiles made of silver.

The *Pápáre Fort*, (Pálu-páre) on the Kire river, a tributary of the Lakshmanatírtha, in Hatgatnád in Kiggatnád taluq, in which there are also the ruins of a temple, is said to have been built by *Kolli-Ninga* and *Benne-Krishna* of the Bedaru or hunter-tribe. It was destroyed by Tippu Sultan's armies and its ruins are extensive.

8. THE COORG LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE.

The prevalent and official language in Coorg is Canarese, but this small mountain clan, the Coorgs, with their former

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197 slaves, the Holeyas, have a language of their own, which is intelligible to themselves only. Upon closer examination, however, it is apparent, that the Kodagu tongue is but a dialect more or less related to the 5 principal Dravidian languages—the Telugu, Tamil, Malayálam, Tulu and Canarese—but eminently so to the older forms of these languages. [212] The old Coorg chants (Palamé) have been written for ages [214] past with Canarese letters, and the first attempt in printing a Coorg Grammar has likewise been carried out in Canarese type, also the Canarese numerical figures are used by the Coorgs. The Kodagu language is shorter, more simple, but less refined than the Canarese and a convenient medium for conversation; by its contracted, rounded forms with abrupt terminations in half vowels, it does not require a great exertion of the organs of speech and admits of chewing betel and retaining the precious juice, whilst the flow of conversation is uninterruptedly carried on. Indeed a beginner should practise the pronunciation with his mouth half full of water, till he can speak without spilling any. The Kodagu language has not the force and expressiveness of the Canarese, but it glides more readily over the lips. It is rich in words and forms and, as the Coorg chants attest, admirably suited for expressing easy flowing poetry of a humorous or solemn strain.

194 Of the 51 letters that constitute the new Canarese alphabet - [212] old Canarese has only 47—the Kodagu language appropriates but 33, viz. 12 vowels, 1 half consonant, 16 classified and 4 unclassified consonants, for it rejects all aspirated consonants.

The vowels are: the short and long a ಅ, ಆ, e ಎ, ಏ, i ಇ, ಈ, o ಒ, ಓ, u ಉ, ಊ, and the diphthongs ei ಐ and ou ಔ.

The half consonant or medium between vowel and consonant is ಂ which sounds like m, n, or ng, according to position.

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The 16 classified consonants are: the

Gutturals:	ಕ	ka	ಗ	ga	ಙ	gna	
Palatals:	ಚ	cha	ಜ	ja	ಞ	nya	
Cerebrals:	ಟ	ṭa	ಡ	ḍa	ಣ	ṇa	(ಳ ḷa)
Dentals:	ತ	ta	ದ	da	ನ	na	
Labials:	ಪ	pa	ಬ	ba	ಮ	ma	

The 4 unclassified consonants are the Liquids:

ಯ ya ರ ra ಲ la ವ wa

It would lead me too far, to enter upon the method of changing this simple system of letters into their various combinations; this may be found in the Rev. Thos. Hodson's Canarese Grammar or in Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which in its etymological part is based upon the former. I may only remark, that in writing Kodagu with the Canarese alphabet there is a frequent use of half letters which are denoted by a peculiar flourish above the respective consonants, to preclude, as it were, the ordinarily used definite final vowel; Ex. ಮ್ = mä, ದ್ = dä instead of ಮ ma and ದ da. Yet these half letters are not mute consonants, but are followed by either of the two peculiar short and dull vowels ö and ü which frequently occur in German and French. The former (ö) is pronounced like e in the French relative pronoun "que", or the ö in the German "Götter", the latter (ü) sounds like the French u in "vertu" or the ü in the German "Mütter". As a general rule in the Kodagu language every half letter at the end of a syllable, whether mediate or final, is pronounced with the consounding short nasal vowel ö, where in new Canarese the same syllable would terminate in ಮ್ and in old Canarese in ಂ. Ex. Can. ಕುರುಬಮ್. Kg. ಕುರುಂಬೆ = a shepherd. But where the half letter in Kodagu implies the vowel u in Canarese, it is pronounced ü; Ex. Can. ಇದು, Kg. ಇದ್ = this.

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194 [199] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü*; Ex. Can. ಇಡು, Kg. ಇಡ್ಡ = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ಏಳು, Kg. ಏಳ್ಳ = seven; Can. ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ, Kg. ಪೊಟ್ಟಿ = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word ಅವಂಗ instead of the Canarese ಅವನು = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. ಉಂಡ್ಡ for Can. ಉಂಟು = are, Kg. ಈಕ್ಕ for Can. ಇಗ = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. ಚಂದ್ರ Kg. ಚಂದ್ರುಸ = moon; Can. ಯಂತ್ರ Kg. ಯಂತ್ರತೆ. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. ದೇಶ, Kg. ದೇಜ = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. ಸೂರ್ಯ, Kg. ಚೂರ್ಯ. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ, Kg. ಪಿಡಿ = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunci-
[177] ation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

[127] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

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a great deal of valuable information, though as a first attempt it is somewhat defective and requires critical sifting.

Regarding the *noun* there are in Kodagu simple and compound nouns; the combination of the latter follows more the convenience of pronunciation than grammatical rules, for the Kodagu language in its present form is anterior to Kodagu grammar. There are, as in Canarese, 3 genders, but as in the other Dravidian languages the principle of distinction is the separation between the divine, the human and the below human; only the nouns relating to the former beings partake of the distinction of male and female sex, all other words are neuter. As to number there is a singular and plural form. Following the usage of other grammars of the Dravidian tongues, the declension of Kodagu nouns may be represented with 7 or 8 cases, but several of them being but the result of affixed particles, the cases might well be reduced to 5 viz. the Nominative, Objective, Genitive, Dative and Vocative. According to the terminations of the nouns there are 3 declensions, viz. of nouns ending in *a*, in *i* or *e* and in *u*. Examples will make this clear.

First declension of Nouns ending in a.

Masculine form "rijä," the king.

	Singular.			*Plural.*		
Nom.	rijä (1.)		the king.	rija (2.)		the kings.
Obj.	rijana		"	rijara		"
Gen.	rijanda	of	"	rijanda	of	"
Dat.	rijangä	to	"	rijakä	to	"
Inst.	rijanagwada	by	"	rijaragwada	by	"
Loc.	rijandapakka	in	"	rijandapakka	in	"
Voc.	rijané		Oh king.	rijaré		Oh kings.

1. Though corrupted at the end of a word the *a* takes again its full sound as soon as new syllables are added.

2. The plural sometimes adds *ongu* similar to the old Canarese *ongal*, e. g. Kg. *rijongu*, old Can. *rijongal*.

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Feminine form "móva," daughter.

To the crude form the objective singular adds ja and the plural ḷa.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nom.	móva		daughter.	móḷia		daughters.
Obj.	mówaḷa		"	móḷiaḷa		"
Gen.	mówaḍa	of	"	móḷiaḍa	of	"
Dat.	mówakkū	to	"	móḷiakkū	to	"
Voc.	mówaḷé	Oh	"	móḷiaḷé	Oh	"

Neuter nouns have no particular form for the plural number.

Second declension of Nouns ending in i and e.

Masculine form "dore," the master.

The plural is formed by adding: ya.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nom.	dore		master.	doreya		masters.
Obj.	doreya		"	doreyaḷa		"
Gen.	doreya	of	"	doreyara	of	"
Dat.	dorekkū	to	"	doreyakkū	to	"
Voc.	doreyé	Oh	"	doreyaḷé	Oh	"

Feminine nouns are declined like the foregoing.

Neuter noun "poṭṭi," the box.

Nom. poṭṭi, *Obj.* poṭṭina, *Gen.* poṭṭira, *Dat.* poṭṭikkū, *Instr.* poṭṭinaḷ, *Loc.* poṭṭilū.

Third declension of Nouns ending in u.

Masculine form "guru," the priest.

The plural is formed by adding: va.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	guru	guruva
Obj.	guruna	guruvaḷa
Gen.	guruḍa	guruvaḍa
Dat.	gurukkū	guruvakkū
Voc.	guruvé	guruvaḷé

Feminine nouns are declined in the same manner.

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Neuter form "puḷu," the worm. 193

Nom. puḷu, *Obj.* puḷuna, *Gen.* puḷuḍa, *Dat.* puḷukkū, *Instr.* puḷuvinji, *Loc.* puḷuvalli. *

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Canarese their number is not very great, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles ānā having become, and illā being, possessing: e. g. chāi beauty, chāiānā beautiful; pana money, panaullā rich. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: e. g. pāḍuvā pakki, the singing bird; bandā guru, the priest who came. For expressing the comparative and superlative the adjective remains unchanged, but the notion of degree is produced by a peculiar construction of the sentence viz. the comparative by a construction like this: than your book his book useful, i. e. his book is more useful than yours; the superlative: among all books his book useful, i. e. his book is most useful.

The numerical Adjective, this criterion of the origin of a language, is, as may be expected, in the Drávida languages very much alike, but entirely different from other tongues. The neutral numerals in Kodagu from 1-12 are: ondā, danḍā, mūndā, nālā, anji, ārā, yēlā, yettā, eyimbadā, pattā, pannendā, panerandā; from 13 to 19 the units are added to the crude form of pattā, viz. padu-mūndā, etc. 20 is iruvadu, to which after changing the d into tt, the units are added for 21-29. [197]

In all compound numbers for danḍā, 2, randā is substituted, which resembles the Canarese yeraḍu. 30 is muppadā, 40 nāpadā, 50 aimbadā, 60 aruvadā, 70 eḷuvadā, 80 embadā, 90 tonūrā, 100 nūrā; 101 nūyittondā etc.; 200 innūrā, 300 munūrā, etc., 800 ettunūrā, 900 embainūrā, 1,000 āyira, which is borrowed from Sanscrit. 802 193 [192]

For the formation of ordinals the affix ne is added to the

* If the crude noun is long, or consists of several syllables, the final a disappears in the Instr. and Loc. e. g. nādā, *Instr.* nāḍinji, *Loc.* nāḍālli.

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802 193 crude form of the cardinals; e. g. ondane, dandane, mûndane, etc. the first, second, third, etc.

Only the numbers one and two have three genders, all the rest are neuter.

obbô	one man.	ibbô	two men.
obba	„ woman.	ibba	„ women.
ondû	„ thing.	dandû	„ things.

As in Canarese doubling a number renders it a distributive; e. g. ondondû, dandandû, etc. every one, two, etc.

Of fractions, which even in Canarese form but a limited system, the Coorg stock is still smaller and refers only to concrete terms viz: ¼ ârô, ½ kâlû, ¾ mukkâlû, which help to divide the Maṇa of 40 seers and the Beṭṭi of 80 seers of capacity-measure and the Rupee.

803 871 The Coorgs have no idea of abstract reckoning and fractional arithmetic is a most difficult subject for native teachers.

193 The *pronouns* in Kodagu greatly resemble those in Canarese.

The personal pronouns are declined in the following manner:—

First person: nâ = I.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	nâ or nânû,	I.	enga, nanga,	we.
Obj.	enna,	me.	engla, nangla,	us.
Gen.	ennada, êda,	of me.	engada, nangada,	of us.
Dat.	ennakû, nangû,	to me.	engakû, nangakû,	to us.

Second person: nî = thou.

Nom.	ninû,	thou.	ninga,	you.
Obj.	ninna,	thee.	ningala,	you.
Gen.	ninada, nida,	of thee.	ningada,	of you.
Dat.	ninnakû, ningû,	to thee.	ningakû,	to you.

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Third Person: Ivang, avăng, he; iva, ava, she. 193

(The proximate and the remote forms are declined alike.)

	Singular.				Plural.	
Nom.	avăng,	he.	ava,	she.	avu,	they.
Obj.	avana,	him.	avaḷa,	her.	ayana,	them.
Gen.	avanḍa,	of him, his.	avaḍa,	of her.	ayanḍa,	of them.
Dat.	avangū,	to him.	avakū,	to her.	ayangū,	to them.

idū, adū—it.

Nom. adū, it; *Obj.* adūna, it; *Gen.* adanḍa, of it; *Dat.* adangū, to it; *Instr.* adatinḍi, from it; *Loc.* adālū, in it.

Tānū, himself; *Obj.* tanna is declined, like nānū, I.

The following are the interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns:

yā, yēvū, yēva, yēdū, which; ārū, dārū, who.
i, ivang, iva, idū, this; ivū, these.
ā, avang, ava, adū, that; avu, these.
ennata, what kind? innata, annata, such.
ichakū, how much? ichakū, achakū, so much.

It will be remarked, that the idea of nearness and remoteness in the pronouns is finely distinguished by the use of the two vowels *i* and *a*.

Of verbs there are two conjugations in the Kodagu dialect; one of verbs ending in *u* and the other with the termination *i*, *e*, and *a*. The verbs ending in *u* add to their root the affix vē in the present and nē in the past relative participle; e. g. root: pāḍū, sing; pr. rel. part. pāḍāvē, who sings; past rel. part. pāḍānē, who sang. Verbs ending in *e* add pē and tē; e. g. root: nene think; pres. relat. part. nenepē, who thinks; past rel. part. nenetē, who thought. The various inflections of the verb are formed from the root, the present relat. part. and the past relat. participle.

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I. Conjugation. *Verbs ending in u.*

Root "pāḍū," sing.

Infinitive Mood: pāḍūvākū, to sing.
Present Gerund or verbal Adjective: pāḍianḍū, singing.
Past do. pāḍitū, having sung. *Old Can.* pāḍḍu.
Negative Gerund pāḍattu, not singing.
Relative Participle Present: pāḍūvū, who sings.
Do. Past: pāḍūnū, „ sung.
Do. Negative: pāḍattū, „ does not sing.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
nānū pāḍuvi, pāḍuvaḷa.	ennu pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa, we sing.
ninū pāḍuvia.	ninnu pāḍuvira.
avvang, ava, adū pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa.	avu pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa.

Past Tense.

nānū pāḍūnu, I sung.	ennu pāḍiohi.
ninū pāḍia.	ninnu pāḍira.
avvang pāḍiohi.	avu pāḍiohi.

Future Tense.

nānū pāḍuvū, I shall sing.	ennu pāḍu.
ninū pāḍuvia.	ninnu pāḍuvira.
avvang pāḍu.	avu pāḍu.

Neg. Mood Present Tense: nānū, ninū, &c. pāḍula, I do not sing.
Past „ pāḍille, did not sing.
Imperative Mood: pāḍū, sing; pāḍi, sing ye; nānū, &c. pāḍaḍū, let me sing; ennu pāḍunnu, let us sing.

II. Conjugation. *Verbs ending in e, a and i.*

Root: "nene," think.

Infinitive Mood: nenepākū, to think.
Gerund or Adjective Participle Present: nenatāḍū, thinking.

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Gerund or Adjective Participle Past: nenetittā, having thought.
Do. *Negative:* nenayatte, not thinking.
Relative Participle Present: nenepō, who thinks.
Do. *Past:* nenetō, who thought.
Do. *Negative:* nenayatte, who does not think.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
nānū nenepi, nenepaḷa, I think.	enga nenepa, nenapaḷa.
nīnū nenepiya.	ninga nenepira.
avv̆ng nenepa, nenapaḷa.	avu nenepa, nenapaḷa.

Past Tense.

nānū nenete, I thought.	enga nenettātū.
nīnū nenetiya.	ninga nenettira.
avv̆ng nenettātū.	avu nenettātū.

Future Tense.

nānū nenepō, I shall think.	enga nenekku.
nīnū nenepiya.	ninga nenepira.
avv̆ng nenekku.	avu nenekku.

Neg. Mood Present: nānū nenepīla, I do not think.
Neg. Mood Past: nānū nenetīlla, I did not think.
Imperative Mood: nene, think; neneyira, think ye.
nānū neneyattā, let me think.
enga nenekku, let us think.

Some verbs ending in *e* and *a* form their participles in the following manner:—

Root: kaḍa, *part.* kaḍaṇḍā, kaḍapā.
" naḍa, " naḍaṇḍā, naḍapā.
" para, " paraṇḍā, paravā.
" bīḷa, " bīḷaṇḍā, bīḷavā.

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193 Verbs ending in i:—

Root:	kani,	*Part.*	kaniobâ, kanipâ.
„	kuri,	„	kuriobâ, kuripâ.
„	kai,	„	kaiobâ, kaipâ.
„	kodi,	„	kodiobâ, kodipâ.
„	chadi,	„	chadiobâ, chadipâ.

Conjugation of the auxiliary verb irû, &c.

Infinitive Mood: ippêkkû, to be.

Gerunds or Adj. Participle Present: injanâ, being.

Do. *Past:* injittâ, having been.

Do. *Negative:* irattu, not being.

Relative Participle Present: ippâ, who is.

Do. *Past:* injâ, who was.

Do. *Negative:* irattâ, who is not.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*
nânâ ippi,	I am.	enga ippa, we were.
nânâ ippia.		ninga ippira.
avvâng ippa.		avu ippa.

Past Tense.

nânâ inja,	I was.	enga injittâ.
nânâ injiya.		ninga injiru.
avvâng injittâ.		avu injittâ.

Future Tense.

nânâ ippâ,	I shall be.	enga ikkâ.
nânâ ippiya.		ninga ippiru.
avvâng ikku.		avu ikku.

Negative Mood Present: nânâ ippile, I am not; *Past:* nânâ injile, I was not.

Imperative Mood: irû, be; irri, be ye.

nânâ irudû, let me be.

nangû ikku, let us be.

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Conjugation of the auxiliary verb �u, become.

Infinitive Mood: ápékkā, to become.
Gerund or Adj. Participle Present: áyandā, becoming.
Do. Past: áyitā, having become.
Do. Negative: átte, not becoming.
Pr. R. P.: ápā, who becomes; *Past:* ánā, who became. *Neg.:* áttā, who does not become.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*
nánā ápi,	I become.	engu ápa, we become.
nínā ápia.		ningu ápira.
avv̆ng ápa.		avu ápa.

Past Tense.

nánā ána,	I became.	engu áchi, we became.
nínā ániya.		ningu ániru.
avv̆ng áchi.		avu áchi.

Future Tense.

nánā ápā,	I shall become.	engu áku.
nínā ápiya.		ningu ápiru.
avv̆ng áku.		avu áku.

Negative Mood Present: nánā ápila, I do not become.
Do. Past: „ áyila, I did not become.
Imperative Mood: áu, become; áyiri, become ye.
nánā ájā, let me become.
nungu ákku, let us become.

The irregular verb "pōā" to go, is conjugated in the same manner.

I may remark, that as in Canarese the affirmative ahudu, hudu is an old form of the future tense of águ, become, so in Kodagu akku, yes, corresponds with the 3rd person singular, future tense áku, it shall become, which is the same form

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193 as the old Canarese akkum. The fine distinction between irū, be, and �u, become, extends even to the derivative negations ille and alla, not, the first negativing existence, the second, the state of existence.

There is no passive voice in Kodagu; a little change in the construction of a sentence renders it superfluous.

A medial or reciprocal form is obtained as in Canarese by adding to the past participle: konḍa (Can. koḷḷu) which properly means, take, but in this connection: "relating to oneself." e. g. dārū māḍi konḍaddū, who made it?

To express causal verbs in Kodagu, the affix chirū is added, e. g. maḍu-chirū, cause to do.

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List of Irregular Verbs.

English.	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Know	ari	ari	ariwō	arinjō
Become	águ	áu	ápō	anō
Choose	áyu	áyu	áyuvō	ánjō
Put	iḍu	iḍū	iḍūvō	iṭṭō
Fall		iḍi	iḍiyuvō	iḍinjō
Be	iru	irū	ippō	injō
Descend	iḷi	iḷi	iḷiyuvō	iḷinjō
Eat	uṇṇu	uṇṇū	umbō	unḍō
Plough	uḷu	uḷū	uppō	uttō
Rise	yéḷu	yéḷū	yévō	yeddō
See	káṇu	káṇū	kámbō	kanḍō
Be hot	káyu	káyi	káyuvō	kánjō
Wait	káyu	káu	kápō	katō
Spoil	keḍu	keḍū	keḍūvō	keṭṭō
Make		keyū	keyuvō	keḷḷa
Cut	koiyu	koiyū	keyuvō	keḷḷō

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English	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Hear	kéḷu	kéḷü	kéṇḍ	kéṭṭ
Kill	kollu	kollü	kolluvẽ	kondẽ
Take	koḷḷu	konḍu	kowwẽ	konḍandẽ
Win	gellu	gellü	gelluvẽ	geddẽ
Die	sá	cháü	cháve	chattẽ
Boil	suḍu	chuḍiü	chuḍüve	chuṭṭẽ
Give	tá	* tá	tappẽ	tandẽ
Sink		tívü	távẽ	tándẽ
End	tiru	tüḷü	tüüpẽ	tüütẽ
Pay	teru	terü	terüve	tettẽ
Wear off		téyu	téyuve	ténjẽ
Touch		toḍü	toḍuve	toṭṭẽ
Fold		tou	toppẽ	tottẽ
Plant	naḍu	naḍü	naḍuve	naṭṭẽ
Stop	nillu	nillü	nippẽ	nindẽ
Blame		paḷi	paḷiuve	paḷinjẽ
Increase		peru	perüpẽ	perütẽ
Bring forth	heru	perü	peruve	pettẽ
Beat	hoḍiyu	poyi	poyuve	poḷḷẽ
Make		peraḍü	peradüve	peratẽ
Go	hógu	póu	pópẽ	pónẽ
Stitch	holi	pollü	pollüve	pondẽ
Fight	hóru	póḷü	poppẽ	pottẽ
Come	bá	* bá	bappa	bandẽ
Live	báḷu	báḷü	bávẽ	bándẽ
Leave	biḍu	büḍü	büḍüve	buṭṭẽ
Fall	biḷu	büḷü	bávẽ	buddẽ
Put		beyi	beppẽ	bechchẽ
Boil	bé	bé	bévẽ	benjẽ

* Téü, he gave; béü, he came.

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193 As in Canarese *adverbs* are in Kodagu formed of nouns by adding the affixes áyitū, áyi (Can. ági), e. g. chamáyi (Can. samavági) according to.

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:—

yekkū	when,	ikkū	now,	akkū	then.
yendū	which day,	indū	this day,	andū	that day.
yelli	where,	illi	here,	alli	there.

By the usual affixes these adverbs undergo like nouns of the neuter gender a kind of declension, in which the instr. case indicates motion from and the dative motion to a place; e. g.

Instr.	yellinji	whence,	illinji	hence,	allinji	thence.
Dat.	yellikkū	whither,	illikkū	hither,	allikkū	thither.

Most of the adverbs, however, do not admit of declension.

To advert in a few lines to the Kodagu syntax, it may be remarked, that it is quite in harmony with that of the Dravida languages. A Kodagu or Canarese compound sentence, though it presents a complete reversion of our European structure of sentences, is to the accustomed ear as perfect and harmonious as a Greek period, which is perhaps equally involved by participial constructions. The principal verb (verbum finitum) invariably is placed last in the sentence and as a general rule every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

538 533 *Literature.* Strictly speaking there is no literature in the Kodagu language, as a few indigenous songs of a very limited range of subjects comprise the whole catalogue. These songs are known in every Coorg house, and, commemorating as they do the chief events of social life, marriage, death, and festivities, and the warfare with the Mussulman power in Mysore, they are likely to continue to be popular.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Náds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

533 [212] [74] [634]

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

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The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

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533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or
[171] German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris.

197 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost
533 every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of
539 the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1.	*Kodagu.*	Nóṭi nóṭi kámbakkó
2.	*Canarese.*	Nóḍi nóḍi káṇuvága
3.	*English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1.	*Kg.*	Búmikelloyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Bhúmige yella unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1.	*Kg.*	Mahammére parvata
2.	*Can.*	Mahammére parvata
3.	*Engl.*	Mahaméru mountain
1.	*Kg.*	Pú marakkoyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Hávu maragaḷige unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1.	*Kg.*	Mánjappeya pómara
2.	*Can.*	Mahá sampigue hávu mara
3.	*Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1.	*Kg.*	Déjakelloyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Déshagaḷige, yella, unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1.	*Kg.*	Pennmále Kodavápa
2.	*Can.*	Honnu mále Kodagu águtade
3.	*Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

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FREE TRANSLATION:

"High above the lofty hills
"Throne the snowy Mahaméru;
"And among the flowering trees
"Is the Sampigé the finest;
"Thus is Coorg, a string of pearls,
"Far surpassing other countries."

The "*Harvest Song*", being rather long and adding no new information to what has already been given in the description of rice cultivation, is here omitted.

THE QUEEN'S SONG.

God Almighty live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God!
Rule, O glorious Sun and Moon,
In the sky as king and queen!
Land of our fathers, thrive!
Land of houses and of farms!
In the ancient times, they say,
Kunti, mother of the Pándus,
Ruled the six and fifty countries
Of the mighty Jambudwipa,
Famous from the earth to heaven,
To the borders of the ocean.
But in our days there rules
By the grace of God Almighty
On the glorious throne of England
Our gracious noble Queen,
Beauteous like a string of pearls,
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin.
And the Lord and General *
Of her great and valiant armies,
Raised in ev'ry land the banner
Of his Queen and Sovereign;
And, the sword in mighty hand,

* The Duke of Wellington.

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Conquered kingdom after kingdom,
Conquered our happy land,
Like the bright and starry heaven
Full of villages and houses,
Houses full of blooming children
Like a garden full of flowers;
And the young men fine and stately
Like the royal Sampigé;
Like a string of choicest pearls
Like the flower of the forest
Are the wives, and all their children
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin;
Happily they live, and prosper.
And their cattle are increasing
Like the game in mighty jungles.
Rice and paddy are abundant
Like the sand along the Kávéri.
By the grace of our Queen
All the people of this country
Suffer neither want nor hardship.
Happily they live, and prosper,
Free from terror and from danger;
Like the deer in holy forests,
Where the gun is never fired,
Nor the hounds attack and slaughter.
Thus our gracious noble Queen
Guards this country and defends it
In the shadow of her wings.
Thus the Governor of India,
Thus the English rule this country
By the grace of God the Highest.
May God bless the noble Queen,
Ruling our happy country;
May He keep her and defend her.
May she gather mighty armies,
Terrible to all her foes,
To her friends a kind protector,
May she govern all the earth!
On the fiery steed of battle,

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Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies 533
only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a 534
slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudikepare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal.

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd 538
and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with 521
which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekâga, pireke karikâga
Beppeneke bechaka pireke karikâku
Poppaneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍekâku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Coloeynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

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need for curry. With proper management even Brahmins may fight.

2. **Poiyu kartaka, pálu kartadá?**
If the cow is black, will the milk be black?

3. **Andá naḍapavana kaṇḍú naḍakaṇḍu.**
Him who holds sway we must obey.

4. **Andú portavangú áche porpokú kaiyá?**
Have we endured for one year, and can we not endure for a day?

5. **Kettavókú bandavang totaka buḍuvá?**
He who is doomed to loose his head, will he be freed for making Salám?

6. **Kindale koichaka kóime naḍaku.**
He who can spend money is accounted an honorable man.

7. **Kambiyettu kakudi adirullariyu.**
He who indulges in toddy in the fine season will find out his mistake in the monsoon.

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III. PART.

The History of Coorg.

1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KÁVÉRI-PURÁNA.

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The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kávéri-Purána which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kártikéya-Purána; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Parshuráma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwípa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwípa or India were either turned into Avatáras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódáveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri-Purána or Kávéri-Mahátmya (glorification of Kávéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

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with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 1864 by Srínivásayengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujyóti, joining the Kánake and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

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and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823]
divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kavéra Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self, individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

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Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya.

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(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

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539 77 Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Króadésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virnjá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

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Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shríranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Rámésh-vara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandra-varma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

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righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mlénchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mlénchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mlénchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they re-

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ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

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boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Kródadésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandravarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávéri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

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you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

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2. POPULAR TRADITION.

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Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

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Five of them, accompanied by their sister, Ponnangálatamma, went to Coorg by the Páditoraghát. While they were on the road, four of them said: "How is it that our sister comes with us; the people will say, that she is our wife?" One of them replied: "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to the Chouripadé-hill near the Kakabé river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa said to his sister: "Prepare us some food." She replied: "There is no fire nor rice." Iguttappa said: "I will give you rice, but you must boil it without fire." She replied: "I will boil it without fire, but you must eat it without salt." To this the brothers agreed. Then Ponnangálatamma, seeing a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house went and milked her, letting the milk fall into a chatty full of rice, and while the brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, where it began to boil. Then she called her brothers to eat the rice which she had prepared. When they had eaten enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it up into the air and exclaimed: "See how the hail is descending from the sky." Ponnangálatamma, angry at this, took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow on his back and said: "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." Then the brothers all laughed at him. Afterwards, while they were sitting together and chewing betel, Pálúrappa said: "Let us see whose betel is the reddest." Then they all spat out the betel into their hands, looked at it, and the brothers threw the betel behind their heads, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. The sister, deluded by this, threw the betel into her mouth again, and went on chewing. They now said that she had lost her caste. Their brother in Malabar too, to whom they appealed, confirmed their decision. Ponnangálatamma was excessively grieved, and wept bitterly. Iguttappa afterwards threw an arrow from the Iguttappabetta and ordered his sister to go

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with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálúr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

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Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

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3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

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In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

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174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [191] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [197] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 174 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, 167 and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

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rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the *Zádu* branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mléchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

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175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 651 1712 629 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument 211 of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
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That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most [791]
numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwnnád, Bengnnád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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643 ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as
648 Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by
174 the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute
177 will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic
[578] caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious
[564] Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes
186 could have been formed into an almost homogenous body,
175 I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible
[628] amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a com-
[648] paratively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still [787] write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

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most presumptuous hazard an opinion as to the propriety of his commands or actions; but fear alone produces this instantaneous compliance with his will, however capricious; and obedience is maintained by an exemplary severity that, however it may command submission, cannot create affection.

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"The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery; under so arbitrary a sway safety of person and permanency of property must depend on the precarious will of the ruler; political freedom forms no part of the elements of an Asiatic system of government, nor perhaps is it desirable it should; but the inhabitants of this little state are interdicted from almost any share of that practical liberty which their neighbours enjoy."

Col. Fraser, in his despatches to the Supreme Government dated 7th April 1834 states: "The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking, seem to be concentrated in the Rájah himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Rájah shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear."

Again under date 12th April 1834: "Their minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Rájah or they have not a motive for doing so."

Again in a letter dated 14th July 1834: "If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom, that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of government under which they were placed, an effect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be

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found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India." 642 643 175

4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RĀJAHS AS DELINEATED IN THE RĀJENDRANĀME AND FROM OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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The Rájendranáme (account of Rájendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virájendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rájahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rájah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rájah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg A.75

*175 book. The language is strongly impregnated with Hindustani words, yet it retains its Canarese character thoroughly, and far surpasses both in composition and idiom the bombastic, would-be classical Canarese translation of the Kávéri-Puráns.

The *English translation*, made by Lieut. R. Abercromby in 1808 at Mangalore, renders accurately the contents of Dodda-Virájendra's original, and very likely remained untouched by the Rájah's successors who were unacquainted with the English language. But the *Canarese original* has undoubtedly been destroyed after the preparation of spurious copies one of which remained in the Mercara Archives. A long passage relating to the intrigues of Appájirája, in which the name of Channavíra another relative of the Rájah's is mixed up, does not appear in the English translation by Robert Abercromby, and is probably an interpolation made by the late Rájah after the murder of Channavíra and his family, some time before the year 1825. The two last pages of the English translation, on the other hand, are not to be found in the Canarese original. They were probably expunged by Lingarája or his son, because they contained the last will of Dodda-Virájendra, the suppression of which lay in their interest. The translator, who could have had no motive to deviate from his original, finished the translation almost a year before the death of Vírarája. Vírarája's guilty successors have dabbled with other documents, forged some and destroyed others. The above conjecture seems, therefore, to be legitimate enough.

As for the trustworthiness of Vírarája's history, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of its statements, but it is very far from giving the whole truth. Three principal omissions deserve to be noticed:—

*175 By commencing the history of his family at so late a date,
*643 Vírarája escapes the disagreeable necessity of disclosing two
*648 circumstances, without a knowledge of which Coorg affairs

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

contain much that is unintelligible, namely the dependence of the Coorg Rájahs on the Ikeri royal family of Shivappa-náyaka, from which probably they descended, and the fact, that they belonged, with the Ikeri family, to the sect of the Lingaites, while the Coorgs themselves are unconnected with any of the general religious systems of India. Hyder and Tippu, after having absorbed the kingdom of Ikeri, claimed the allegiance of the Coorg Rájahs as a matter of course, and knew how to enforce their rights of sovereignty as long as their day of prosperity lasted. 175* 643* 648*

The second point is indicated, indeed, but in the slightest possible manner, that the Coorgs in their plundering expeditions into Mysore, the provinces on the Western Coast and the districts to the north of Coorg, pillaged without mercy the unfortunate towns, villages and farm-houses, which fell into their hands. Remnants of the spoils of the low countries may yet be treasured up among the hoards of the wealthy families of Coorg. Noses, ears and hands were cut off by the Coorg banditti, they deserve no better name, without ceremony, for the sake of the jewels attached to them. The Coorgs became proverbial for wanton cruelty and sensuality in all the surrounding districts, to which they extended their ravages. 175* 648*

Lastly, the Rájah is most careful not even to hint at the system of terror by which he ruled his country. Human life seems to have had very little value indeed in his sight. He had been trained in a bad school. Hyder had cut off one whole branch of the family of the Coorg Rájahs. Vírarája's nearest relatives died in prison at Periapatna, the victims of hunger and disease. At Kurchi, his own wives and children were cut off in one night by the robbers sent from Kóte and led by a traitor, a Brahmin. Amidst bloodshed and rapine he had grown up. No wonder, that he would not spare those who were, or whom he conceived to be, his enemies among 175* 643*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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his subjects. But the Rájendranáme is studiously silent on these subjects. The book was written for the use of his friends and patrons. For this purpose the English translation was made, at the request of Vírarája by Mr. Abercromby, and Hindustani translations distributed as remembrances among the higher officers in the Company's service. Vírarája was anxious, more anxious than appears to have been natural in a person of his situation, to bear a fair character in the eyes of the English Sirkar. He seems to have been conscious, that to his own people he was an object of terror, probably of hatred, and that he had no friend on earth, but the English Government, whose gratitude he had indeed fully deserved.

The English translation of the Rájendranáme being available for further particulars, a succinct summary may suffice our present purpose.

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A. PRINCES OF COLLATERAL LINES.

1633—1780.

a. Muddurája and his descendents.

The chronicle commences with the reign of Muddurája who is introduced as the son of Appájirája and the grandson of Vírarája. He reigned at Haléri in 1633, but subsequently established himself at Mercara, where he built the Fort and a Palace in 1681. He had three sons: Dodda-Vírappa, Appájirája and Nandarája. After a long reign of 54 years Muddurája died and his eldest son Dodda-Vírappa succeeded him. The second son was settled at Haléri and the third at Horamale.

Dodda-Vírappa, with the harelip, had a son Appájirája who married and had a son, whose name was Chikka-Vírappa Vodeya.

Appáji of Haléri had five sons of whom three died in early life. The eldest Muddaya had a son Appájirája; the second

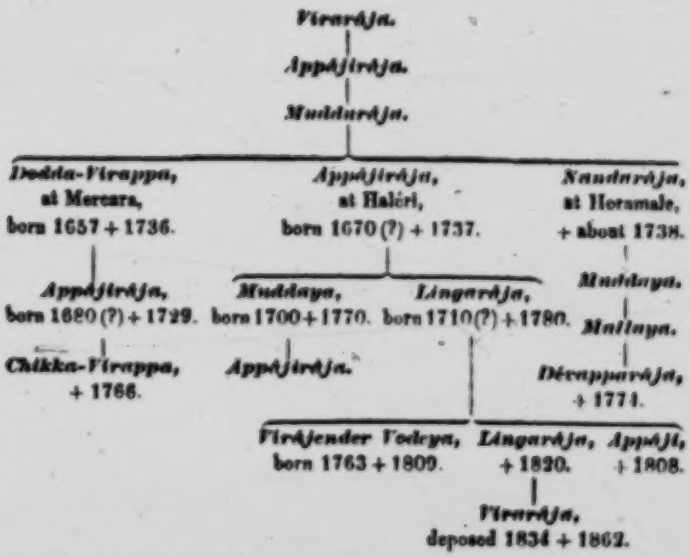
4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Lingarája married Dévambikegamma, who bore him a son at the full moon of June 1763, Vírarájendra Vodeya, the author and hero of the Rájendranáme. His two brothers were Lingarája and Appáji. 173 643*

Of the Horamale branch Nandarája had a son Muddaya whose son was Mallaya.

The relationship of the descendents of the different lines will appear more clearly from the annexed

Genealogical Tree.



Such was the state of things in Coorg, when Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore, Dodda Channamáji, the mother of Sómashékara Náyaka of Ikeri, Dodda-Sadáshivarája of Sóde, Venkatádri Náyaka of Bélur, Víravasurája of Chirakal lived and ruled their respective principalities. The country of Periapatna and of Coorg were then one. The frontier of 175* 643* 648*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Mysore and Coorg passed between Uddur in Coorg and Kattemálalavádi in Mysore.

b. *Dodda-Vírappa.*

In the reign of Dodda-Vírappa of Mercara, Nanjunda, his kinsman, was Rájah of Periapatna. Some of his officials opened a treasonable correspondence with Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore whom they invited to come and rule over them. Nanjarája, perceiving the threatened danger, went to Mercara to implore the assistance of his relative, who espousing his cause, marched immediately to support him, but on reaching Siddapur he had the mortification to learn, that Periapatna had fallen and that Vírarája, the son of Nanjunda, who had been entrusted with the command of the capital, seeing his situation desperate, had gallantly fallen in its defence, having previously in compliance with the sanguinary dictates of honor, put to death his wives and children to preserve them from polution.

[114] (In Col. Wilk's "History of Mysore" this event is placed in the reign of Canty Reva Narsa Rájah in 1644 and Lieut. Connor in his "Memoir of the Codagu Survey" mentions "Immadi" as the Rájah of Mysore who attacked Periapatna, but he was only 20 years old, when in 1637 he succeeded Cham Ráj and as he was poisoned in 1639, it is not likely, that he attempted the conquest about 50 years later!)

Encouraged by his success the Mysore Rájah, Chikkadéva Vodeya, prepared for the conquest of Coorg. His army advanced but a short way beyond Bálele in Coorg and encamped on the plain of Palupáre, when they were met by the Coorgs. Before daybreak Dodda-Vírappa attacked them and slew 15,000 men with 77 officers, the rest fled back into Mysore. Immediately after this event the Coorg Rájah marched to Tómara, to oppose an invasion of the Rájah of Kotangadi, who with an army of 5,000 Nairs had ascended

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the Ghats and in a fortified camp at Tómara awaited the issue of the Mysorean campaign. 175* 643* 648*

Dodda-Vírappa had previously detached a body of fifteen hundred men in advance, and the decisive victory gained soon enabled him to follow with a larger force. He made a spirited attack, forced the entrenched camp of Víravarma and destroyed the Rájah and his army at one blow.

After some time Chikkadéva Vodeya invaded Bélur, the country of Venkatadri Náyaka. Dodda-Vírappa, desirous of obtaining a share of the spoil for himself, sent a force northward and seized upon the Yélusávira district. The Mysore Rájah, having occupied most of the country, demanded that district as a part of its territory; but little disposed to restore, what he could claim with as good a right as Chikkadéva, he declined compliance and a predatory warfare ensued which, however, after a short time ended in a compromise: Coorg retaining the district in dispute, but Mysore receiving a portion of the revenue arising from it. On this account the Yélusávira district received the name of Harige Shíme i.e. country belonging to two parties.

Dodda-Vírappa had enjoyed but a short repose, when the Rájah of Chirakal implored his aid against the arms of Sómashékara Náyaka of Ikéri who had already made rapid strides towards the conquest of his territory. The Coorg chief exerted his influence to avert the impending fate; the Náyaka, however, refused to listen to his proposals, pleading the expense of the war in money and men. At last he yielded so far, as to agree to evacuate the country on payment of 18 lacs of Rupees, which Víravarma promised to pay and begged Dodda-Vírappa to become security for him. On Sómashékara's return to Ikéri, he halted some days at Subramanya, where the Coorg Rájah paid him a visit of state. Nine lacs of Rupees had been unhesitatingly paid by Víravarma, but when the second deputation from Coorg came and demanded

[Errata: This should read "Itterige" Shime". See Corrigenda, cat. 116, P.473-- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 the balance, he treated them most insolently. Dodda-Vírappa forthwith despatched a force of 5000 Coorgs under his general Jógi Muttana, to ensure a more strict observance of the convention. Payment was delayed, however, from day to day. Muttana at length threatened; whereupon the Malayálam debtor formed a scheme to destroy the whole force, which had come to dun him so disagreeably. Intelligence of this design reaching Muttana, he marched directly to Cannanore, defeating a body of Chirakal troops who opposed his passage, and by means of boats the Coorg force reached Kumbla, a port near Mangalore, and empty handed returned to Coorg through Tulunád. Dodda-Vírappa seems to have taken no revenge on the treacherous Víravarma, but paid the remaining nine lacs to Sómashékara, who presented his kinsman with a number of villages in the Tulu country contiguous to Coorg to supply him with milk (Amrita). Dodda-Vírappa took this opportunity for purchasing the district Sulya with money taken from the Talekávéri temple-treasury, in order to secure a regular supply of cocoanuts for the goddess. The whole district was called *Amara-Sulya* and became a part of the territory of the Coorg Rájahs.

Dodda-Vírappa evinced throughout his long and vigorous reign an unconquerable spirit and, though surrounded by powerful neighbours, neither the number nor strength of his enemies seem to have relaxed his courage or damped his enterprise. He died in 1736, 78 years old. Two of his [962] wives ascended the funeral pile with the dead body of the Rájah.

c. Chikka-Vírappa.

On the death of his grandfather Chikka-Vírappa, who in 1730 already had been anointed successor, assumed authority. His early years were clouded by misfortune; having lived in prison from his childhood, he was sickly and subject to ner-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

vous complaints. Appájirája, his father, and the only son of the late Rájah, incurring the suspicion of having caused the destruction of his wife at the instigation of a favourite mistress, had been thrown into prison, where he languished for twelve years until his death, when his son who had shared his misfortunes, was released and, like many oriental despots, quitted a prison to seat himself on a throne. 175* 643* 648*

During his weak reign a change, ominous to the destinies of Southern India, took place in the government of Mysore. The restless ambition of an adventurer had succeeded to the peaceful and indolent rule of a Hindu prince, and Mysore, now under the vigorous government of Hyder Ali threatened destruction to the smaller states in its vicinity. He seems early to have turned his thoughts towards Coorg. When Hyder took Ikéri, which was thenceforth called Hydernagara (Nuggur) and incorporated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege-lord of Coorg and, though foiled for a long while in his assertion of suzerainty, at last he succeeded by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refractory hill-chiefs into a state of vassalage. As a preliminary step he urged the claim on the Yélusávira district, which had been relinquished by a former government. Chikka-Vírappa, unwilling to provoke so powerful an opponent, yielded to the demand; but Hyder, not satisfied with this concession and fertile in expedients, found soon a pretext for breaking with the prince. In 1765 he sent an army under Fazul Ulla Khan against Coorg. On its north-eastern frontier many battles were fought between the two countries. At last the Mysoreans were defeated and Hyder offered to the Rájah of Coorg eternal peace and the Uchingi district, contiguous to the northern frontier of Coorg, for 300,000 pagodas. Chikka-Vírappa acceded to the proposal. He paid a portion of the sum and sent hostages for the remainder; the stipulations on the part of the Mahomedan commander were as yet unexe-

4: Richter. M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg A V5

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cuted, when the Rájah died. Having no children, the family of Dodda-Vírappa became extinguished and in its stead the representatives of the Haléri- and Horamale-family, Muddurájah and Muddaya ruled Coorg together in good harmony. They immediately demanded the execution of the treaty, but Hyder, under various pretexts, eluded its fulfilment. After protracted fruitless negotiations, the Rájahs recommenced hostilities. Lingarája, the younger brother of Muddurája, attacked Fyzul Ulla Khan near the Yélusávira district and defeated him. Attempting to retire towards Mangalore by the Bissly Ghaut, his Coorg opponent outmarched and faced him again, and completely routed his army. The whole camp, treasure, guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the Coorgs. Hyder proposed peace. In lieu of the Uchingi country he gave the districts of Panje and Belláre for the sum of 75,000 Rupees already paid to his general and fixed the boundary between Mysore and Coorg at the river Sarve. Thus peace was for a while established in 1768.

d. *Dévapparája and Lingarája.*

In 1770 both Rájahs died, Muddaya and Muddurája. Lingarája of Haléri wished to see his nephew, Muddurája's son, on the throne. On the part of the Horamale family, Malleya the son of Muddaya proposed his own son Dévapparája as successor to the throne of Coorg. A fatal family dispute arose, that led the way to foreign subjection. Lingarája, being unable to force his claims, fled with his son Vírarája and his nephew Appájirája, to seek the powerful aid of Hyder, who at this period exercised supreme control in Mysore. Wolf Hyder was delighted to be chosen umpire between the quarrelling jungle-sheep of Coorg, and promised every assistance to his new clients, whom he kept as his guests at Seringapatam. The irruption of Triyambaka Máva (uncle or father-in-law to Shrímant Peshwa of Poona) which occurred at this juncture,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

(1771) gave full employment to Hyder's arms and obliged him, reluctantly to postpone any attempts at improving a circumstance so congenial to his designs. 175* 643* 648*

After the departure of the Mahrattas, a severe famine prostrated the whole of Mysore. Lingarája suggested an expedition into Coorg, where plenty of grain would be found. Hyder Ali took his advice and in 1773 he marched his army into Coorg by way of Arkalgúdu and Bettikanave, but was repulsed with loss in Yedavanád. Intrigue, however, removed the obstacles which force could not overcome. The seed of discord was sown amongst the adherents of the ruling prince and the Mysore troops on again passing the frontier at Báiele, in Kiggatnád, were joined by a large body of Coorgs and marched without opposition straight to the capital, Mercara. Dévapparája sought refuge with the Rájah of Kóte, but true to the character of his house, Víravarma gave the fugitive Coorg an inhospitable reception saying: "Your ancestor, Dodda-Vírappa, took the life of my ancestor Víravarma at Tómara. Your head shall now atone, unless you redeem yourself with a round sum." The hapless refugee paid to his treacherous friend Rs. 1,666; but feeling still insecure, he fled in disguise with only four attendants; but was seized by Hyder's people at Harihar and carried to Seringapatam, where his family lay already in prison, and was murdered together with them. Thus the Horamale branch of the Coorg family was cut off by the sword of Hyder Ali. [662]

The Nawab now offered to restore Coorg to Lingarája, if he paid the expense of the expedition. But the resources of the country being exhausted, he consented to receive a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000; he also sanctioned the Coorg family to take possession of a part of Wynád, said to have been wrested from them at some remote period; but, apparently repenting of his moderation, he after a few months demanded and obtained, though with constrained assent, the cession of Amara-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 Sulya, Panje, Belláre and Yélusávira. With a force of 3,000
*643 Coorgs Lingarája invaded Wynád and erected a wooden fort
*648 at Kalpayati, by means of which and a force of 2000 men he kept the district for five years.

When Appájirája died in 1775, Lingarája himself succeeded to the throne, setting aside the claims of his two nephews, whom, however, he brought up together with his own son Vírarája Vodeya. In 1779 the Wynád garrison was obliged to retire, being short of provisions and closely pressed by the Rájah of Kóte. Upon this disagreeable news, Lingarája despatched a body of 2000 Coorgs, headed by his two nephews. On the way this force was intercepted by the Rájah of Kóte and defeated; amongst the slain was one of the princes and the other, being taken prisoner, was soon after put to death.

B. COORG UNDER DODDA-VÍRARÁJENDRA VODEYA.

1780—1807.

a. Vírarájendra in Mysore captivity.

Lingarája died in the beginning of 1780. His sons, Vírarájendra Vodeya and Lingarája were of tender age, the eldest being only about 16. Hyder, conceiving it a favourable moment to complete the spoliation, he had so successfully begun, assumed entire possession of Coorg, under the pretence of being guardian to the princes until they would come of age. Meanwhile they were to reside in the fort of Garúru. A Brahmin, Subarnaya, formerly Káranika (Treasurer) of the Coorg Rájah was appointed Commissioner of Coorg by the usurper, and a Mussulman garrison held Mercara fort, which Hyder caused to be strengthened.

*175 Enraged at the abduction of their princes from their
*648 country and the Brahmin's lording it over them, the Coorgs
669 broke out in open rebellion in June 1782. On hearing that

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Hyder had marched for the Carnatic, to oppose the British army under Sir Eyre Coote, they drove the Mussulmans out of the country and proclaimed their independance.

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The death of Hyder prevented an immediate retribution; but Tippu Sultan, his son, was fully determined on the reconquest of Coorg. He first sent the family of the Coorg Rájahs to Periapatna and after having treacherously seized General Mathews and his officers at Nuggur and reduced Mangalore in 1784, he marched through Coorg on his way to Seringapatam, when he compounded matters with the insurgents. On this occasion, according to Col. Wilk's account, Tippu is said to have harangued the Coorgs on the subject of their moral and political sins in the following words: "If six brothers dwell together in one house, and the elder brother marries, his wife becomes equally the wife of the other five, and the intercourse so far from being disgraceful, is familiarly considered as a national rite; not a man in the country knows his father, and the ascendancy of women and bastardy of your children, is your common attribute. From the period of my father's conquest of the country, you have rebelled seven times and caused the death of thousands of our troops; I forgive you once more; but if rebellion be ever repeated, I have made a vow to God, to honour every man of the country with Islam; I will make you aliens of your home and establish you in a distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands and initiate you in the more honorable practice of Islam!" But scarcely had Tippu left, when the Coorgs, stirred by the apprehension of incurring his vengeance, again took up arms, and repossessed themselves of their native hills in 1785.

To suppress this revolt, Tippu despatched a force of 15,000 men under Janulabdin. At Ulagulli, in Múdugerinád, the Mussulmans were opposed by a body of 4,000 Coorgs, who after a sharp encounter forced them to retire to Bettada-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1356-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 669 pur with the loss of their baggage. The ill success of his general induced Tippu, to take the command in person, and having collected another army, he entered Coorg by the same route and reached Mercara with but little loss, where he effected an amicable settlement. Under pretence of peaceful intentions and conciliatory measures, Tippu allured most of the Coorgs to Talekávéri (in 1785), and when they felt most secure, he seized them suddenly with their families about 85,000 souls, sent them to Seringapatam and, carrying out his former threat, had them forcibly circumcised. On the same auspicious day, when he added so great a number to Islam, he assumed the royal dignity and declared himself independent of Delhi.

*175 *648 Into depopulated Coorg he sent Mussulman landlords and gave to them the lands and slaves of the exiles, besides a supply of labourers from Adwáni in the Bellary district and armed them with a degree of cruel proscription:

"The country is given to you in Jaghir, improve it and be happy; the extermination of those mountaineers being determined on, you are required as an imperious duty, to search for and to slay all who may have escaped our just vengeance; their wives and children will become your slaves." A Brahmin Nágappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kóte Rájah in Malabar.

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b. Vírarájendra at liberty.

Conflicts with Kóte and Mysore.

Such was the state of affairs, when in December 1788 Vírarájendra (also written Vírarája) Vodeya, accompanied by his wife and his two brothers, Lingarája and Appáji, the principal survivors of the Coorg family, effected his escape

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Periapatna after a confinement of six years. Leaving his family in a secure retreat at Kurchi in Kiggatnád, Víra-rája was inveigled beyond the frontier by Nágappaya and fell into the power of Víravarma, the Kóte Rájah, who availed himself of his misfortunes and obliged him after some detention to cede, as an atonement for the death of his ancestor who was slain at Tómara, the site of a fort at that place and to give up for ever three valuable and extensive districts viz. Kiggatnád, Amatnád and Yedenalknád. Complying under the pressure of circumstances, Vírarája thus purchased his freedom and returned to Coorg. A fortnight after Víravarma ascended the Ghats to take possession of the ceded districts. Now came Vírarája's turn. With a number of Coorgs, who had rallied round their chief, he surrounded the camp of the Kóte Rájah, and forced him, not only to return the document, extorted from him at Arala, but to renounce also on his part every claim to the Wynád country.

Vírarája now sallied forth at the head of his Coorgs to fight the Mussulmans. In a short time he had cleared the country of the usurpers from Bissly Ghat to Manantody. Successful plundering expeditions into the Mysore were carried on at the same time and large supplies of cattle and grain carried away into Coorg, where they were divided among the adherents of the Rájah. During this season, full of daring and successful exploits, the gallant Vírarája once, on his return from an expedition into Mysore, found the residence of his family at Kurchi a heap of ruins and ashes. Every soul of his family had been destroyed and all the old family treasures carried off. The runaway Nágappaya had shown the way to a troop of Nair banditti and Mullukurubas, despatched upon this errand of treachery and blood by the fiendish foe of the Coorg Rájahs, the Kóte Arasu.

Tippu Sultan, irritated by these daring incursions, determined on retribution. He ordered a large force into Coorg

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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under the command of Golam Ali, who carried fire and sword all over the country.

Vírarája must soon have succumbed to the superiority in numbers and discipline of the Mysoreans, had not a revolt of the Malayálam Rájahs compelled Tippu to order Golam Ali with his army to the Western Coast. The latter was, however, not permitted to leave Coorg unmolested. On his march he was fiercely attacked at the Kodantur-pass and suffered severe losses. Thereupon Tippu sent a considerable reinforcement under four captains, amongst them a Frenchman. Vírarája lay in wait for them at the Heggala-pass. The Mysoreans left 800 men dead on the ground and 400 wounded. Their baggage and stores fell into the hands of the hill-men; the whole force might have been destroyed, had not the Coorgs preferred plundering to fighting. The booty came most seasonable. The prisoners were sent back into Mysore.

Tippu was alarmed, and despatched in 1790 Buran-u-din, his own brother-in-law, with a strong army and large supplies to secure Coorg by strengthening the four forts Kushálnagara (Frasrpet) Mercara, Beppunád and Bhágamandala. On his way to Mercara he was attacked and beaten by Vírarája, but escaped thither with the loss of one-half of his military stores. Without having seen the other forts, Buran-u-din returned to Seringapatam and concerted with Tippu another campaign for the same purpose; but Vírarája anticipated their design by storming and dismantling the several forts. At the head of 1500 Coorgs Vírarája marched in June 1789 against Kushálnagara on the banks of the Kávéri. A sally from it checked his advance guard, but coming up with the main body to their support, after an obstinate encounter, he captured the place having closely followed the enemy as they fled in at the gate. The garrison endeavoured to escape by swimming the river, but was pursued with such success, that 500 out of 700 were killed. The Killadár's head was laid at the feet of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Rájah, Kushálnagara was sacked and the Fort burnt. In August Vírarája attacked the Fort of Beppunád. The garrison capitulated and obtained a free passage through Coorg. The Fort was destroyed. By dint of extraordinary exertions Buran-u-din, dividing his army into three columns, succeeded in throwing supplies into the Fort of Bhágamandala, but was repeatedly attacked and beaten on the march and had to fall back on Seringapatam. The capture of the Fort, which was of some strength, speedily followed. Vírarája planted his guns on the hill of Mumbáratu and pointed them with his own hand against the Fort which was well defended. After five days the place fell. Three copper-tiles of the temple at Bhágamandala had been destroyed by the Rájah's cannon balls, they were replaced by tiles of silver. After this achievement Vírarája sent a detachment into the Tulu country to take possession of Amara-Sulya which Lingarája had ceded to Hyder. There was now only Mercara left in the hands of the Mussulmans, under Ali Beg, but he was cut off from all communication with Mysore and in fact a harmless prisoner.

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A few remarks on the military force of Coorg at that time may prove of interest.

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The Jamma-Coorgs holding their land by a military tenure in return for the immunities which they enjoyed, all able bodied men of this active and warlike peasantry constituted the Rájahs' military force, which, though irregular in its organization, was kept in constant practice of its duties. These personal services of the Choudigaras or Coorg soldiers as guards for a period of fifteen days at a time, enjoined by the Rájahs and admitted by the ryots, were rendered with cheerful obedience.

Under the chief command of the Rájah, the force, numbering at times from six to ten thousand Coorgs was subdivided into bodies of various strength, the smallest numbering from ten to hundred men under a Jemindar, any larger

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*.175 701 and more indefinite number was commanded by the Káriagára, who again acted under a Sarva-káriagára or General; both were distinguished by a gold banded scarlet head-dress, the kombu toppi.

As the Coorg force was not a standing army, it received no pay. Whilst on active duty as guards or during warfare, the soldiers were maintained at the public expense, and being remarkable for their predatory habits, they largely shared [926] with the Rájahs in the spoil. Without discipline and organization, the Coorgs displayed their strength chiefly behind their stockades and Cadangas. In the open field they rarely faced the attacks of regular troops.

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c. *Vírarája an ally of the East-Indian Company.*

Conclusion of the alliance.

About this period the first connection between the English and the Coorgs took place. Desirous of gaining the friendship of so able a partizan and foreseeing the strategical value of Coorg in the impending struggle with Tippu, the Government of the Company eagerly seized the proffered hand of Vírarája who dreaded and hated Tippu, from whom he could expect no mercy and whose assurances and promises, he knew, he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union with Tippu's enemies was therefore effected without difficulty. After the receipt of orders from Bombay to conclude in the name of the British Government an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rájah of Coorg, Robert Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry invited the Rájah to a conference. Accompanied by Capt. Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the head-quarters of the Campany on the Western Coast, Vírarája repaired thither in October 1790.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A formal treaty was concluded with the following stipulations:— 175 * 643 * 648 *

1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.
2. Tippu and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rájah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippu.
3. The Rájah will furnish for fair payment all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other "topiwalahs" (viz. the French).
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rájah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippu.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rájah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, sun, moon and earth be witnesses!

Signed: *Robert Taylor Esq.* on behalf of the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal.

Vírarájendra Vodeya, Rájah of Coorg.

When Sir Robert Abercromby, the Governor of Bombay, arrived at the coast, the Rájah was invited to an interview and was escorted by an officer and a company of sepoys. He on this occasion, interceded with his new friend, Sir Robert Abercromby for the poor Bibi of Cannanore and her son. She had made an attempt at decoying to Cannanore and betray into the hands of the Mussulman army the English detachment at Tellicherry; and Sir Abercromby had resolved on deposing her and sending her with her son to Bombay. Vírarájendra effected a reconciliation and thus requited the service, which the Bibi's ancestor, Ali, had rendered to his ancestor, Dodda-Vírappa with the harelip, by delivering his Captain from the hands of the Chirakal Rájah.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

First war of the allies with Tippu.

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Meanwhile the Mussulman garrison at Mercara had consumed all its provisions. Tippu, afraid of losing his last stronghold in Coorg, despatched a convoy with a considerable force under Káder Khan. On its reaching Mullusóge (near Fraserpet) Vírarája attacked and repulsed it with a loss of 500 men on the side of the Mysoreans. Encamped upon a little hill near the battle ground, with the provision bags piled up for defence, the beaten troops expected a new attack, for which the Coorgs longed with impatience; but Vírarája forbore. Recognising in the commander of the Mussulmans, Káder Khan, an old acquaintance, who had befriended him during his captivity at Periapatna and protected the honour of his sister, Vírarája resolved to spare his life, and, when subsequently informed by Káder Khan, that unless he could accomplish his object, he was sure to be destroyed with his family by Tippu, the Rájah ordered his men to escort the convoy to Mercara and to invite Jaffar Ali Beg to capitulate, which he did after the new provisions were consumed. These extraordinary proceedings could not fail to raise a suspicion of treachery in the mind of General Abercromby, that the Rájah was leagued with Tippu against the English. Vírarája satisfactorily explained his motives, and however the General might disapprove of his acts, he was equally assured of his sincerity, as struck with his romantic generosity. On the evacuation of the Fort of Mercara, all its guns, ammunition and treasure were delivered to the Coorgs and the Rájah, who had come over from Nalknád, liberally supplied the wants of the captured garrison and permitted them to withdraw in safety across the frontier. He was now for the first time undisturbed master of his ancient patrimony, but the repeated devastations, of which it had been the theatre, left it little better than a vast wild. No wonder, therefore, that Vírarája, who

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Corr; AW5

had undertaken to provision the English force, determined on retaliating by raids into the enemy's country the injuries he had so long experienced and the spoil of 1500 heads of cattle and vast stores of grain evinced the success with which he replenished his resources.

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The period had now approached, when Tippu was to encounter the most formidable combination, he had yet met, and the capture of Bangalore gave hope of success. Lord Cornwallis advanced towards the capital from Madras and General Abercromby was to meet him for support. A passage was prepared through Coorg for the Bombay army. The route of the Heggala-pass was chosen. Vírarája waited upon the General and made over to the English Officers a great quantity of grain in addition to upwards of a thousand draught cattle previously supplied. Vírarája accompanied Sir Robert before Seringapatam. Operations had commenced with every prospect of an immediate and successful termination, when the severity of the monsoon of 1791 suspended active military operations and obliged both armies to fall back, Lord Cornwallis to Bangalore, Sir Robert to Bombay. The artillery stores and ammunition, belonging to the Bombay army, were left in charge of the Rájah, who, during the rainy season was engaged in purchasing all the grain he could from his own people and from the Pindári contractors of Tippu. Aware of the great advantages, that would attend the friendship of the Coorg chief at this juncture, Tippu now condescended, to send a confidential officer, Káder Khan, the friend of Vírarája, with an autograph letter from Tippu, and letters from Mír Sáduk, his Prime minister, and Purneah, the minister of Finance, soliciting Vírarája's forgiveness and friendship and offering as the price for his co-operation against the English, to cede the districts on his eastern frontier: Hegganadévana-Kóte, Periapatna, Bettadapur, Konanur and Arkalgudu, and to enlarge his western boundary by the addition of certain dis-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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tricts, dependent on Cannanore. Vírarája shewed these letters to Sir Robert, who at the end of the monsoon had returned, and after consulting with him, replied to the Sultan's overtures in these words: "By similar fair speeches and promises you have formerly deceived and ruined Coorg. God has given me one tongue, with which I have pledged fidelity to the English. I have not two tongues like you." Mussulman violence and treachery had now their reward. Vírarája remained faithful to the Company and the Bombay army had a safe road through a friendly territory into the heart of Mysore. Leaving part of his military stores, not immediately required at Heggola in charge of a regiment commanded by Col. Finch, who was to draw his supplies from the Coorgs, Sir Robert marched with the main body of the Bombay troops to Siddapur, where he received large supplies of grain, stored up in Kiggatnád. The success of the first operations by Lord Cornwallis, having driven the Mysore troops during two night attacks to seek shelter under the walls of Seringapatam, about 5,000 Coorgs, who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country. The Coorgs being better adapted to an active guerrilla warfare, than to the tedious operations of a siege, Vírarája was desired to intercept a valuable convoy, proceeding from Nuggur to Seringapatam by the Astáreghat. This service was effected with his usual address, and a warrant to plunder the neighbouring country coming within the limits of his commission, gave a wide license to the predatory habits of his followers. Part of the booty he distributed amongst the returned exiles, whom he had reinstated into their hereditary possessions; he also had houses built for them and provisions supplied for two months.

Lord Cornwallis made peace with Tippu under the walls of Seringapatam, on severe, but still too easy terms. Tippu

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

had to pay three crores of Rupees and to cede one half of his dominions to the Company and to its allies, the Nizam and Peishwa, "from the countries adjacent, according to their situation." Coorg was in danger of being overlooked and sacrificed. It required the zealous intercession of Sir Robert Abercromby, to induce the Governor General to make an after demand for the cession of Coorg, though not adjacent to the Company's territory, in order to keep faith with Vírarája and to save him from the fangs of Tippu, whose first move after the peace would, no doubt, have been to wreak his vengeance upon his former vassal. The rage of Tippu was unbounded. "To which of the English possessions," he cried, "is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?" The treaty was in danger of being broken off; but Lord Cornwallis remained firm. English guns, which had already been sent away, were ordered back, and Tippu began to prepare for defence. At the last moment he gave an unwilling assent to the demand and, admitting the stipulation, which guaranteed the independence of the Coorg principality from Mysore, he transferred his claims of allegiance and the tribute of Rs. 24,000 annually from the Rájah to the English and peace was concluded (March 1792).

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An armed peace.

Sir Robert Abercromby on meeting Vírarája at Heggala in April 1792 informed him of the terms of the treaty and requested him to give back the districts, which he had lately wrested from Tippu and informed him, that he was expected in future to pay his tribute to the English Government. Vírarája was indignant at both these propositions, for he had expected some better reward for his important services. Sir Robert did all in his power, to pacify the brave ally, who had served him so well, but, of course, the Mysore territory had to be restored and the Rájah's dream of "an independant

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 principality of Coorg" could not be realized. Sir Robert appeased, however, Vírarája by promising him an English Engineer to rectify the boundaries, which proved the more desirable, since Tippu extended his claims also to Amara-Sulya, besides the districts of Panje and Belláre. The two latter the Rájah yielded, the former remained in his possession.

At his last meeting with Vírarája at Cannanore in March 1793, when proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta to take up his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, Sir Robert honoured the Rájah by drawing up a new agreement, to satisfy the gallant ally and to bind him still closer to the interests of the Company. The terms of the document are these:

1. The Rájah of Coorg has himself recovered his hereditary principality from Tippu Sultan. The Company have in no wise assisted him in this struggle. When hostilities between Tippu and the Company commenced, the Rájah, of his own accord, attached himself to the Company and concluded a treaty, the documents of which are preserved in the archives at Tellicherry.

2. The Rájah freely opened his country to the Bombay forces, which marched from Tellicherry to Mysore, and was most zealous in providing the Company's troops with every thing he could procure for them in Coorg and Mysore. Without his friendly assistance the Bombay army would have met with great difficulties. Of his own accord, the Rájah refuses to receive payment for his supplies of grain, cattle, etc.

3. Tippu repeatedly tried to shake the fidelity of the Rájah, but the latter never swerved from his allegiance to the Company.

4. In March last, when the treaty was concluded at Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis, in order to free the Rájah of Coorg entirely from the power of Tippu, desired to take him under the special protection of the Company. Tippu

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

raised the most violent opposition, but in vain. Upon that he falsely stated, that Coorg had paid him a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000, which he would transfer to the Company. 175* 643* 648*

5. In opposition to this falsehood the Rájah of Coorg asserts, that he has never paid such a tribute; but he is quite willing to pay of his own free will the sum of 8000 Pagodas (24,000 Rs.) to the Company every year for their friendship and protection.

6. The Company on the other hand, engages, to give no molestation to the Rájah and in no wise to interfere with the government of Coorg; for the Rájah is quite competent, to take care of his own affairs.

Cannanore,
31st March 1793. Signed: *Robert Abercromby.*

P. S. The above 8000 Pagodas, 3 Rupees being an equivalent for 1 Pagoda, are to be paid annually at Tellicherry.

From this time to the end his life,[1] Vírarája remained the trusty friend of the Company and his affairs prospered.

On the place where he had first met with General Abercromby on his march to Seringapatam in 1791 the Rájah founded the town Vírarájendrapet in 1792. In April 1795 Vírarája took up his residence in the new palace built at Nalknád. Meanwhile Tippu, maddened with revenge against the Chief, who had so long alarmed his fears and so successfully defied his power and resisted his arms, resolved on his destruction by the basest means, gaining over Lingrája,[2] a relative of Vírarájendra, and some Coorgs to undertake the foul plot of shooting the Rájah at a favourable spot in the jungle on his way to Mercara. The first attempt failed; but Tippu, little controlled by feelings of compunction, concerted with Lingarája more effective measures to accomplish his design. Two of his best marksmen were to lie in ambush in [361]

[1] [Errata: This should read "end of his life." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "Lingarája" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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some place belonging to Lingarája, to shoot the Rájah, when he would come from his new palace at Nalknád, to attend the Shivarátri festival at Mercara. The conspiracy, however, was betrayed, the assassins seized, and during the night-scuffle Lingarája and his family were killed. The two would-be-murderers were kept alive at Vírájendrapet as manifest witnesses of Tippu's treachery, but each had one leg cut off to prevent their flight. Letters of congratulation on his providential escape were received by the Rájah from Sir John Shore, the Governor General, and from Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay.

Vírarája having no sons, he resolved to marry a second time in 1796. In front of the palace at Nalknád a fine pavilion, which may still be seen (1870), was erected for the occasion. Honored by a deputation from the English Commissioner at Malabar and a company of sepoys, and amidst a large concourse of people from Coorg and the adjacent provinces, the ceremony took place and Mahádévamma was declared Rání and her children were to succeed to the throne of Coorg.

To show more clearly the personal character of Vírarája and the tenor of his intercourse with the British Officials, a few hitherto unpublished letters of the Coorg Chief, written in 1798 may find here a convenient place.

He therein apprises his friends of the movements of his arch-enemy, Tippu, whom he constantly watched, and who, since the hurried treaty of Lord Cornwallis, was secretly preparing for a new war with the Company.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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To

CHRISTIAN PEILE Esq.

Commissioner of Malabar.

From

VÎRARÂJENDRA

of Halerí in Coorg,

14th February 1798.

Salam!

Until now I am well and hope frequently to hear also of your well-being.

The news from the east are these: Tippu purposes by way of Coorg to come to you, and he has hitherto collected troops in the north, especially cavalry. Several Regiments are stationed in Sakunipuram under Purneah and Mîr Sahib. Besides there are 15,000 men at Mangalore and in the Fort of Bellâre. On the 16th February he is to leave his capital with his whole army to march upon my country; at least so he gives out. It is said, he also sent word to the Kóte Rájah, that the English at Tellicherry would probably came to the assistance of the Coorg Rájah; he should prevent them from ascending the Ghats. For this purpose, the Rájah should, under pretence of performing some funeral rites, proceed to Tiranelli (in Wynád) and there hold a conference with Tippu. Since the conclusion of the peace in 1792 Tippu never made such vast preparations as now, collecting powder, shot, cannons, provisions and draught cattle, in order to attack three points at once. If he comes this way, I shall give him a warm reception. But this time, it may turn out a more serious matter. I must think of fighting him as well, as of protecting women and children. To send them to Tellicherry during hostilities, may be attended with difficulties, since I cannot trust those Nairs and Parias. Of this I wish to inform you; but I may assure you, that I shall boldly oppose him. I will try to find an asylum for my family with my

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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friends in Chirakal, for which purpose I should thank you for a Captain with three companies of sepoys, to keep aloof the rebellious Nairs. You will thus have the honor, to be the saviour of my family. Then I shall rush to arms and hope, as a gallant soldier, to secure your approbation. Please let me know, whether I may count upon your assistance. In the event of your inability I shall try my utmost, and in the extreme case kill wife and child and perish in the fight. What I desire in this life is, the mercy of the great God and the favor of the Company. Besides this I seek neither friendship nor help. The Company is my mother, her officers my brothers; therefore their cause and mine are one. This is the cause of Tippu's hatred. Pray, send me a speedy reply. Every news I send without delay, be it by day or by night. One thing more. Report says, the French came to Mangalore."

In Mr. Peile's reply the receipt of two letters is anounced, but concerning the principal question he has to wait for the decision of the Commissioner; but the Rájah may count upon his own friendship and support.

On the 23rd February 1798 Vírarájendra writes again to Mr. Peile: "I am well and wish often to hear of your welfare. On the 14th I informed you, how Tippu was collecting all his strength. My officials are on the look-out for every news and how could I keep it from my friends? The Tulu men whom I sent into the Tulu country estimate the assembled troops there at four thousand. In Subramanya there are thousand Canarese. Measures are first to be taken against the Rájah of Kumbla (20 miles to the south of Mangalore) who, after his return from Bombay, showed a rebellious spirit. There are also some troops in Békal (36 miles) south of Mangalore and a few Moplas in Mangalore. During the impending monsoon all the forts in the Tulu country are to be thoroughly repaired. My scout from Mysore reports, that Tippu was concentrating his troops, that he had left Walla-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

gulla and was then encamped at Pallammurikád, where the Kóte Rájah had met him and was present on horseback at a revue; that Tippu had presented the Rájah with a pálky, two bracelets, two fans and two horses, after which he returned to Wynád with 60 Nairs. These men were unmistakably Nairs, for they wore the forelock and no turbans. The Rájah was called the 'Kóte Rájah'; whether he was the Rájah himself or only a member of his family, or an ambassador, the scout could not say. There arrived also 20 Moplas with loads, which, it was said, contained presents from Cannanore. On the day of the Rájah's departure, 3000 sepoys and 1000 Canarese men proceeded to Nanchanapura, to secure for him Wynád. Some say, Tippu will return to Seringapatam; others, that he will make a raid into Coorg; others that he will descend the Tamarajeri-ghat into Malabar."

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To

JAMES STEVENS Esq.

It is already three months, that I ordered my confidential agent at Mahé, to pay the tribute to the Company. As Capt. Mahoney is now with us and the Karanika Subbaya has to travel with him, there will be some delay. Immediately after his return, I shall settle the whole amount, pray send me then a receipt as usual. I am very glad, that you are now first Magistrate in Tellicherry. May you be on as friendly terms with me as Mr. Taylor was and look upon my weal and woe as upon yours."

Second war with Tippu.

Tippu, whom no treaty could bind, nor any ties of faith or morality control, was preparing amidst the most amicable professions, to violate those treaties, which he pretended so much to respect. The English Government, apprised of the offensive alliance which he had entered into with the French,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 adopted the means of early crushing so formidable a confe-
*643 deracy. Actuated by a still stronger resentment Vírarája
*648 hastened to their standard and in all the warm of sincerity declared, "that his exertions should be increased tenfold." A depot was immediately formed at Vírájendrapet, and measures taken, to accumulate whatever his little state could afford. In conformity to the military preparations determined on, Generals Stuart and Hartly at the head of the Bombay army ascended the Heggala-ghat (20th February 1799) and experienced the most prompt and effectual assistance with coolies, draught cattle, elephants, grain and sheep, an aid the more grateful, as proving the fidelity of the Chief. His first exploit was in saving a large portion of the baggage, which had been seized by a body of Moplas at the foot of the pass. Instigated by Tippu and incited by the prospect of plunder, a body of Nairs was to invade Coorg, as soon as the army
[743] proceeded to the eastward. To repel such an attack, and to secure the rear, especially the hospital which was erected at Vírájendrapet for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam, Vírarája, who had offered to accompany the English army into Mysore, was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs, who were rather troublesome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Capt. Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident of Vírarája a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippu, communicated to the Rájah the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George 22nd February 1799, and asked him in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippu were victorious.

In the early part of March Tippu moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Pariapatna. The battle of Sidde-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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shwara ensued, when three native battalions under Colonel Montresor and Major Disney held their ground from 9 A. M. until 2 P. M. against the whole army of Tippu, and the two flank companies of His Majesty's 75th and the whole of the 77th under Lieut. Colonel Dunlop, led by General Stuart to their assistance, broke Tippu's line within half an hour and obtained a complete victory at a comparatively small loss, whilst that of Tippu was severe, numbering amongst the slain, the famous Benki-Navab—or "Fire-prince," one of Tippu's best generals.

The Rájah of Coorg personally accompanied General Stuart and witnessed for the first time the conduct of European troops in the presence of an enemy. There is a chivalrous air in all that proceeded from this extraordinary man, and some passages of his letter to the Governor General, giving an account of the operations of this day are tinged with his peculiar character.

"General Stuart," he writes, "marched with two regiments of Europeans, keeping the remainder of the army in the plain of Kanidygúdu; on approaching, he ordered the two regiments to attack the enemy. A severe action ensued, in which I was present. To describe the battle, which General Stuart fought with these two regiments of Europeans, the discipline, valour, strength and magnanimity of the troops, the courageous attack upon the army of Tippu, surpasses all example in this world. In our Shástras and Puránas, the battles fought by Allaret and Maharut have been much celebrated; but they are unequal to this battle; it exceeds my ability to describe this action at length to your Lordship."

While Seringapatam was besieged, Vírarája sent an expedition of Coorgs under Subbaya and Bopu into the Tulu country, the greater part of which was wrested from the Musulmans and plundered in Coorg style. His efforts in Mysore were not less vigorous or less successful. Baswanpatam, Arkalgúdu and other smaller towns were captured and the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 Coorgs indulged themselves in the full gratification of every
*643 military appetite.
*648 On the 4th of May Seringapatam was stormed and Tippu himself killed in the fray. On the 23rd of May General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, sent a letter of thanks to Vírarája, accompanied by a present of one of Tippu's own horses, one of his pálkis and one of his howdas. The promise was also given, that the country of Coorg would be restored to the Rájah.

Vírarája's relation to the Company after the war.

Purneah, the Brahman minister of Finance under Tippu, was placed at the head of the government of Mysore, which the Company restored to a descendant, then a child of six years, of the ancient Rájahs. The Governor General informed the Coorg Rájah of the new order of things and begged him to refer in future any difference, that might arise between himself and the Mysore Government, to the decision of the Company. Vírarájender had a mean opinion of the new Rájah, who was "a mere orphan child" and thought, names only had been changed. The Brahmins, his old foes had held power under Tippu and they held it now. They would not fail to do their utmost to embroil him with the Company's Government. Vírarája had to restore to Mysore the districts he had occupied during the season of hostilities and Karanika Subbaya had to evacuate the Tulu country. Vírarája had expected to be put in possession of Periapatna and the contiguous districts, but he was not to have any part of the Mysore country for political reasons, connected with the relation of the recently established government of Mysore to the government of the Company. Suggesting this course of action in a letter to Lord Clive (Governor of Madras and son of the great Clive), dated Seringapatam 1st January 1803 (v. Dispatches Vol. I. p. 320, 321) the Duke of Wellington further states:

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"The services of the Rájah of Coorg still deserve remuneration. It appears by Capt. Mahoney's accounts, that he expended sums of money and furnished supplies of cattle and provisions, in the late war against Tippu Sultan, of a value amounting on the whole to about four lacs of Rupees. If he had consented to be reimbursed this expenditure, he would have received bonds of the Bombay Government for this sum of money, bearing interest at 12 per cent. per annum, in the beginning of the year 1799 and in this manner could have added nearly two lacs of Rupees to the sum above mentioned. It may therefore be fairly concluded, that, by the liberality of the Rájah, the Company's treasury is richer at this moment no less than six lacs of Rupees, than it would have been, if he had taken payment of the money expended and for the supplies furnished by him. In this view of the question, I do not take into consideration the nature of his services or the time at which they were rendered, but I have stated particularly, what the supplies, furnished by him, would have cost the Company, if they had been furnished by any other person, as I found thereon the amount of remuneration which I intend to recommend to your Lordship to grant him.

"When the arrangements of the territory of the late Tippu Sultan were made, in the year 1799, the Rájah of Coorg was desirous, to have the districts of Panje and Belláre, to which he conceived he had a right, as they had belonged heretofore to his family and were connected with Marka and Subra in the same province. It is supposed, that these districts are worth about 6000 canterai pagodas per annum and they might form part of the proposed remuneration to the Rájah of Coorg.

"The districts in Mysore, to which the Rájah of Coorg in like manner stated a claim, are Periapatna, Bettadapur and Arkalgúdu, the value of which by the schedule appears to be 17,500 canterai pagodas. It will not be proper, to give the Rájah those districts, and I recommend to your Lordship, that

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 others, of equal value, connected with Panje, Belláre and the
*643 Bantwál river, in the province of Canara, be ceded to him.
*648 "Under this arrangement, he will have nearly 24,000 canterai pagodas per annum, which is about the value of the sum which the Company have annually saved by his frobearing to demand payment of the money due to him: he will have two districts in Canara to which he conceived he had a claim and certain other districts in the same province, connecting him with the Bantwál river, of the same value with districts in Mysore, which he is desirous to possess, but which, under existing circumstances, it is not possible to grant him."

Vírarája did not consider himself well treated and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, Capt. Mahoney, and the request addressed to him, that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Col. Close, the Resident at Seringapatam, who does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the Rájah, as may be seen from the following letters:

Seringapatam, 16th November 1799.

Col. WARREN CLOSE

To

THE RÁJAH OF COORG.

"Lord Mornington has transferred me to Seringapatam as Commissioner of Mysore, of which *you** may be aware. A report reaches me from the Manjerabad frontier, that five days after the fall of Seringapatam your people have made a predatory incursion into the Maharájadurga district and plundered of 17 villages women and children, cows and calves, gold and silver, rice and seed grain, and carried the spoil beyond the frontier. I enclose a list of the plundered articles.

[576] * The word used for "you" in the original, is the uncourteous Canarese form, in which no person of rank is addressed. This was very likely intentionally done by the Brahman writer, but unknown to Col. Close.

[Errata: This should read "forbearing." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5.(ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

From the day of the capture of the capital Mysore belongs to the Company, but Maharájadurga belongs to Mysore; there is therefore no difference between Mysore and the Company. But you are an ally of the Company. You are therefore requested, without delay to return every article contained in the list. 175* 643* 648*

"I am told, you wish to see Seringapatam; as the army will return to this town within a few days, you should inform me of your resolution."

List of articles, plundered by the Coorgs in the Maharájadurg district:—"67 women, 34 men, 11 boys, 10 girls, 1383 cows, 574 buffaloes, 834 oxen, 121 calves; 729 canterai pagodas, 82 silver ornaments, 36 silver bracelets, 27 coral-necklaces, 63 silver girdles, 54 pairs of golden earrings, 215 brass plates, 93 copper vessels, 67 guns, 6 horses, 155 sheep, 95 knives, 96 sickles, 90 axes, 5 brass pans, 7 iron chains, 72 bundles of clothes."

This affair seems to have been settled not without considerable difficulties in which the Rájah implored the good services of his personal friends amongst the English, as we gather from the following letter, dated 16th December 1799:—

To

JAMES STEVENS Esq.

"Since the English have commenced war with Tippu, I have twice assisted the Bombay army, first under General Sir R. Abercromby and then under Generals Stuart and Hartley; I have tried my utmost to carry out the orders of the British Government and served the Company with my own body, as you well know. What I have accomplished, I did with no view to self-interest—honor excepted.

"As to Purneah, he is and remains a Brahmin. His and my caste dislike each other. In the time of Tippu he has blackened my name and persecuted me and now he is master

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 in the country; therefore he distributes the offices in the districts amongst his friends and relations, calumniates me through his district-officers and other caste-fellows with the English Government and even submits a complaint against me, with a list of booty which my people are accused of having made in the north. Upon this Col. Close wrote to me, enclosing the list, and demanded that I should accordingly pay compensation.

"This Col. Close has never seen me and does not know my history, nor does he understand Canarese. Thus he wrote me a letter through a Brahmin as if addressed to a slave. I enclose the letter of Col. Close and a copy of the list of booty. Upon the perusal of these papers you will understand all.

"Convinced in my mind, that all the enemies of the English would succumb, that the English Government would be victorious, and that the British flag would float triumphantly in all the four quarters of the world, I served the Company from the beginning of the war in the hope to have to deal with friends like you and to be treated honorably. According to my wishes, the enemy has been defeated and the power of the Company has risen greatly. This I saw with my own eyes and greatly rejoiced, as I believed to obtain the more honor myself. But this Purneah lodges a complaint against me as if I had offended against the Company. Being thus dishonored, I have no wish to live any longer. You know all my acts. I write to you with deep sorrow, that all my services have been requited with such dishonor from the Company.

"The facts of the case are these: On the 6th March, when Tippu advanced upon Siddeshwara, to commence the war, Generals Stuart and Hartley and Capt. Mahoney told me: 'Peace is at an end; now fall upon Tippu's people.' Ten days after the fall of Seringapatam, on the 14th May Capt. Mahoney told me: 'Now give orders to stop fighting. What hitherto has been done during the war, is done.'

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If after this time my people have anywhere plundered or committed damages, I will give compensation. Upon enquiry, my people said: 'when according to your orders we commenced war, the Mysoreans seemed to have carried away all their goods into safety. From those who fell, we took their arms and other valuables; but of other booty there was little, except perhaps bullocks, goats and sheep, as your Highness well knows.' When the Coorgs enter upon a compaign, no care is taken for provisions, as with the Company; but their women and children pound rice and bring it to the camp; this you know. As many sheep as my men could plunder, they brought to me and I gave them to the Company. All the wants of my 6000 or 7000 Coorgs, their provisions, clothes, powder and lead I provided myself, and cared for the wounded and the relatives of the dead.

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"The territory of Mangalore I have conquered, but surrendered it to Col. Wiseman whom the General sent. Is it then not the duty of Government to treat me honorably? But the complaint with the list of booty is the reward for what I have done amiss towards the Government!

"If I am desired to pay, the question is, whence to take the money? What my ancestors and myself accumulated, was spent, when I twice faithfully supported the Bombay army. What after the peace of 1792 I obtained from my country, I annually made over to the Company. If anything remained, I expended it on the assistance to General Stuart. But in case I should have to pay according to this list, I must earnestly request, that, as a compensation for my services, at least my honor remains intact. However, I am quite unable to pay. In Bombay I have one lac of Rupees deposited with the Company; this money I will send for and pay. If it does not suffice, I beg you and the officers of the Bombay army to be my brothers. My honor is yours. If matters reach extremities, I come to you and all the officers together will

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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perhaps give me the rest of the sum and leave to me only my honor. What you do for me, I will certainly repay. If you cannot help me, I must turn elsewhere to save my honor.

"Take these matters into due consideration, and kindly let me know what more I have to do."

Regarding the alleged poverty of Vírarája, it should be observed, that on his death in 1809 he left in the treasury forty lacs of Rupees including his deposits with the English Government. He was in the habit of laying aside annually a large sum of money and the booty of his plunderous expedition before the fall of Seringapatam greatly replenished his exchequer!

General Stuart, who sailed for Madras and Europe, promised the Rájah on parting, to send him from Europe a sword with the arms of the East-Indian Company and a portrait of Lord Mornington and himself. After the departure of the General from Cannanore Vírarája returned to Coorg.

Soon after he received a letter from the Governor General in which his services rendered to the British Government during the last and in former wars were gratefully acknowledged, and as a compensation of the same the tribute which the Rájah hitherto paid, was remitted. Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, was to inform the Rájah, what annual present in lieu of the tribute would be acceptable to the British Government.

Before Capt. Mahoney left, it was settled that the Rájah of Coorg should every year send an elephant to the Company in lieu of the former tribute of Rs. 24,000. A paper to this effect was given to the Rájah by Capt. Mahoney at Virájpet on the 13th October 1799.

Another certificate also, dated 12th October 1799, was given by Capt. Mahoney. It was as follows:

1. The Rájah has exerted himself to the utmost in the service of the Company.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

2. He has collected large supplies of rice and forwarded them to Seringapatam, thus saving the troops from famine. 175*

3. He has furnished 1,000 coolies to the army and for the conveyance of the ammunition to Seringapatam 2000 men without receiving remuneration. 643* 648*

4. He has furnished the Bombay army with more than 3000 bullocks, 5 elephants, 3000 sheep and 40,000 battles of rice.

5. For all this trouble and expense he has accepted of no payment or reward.

6. The Rájah's conduct has afforded great satisfaction to the men and officers of the Bombay army, many of whom have experienced his friendship".

In 1801 Vírarája contracted a matrimonial alliance between his daughter Rájammáji, by his first Ráni, and Basavalinga the Rájah of Sóde, who resided in the Goa territories. Vírarája wrote to the Governor General, to apprize him of the intended marriage and to procure for the Sóde Rájah three months' leave from the Portuguese Government. He also wished to settle one lac of Rupees of the property, held by him in the Bombay Government paper, upon the Sóde Rájah who was poor, as Rájammáji's portion. The wedding took place in December 1801 at Nalknád in the presence of Capt. Marriot from Mysore, and Capts. D. Foulis and Ashbourner from Malabar, and before the monsoon 1802 the Sóde Rájah returned home.

In 1804, Capt. Mahoney arrived at Mercara with a letter from the Governor General, informing Vírarája, that six Máganes of the province of Canara would be transferred to him by Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies, he had furnished, and the services he had rendered to the British Government during the late wars. The districts, thus added to Coorg on the western frontier, yielded 24,897 pagodas.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 In the same year, at the suggestion of Major Mark Wilks, then Acting Resident at the Mysore Durbar, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subramanya side was finally adjusted by Mr. Peile and Major Mackenzie to the Rájah's entire satisfaction. 190 stones were ordered to be erected with the Company's mark on the top, that of Mysore on one side and that of Coorg on the other.

Before the end of 1805 Rájammáji, the Ráni of Sóde was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadáshivarája.

Vírarája was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow and Lord William Bentinck, and the Governor General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him at Sóde he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadévaráni, who had born him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison and it is difficult to say, whether the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution.

The Rájendranáme, in its conclusion affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rájah's heart.

*175 *643 428 *Vírarájendra's last will.*

The English translation by Lieut. Abercromby, made from the Canarese original of the Rájendranáme in 1808, at Mangalore brings in two additional pages the last will of Vírarájender, which is not contained in the extant copy, that was found in the Mercara archives in 1834, and the suspicion lies

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

near, that the Canarese original was destroyed and the Testament omitted in the copy by Vírarájender's successors. 175* 643* 428

His last words are:—"On the 7th of the Pushya month (Dec.—Jan.) Ractáxi year (1805) Capt. Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal and fastened it round the Rájah's waist. In the Mágha month (Jan.—Feb.) 1806 Vírarája told Capt. Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ráni, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had born him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rájashékarappa, Shishushékappa and Chandrashékarappa should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been born by Mahadévaráni who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday the 7th day of the month Jéshta (May—June) 4909 Prabhava year (1807). As by her death the Rájah's hopes of having a son by her were blunted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful queen, the Rájah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named: Dévammáji, Muddammáji, Rájammáji and Mahádévammáji, the eldest should be married and whatever son she might have, he should be named Vírájendra, receive the Rájah's seal and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters according to seniority should be the successor and so long as the line of any of his four above named daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons or their posterity should suc- [595]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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ceed. The Rájah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper now to determine and record this matter, in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sirkar will be the guardian of his family and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

"In order that the Rájah's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature and which is lodged in the palace treasury."

Here ends the Rájendranáme.

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5. THE LAST YEARS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF COORG 1807—1834.

A. DODDA-VÍRÁJENDRA'S MELANCHOLY END. 1807—1809.

With the death of Mahádévaráni commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors of the drama of poor Vírájendra's life. With her his hopes of a son and heir were buried. He had loved her, it appears, passionately. She may have turned and softened the savage nature of the wild Border-Chief. Her loss almost drove him mad. When the paroxysm of his grief had passed, he was alone in the world. There was no one to love him, no one in whom he could confide.

Mahádévaráni had left him four daughters, the eldest of whom was eight years old, when the mother died. They succeeded to whatever remained of human affection and sympathy in the breast of the woe stricken father. He had formerly intended to choose for his successor one of his sons by another wife, if Mahádévaráni had no male issue. Now he changed his mind. One of Mahádévaráni's daughters, if they lived to woman's state, might have a son. That son was to succeed him. The eldest of them, Dévammáji, was betrothed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to a Coorg, of the name of Mallappa, when she was about nine years old. The Rájah, who was possessed of immense wealth, gave to her one lac of pagodas in gold and jewels, and costly shawls and dresses in profusion. The death of his favourite wife had not only rendered him unhappy, but had soured his temper, and, to judge from Coorg analogy, he could scarcely avoid the cruel suspicion, that some traitors had conspired against the life of Mahádévaráni and destroyed her by charms and incantations. He himself began to live in dread of secret enemies. No doubt, but he had such, for he detested Hindus in general and Coorgs in particular. He had killed hundreds of his own people on some idle suspicion or malicious denunciation, or on the mere impluse of a sudden gust of passion. But now his cruelty and his dark fears rose higher and higher. At last matters came to a crisis. 175* 643*

The Rájah had surrounded himself with an African body-guard, and eunuchs from Mysore had charge of his Harem. But the guards of the palace and all the military officers with very few exceptions were Coorgs. No longer able to bear the iron yoke, they conspired against the Rájah's life. The day and the hour were fixed. All the Coorg guards, who held the gates of the fort and the entrances of the palace, being of one accord, his destruction seemed to be certain. But a few minutes before the signal was given, the secret was betrayed to Vírarája. He was roused by the impending danger. With great presence of mind he imitated Hyder Ali, who had in similar circumstances gained time, by placing a bundle of clothes on his bed covered with a blanket. The Coorgs rushed in and cut the form, which they mistook for the sleeping Rájah, in pieces. Next moment they discovered, that the Rájah had fled, that he had, at the last moment, been warned. They were paralyzed. Vírarája in the mean time had run out and summoned his Africans. The Fort gates were shut. Some three hundred Coorgs had assembled 175* 643* 669

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

in the palace yard. The Africans received orders to cut them down to a man. The Rájáh himself took his post at a window and fired upon the terror stricken conspirators. They allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Vírarája himself boasted of having shot twenty-five of them. The rest fell without resistance, under the swords of the Siddis, who waded ankle deep in blood. An old Jemadar, who had been eyewitness of the dreadful scene, said, that the blood ran out of the palace yard as the rain in a heavy monsoon day. Three-hundred Coorgs, by his account, fell that morning in front of the palace. Coorg tradition says eight-hundred. Both accounts are probably correct, for Vírarája would, as a matter of course, destroy many of the families of the fallen conspirators, ordering the men to be killed and distributing the women among the slaves. Such was Coorg Rájah fashion. This massacre took place in the end of 1807 or early in 1808. The Rájah reported his suppression of a dangerous conspiracy to the Governor of Madras and the Governor General. The Rájah's account was not credited at Madras. It was rather thought, that he had acted on some sudden impulse of passion; for his cruelty and sanguinary temper were sufficiently known. Yet the Government did not consider it their duty to interfere, partly from regard to their faithful ally, partly from ignorance of the extent of the fearful slaughter.

On the 7th October 1807 Vírarájendra addressed a long letter to the Governor General, Lord Minto. He informed him of the death of his principal Rání, who had left him four daughters and of his will regarding the succession after his death, as already stated. Vírarájendra appears to have expected, perhaps longed for, his own death, after the loss of his beloved wife. A deep melancholy settled upon him, from which he was roused from time to time by rumours of conspiracies and dreams of rebellion among his treacherous subjects, when he would start like a lion from his lair and kill

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and tear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledew, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rájah, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related. Vírarájendra had long to wait for an answer from the Governor General to his petition of October 1807. He had requested, that the concurrence of the Governor General with his settlement of the succession might be registered in the books of the Supreme Government and a copy sent him of the registry, which he would wear about his body as an amulet.

175* 643* 648* [669] [158] [789]

During the year 1808 fits of madness seized the unfortunate Rájah. They rarely passed without some victims of his incontrollable fury, falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808 Vírarája was seized with forebodings of his own death and terrible fears for the safety of his daughters in case of his decease before the Governor General had concurred in his plan of securing to Dévammáji the throne of Coorg, and before his sanction insured her succession and, it might be, the preservation of her life. His melancholy warned him of his approaching death. And if he was carried off on a sudden, who would be the friend and guardian of his daughter? Appáji, his proud brother, who had never loved him, and who had long kept sullenly at a distance, or even the dull mean-spirited Lingarája might covet the wealth and power of the throne, murder the helpless children and seize the great prize. But no! He was yet alive and omnipotent in Coorg, he could yet defend his beloved Dévammáji and her sisters. The executioners are called. A party is despatched to Appagalla, a second party to Háleri, to bring the heads of the brothers, Appáji and Lingarája. They prostrate themselves and depart

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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on their dark errand. Vírarája is left alone. Now at last the dear children will be safe. There will be none alive to molest them. The Governor General will sanction the last will of the faithful friend of the Company. Dévammáji will sit on the throne of Coorg like the former Ráni of Ikkeri. She will have a son. The grandson will bear the grandfather's name and inherit his wealth and his glory. Such dreams must have floated on the mind of the unfortunate prince, when he had hurried away the ministers of his wrath, to slay his brothers. Within an hour, however, the excitement subsided, reason and humanity gained the mastery and suddenly messengers of grace were sent after the murderers. They were bid to run as for their lives. The decree of death was revoked. The brothers were to live. Alas, the messengers who ran down to Appagalla, were met by the executioners carrying Appáji's head. The distance to Háleri was greater, and perhaps Lingarája had had a friendly warning. He had not been found by the executioners on their first arrival, and, before he was discovered, his pardon arrived. Appáji's head was brought before Vírarája according to his orders. The men dared not deviate from the command of the Rájah, though they knew, that he had changed his mind.

Vírarája was horror struck at his own deed. The dead could not be restored to life. What was done could not be undone. But Vírarája would do what he could to make amends. Lingarája was ordered to take charge of his brother's family and of their property. The Jaghir of Appáji, worth 600 kanterai pagodas, was added to the Háleri Jaghir of Lingarája, valued at 200 kanterai pagodas per annum. Still Lingarája remained confined to his village, as he had been for the last ten years. Vírarája utterly despised him as a stupid spiritless farmer. It was the conviction of his perfect insignificance and harmlessness that gave him security, not brotherly affection.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In the beginning of the year 1809 Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, received a message from Mercara, that the Rájah was insane, and that the assistance of an English physician might be granted. Dr. Ingledew was despatched without a moment's delay. He found the Rájah in a dangerous state. His madness came upon him in fits, which were succeeded by the darkest melancholy. The presence of an English gentleman was a relief to him. There was one man now near him, whom he could trust. On the other hand he was distracted by fears, lest Dr. Ingledew might learn the true state of the country, and receive information of the atrocities he had committed, especially during the last year. If he reported the truth to the Company's Government, Vírarája dreaded loss of character, deposition and ignominy. He took all possible care to keep the Doctor in ignorance. But towards the end of February the black clouds again gathered around him; the evil spirit prevailed. His passion rose one day against four of his principal officers. He ordered them to be assassinated. The executioners went and cut them down. Next morning he sent for one of them. He was dead, it was reported. He called for another, and the third, and the fourth. His attendants trembling declared, that they had been killed according to the orders of the Rájah. Vírarája was seized with an agony of remorse and despair. He bit his arm, that the blood gushed out, and went into his chamber, where he shut himself up, refusing to see any one, or to taste food. He was not fit to live. He would die. His torments were increased by dreadful pains in his shoulder, which he had dislocated by a fall, sometime before the Doctor's arrival, and which had been unskilfully treated by a native quack.

The mind of the man was unhinged under circumstances such as these. Yet even now, the Coorg did not forget his cunning. The murder of the four chief officers could not be hid from Dr. Ingledew. He would surely report to Mr. Cole,

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and Mr. Cole would report to the Governor General, (Mr. Cole, indeed did report on the 4th of March) and he would be disgraced for ever in the eyes of the Company. There was one way of escape. If it appeared undoubtedly, that his acts of atrocity had been committed in moments of insanity, if, on recovering his consciousness, he felt such utter despair, as to find life intolerable, the English authorities must hold him excused and feel inclined, rather to pity than to degrade him. As for his distress of mind and the stings of conscience, driving him almost to despair, he did not require to simulate. He felt as wretched as man could feel, but words would not satisfy the Company. Appearances of deepest grief might be suspected. He resolved, therefore, to make some attempt at suicide sufficient to convince Dr. Ingledew of the reality of his despair. Accordingly he cut his throat sufficiently deep, to inflict a serious wound, but not deep enough to endanger life. The Doctor was called in. He stayed the blood and bandaged the throat. On enquiring into the motives for such an act of despondency, he was informed by the Rájah, that he had no desire to live. The murder of his trusty servants, ordered in a fit of insanity and executed by slavish dependents, preyed upon his mind. He could not bear the thought of having disgraced himself for ever in the eyes of the Governor General and all his English friends. Dr. Ingledew tried to reassure him and to soothe his apprehensions, declaring, that acts committed in a state of insanity, and so much grieved for afterwards, would not be laid to his charge. But the Rájah would not be comforted. Shortly after, Doctor Ingledew was called again. The Rájah had swallowed a large dose of corrosive sublimate dissolved in water, which he had been advised to use as a lotion. He had called his eldest daughter, Dévammáji, and desired her to give him the deadly draught. The poor girl did not understand what she was doing. Doctor Ingledew instantly administered an emetic, but had no hope

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of the Rájah's recovery, though his medicine acted freely. However, to his astonishment he was soon enabled to report to Mr. Cole, with whom he was in daily communication, that Vírarája was in a convalescent state. The scheme was completely successful. Dr. Ingledew had not the slightest suspicion of Vírarája's acting a part before him. Mr. Cole, the Resident, on Dr. Ingledew's report, hastened in person to Mercara. He found the Rájah oppressed by the darkest melancholy, full of sad forebodings of the displeasure of the Governor General, but improving in health. He assured him of his own sympathy, and begged him to confide in the continuance of the friendship and regard of the British Government. Acts committed during a state of insanity would be considered as a misfortune worthy of commiseration, not as crimes deserving of blame or punishment. He would, on his own responsibility, promise the Rájah amnesty for all that had passed. These assurances had the desired effect. Vírarája recovered. Favorable letters arrived from the Governor of Madras, congratulating him on his recovery. A despatch from the Governor General, in answer to the Rájah's letter of 1807, concurred in the wishes of the Company's faithful ally, though not as perfectly as Vírarája had hoped. The bequest of the large legacy of money to his favorite daughter was sanctioned, and the Resident of Mysore was directed to take charge of the treasure, to be invested in the name of Dévammáji, Vírarájendra's daughter, in the Company's funds at Madras. As to the succession, the reply was couched in general terms and the Rájah was desired to confer with Mr. Cole, who had private instructions to make due investigation as to the consistency with Coorg law and custom of the succession in the female line, before he gave the sanction of the British Government to the arrangement proposed by Vírarája. Another letter from the Governor General soon followed full of kindness and regard. The Rájah was most affection-

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*175 *643 *648 ately assured of the uninterrupted friendship of the British Government and of the Governor General's undiminished regard. Whatever the Rájah might have done in moments, when his reason was clouded,—and his subsequent deep contrition expressed, that he had not been guilty of deliberate cruelties,—should be forgiven and forgotten. Wherenpon Vírarája wrote his last letter to the Governor General. He offered his thanks for the sanction, accorded by the Supreme Government to his testamentary disposal of his hereditary principality, "settling the succession in favor of the male child, which may hereafter be born of one of my daughters by my principal Ráni, to the throne of my dominions, conformably to the mode prescribed by me in my letter to your Lordship. I consider the line of succession to be now settled under the sanction of the British Government, which circumstance has conferred honour upon me, and is beneficent to the interests of my Government. I desire to show forth the daily increasing ardour of my devotion to the service of the British Government, and that my children after me may successfully emulate the example of their father."

Under the 16th March Mr. Cole had already reported to Government, that "the Rájah had despatched to the Presidency Treasury the sum of about 170,000 pagodas, which was invested in the Company's funds under the name of his eldest daughter. I have had the honour to be introduced to this Princess and her sisters, whom his Highness recommended through me, in a very affecting manner to the protection of Honorable Government." In fact the Rájah under the idea of obtaining a kind of adoption by the Honorable the East India Company for his daughters, begged the Hon. Mr. Cole to embrace the four girls in the name of the Governor General. Mr. Cole was deeply moved, and returned a most cordial answer to the hapless Prince. A receipt was given to the Rájah soon after for Star-pagodas 186,000, to be in-

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vested in the Company's funds as the property of Dévammáji, 175*
his eldest daughter. 643*

This was the state of affairs in April 1809. Mr. Cole 648*
had returned to Mysore. Dr. Ingledew soon followed. His place was supplied by Mr. Clarke, a physician recommended by Dr. Ingledew. The Rájah had passed through the worst dangers. The confidence of the British Government had been only more firmly re-established. He believed that the Governor General had sanctioned, and thereby guaranteed the succession to Dévammáji and her future son and heir. The Company had taken charge of her rich legacy, to which he had added with the sanction of the Supreme Government other three lacs of Rupees in the Bombay funds. His daughter had been, as it were, adopted by the Company. All his wishes were realized. He might now set his soul at rest. Alas, no. He had buried his very life in the grave of Mahádévaráni. The dead, the victims of his suspicious cruelty, troubled him. He knew himself to be hated by the living, and believed, that traitors had administered to him maddening drugs. Appáji his brother was slain, his most faithful servants were slain. Wherever he went some memorial of a dark deed of cruelty met him. His sleep was disturbed. The blood of thousands was upon him.

Under the 24th May 1809 Mr. Cole reported to the Chief 175*
Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, that the 643*
Rájah of Coorg was again labouring under insanity, and 648*
showed a most sanguinary disposition; that the people of 158
Mercara were in constant terror; that Dr. Clarke also entertained fears for his own personal safety, and that he himself would probably find it difficult to deal with him, as his ancient jealousy and hatred of Mysore and every person connected with the Government had been reawakened. Dr. Ingledew, who possessed the confidence of Vírarája, was again sent to Mercara. In the mean time, Mr. Clarke was enjoined

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*175 to prevent, as far as it lay in his power, any re-enactment of
*643 former scenes of sanguinary violence. It was proposed that
*648 Captain Mahoney, the former Resident, should return, take
158 charge, if necessary, of the administration of affairs, and settle the question of the succession in case of the decease of the Rájah. Mr. Cole himself offered to proceed in person to Mercara. When Dr. Ingledew arrived, the end of Vírarája was at hand. It does not appear from the records, that Dr. Ingledew had an interview, or, if he had, that he was recognized by the dying Rájah. During his last days he seems to have been more favorably inclined, than formerly, towards the Sóde Rájah, who was appointed to transact business for him, and whom he desired, it was said, to act as Devan during the minority of Dévammáji. On the 9th June 1809 the unhappy prince called his beloved daughter to his bedside, gave his seal into her hands, and shortly afterwards breathed his last. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

*175 A sad spectacle! A noble vessel, after having gallantly
*643 weathered the storms of Mussulman domination and conquest, is torn from its moorings by the swell of wild grief and passion, and drifts into the breakers of sanguinary phrensy and suicidal despair, to perish there a miserable wreck, with many to look on, but none to help!

*175 And how awfully has the Righteous Ruler of the whole
*643 earth executed judgment upon the guilty prince and the ob-
644 jects of his love and hope! The forlorn Rájah lived ages of anguish from the day of the death of his beloved wife, 17th May 1807, to the date of his own decease, 9th June 1809. His idolized daughter was married and had four children, two sons and two daughters. She was deprived of the throne and of her father's legacy, and lived in obscurity. Before the end of 1833 her husband was murdered in the palace, she herself carried a prisoner to Mercara, her property seised by her

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cousin, the late Rájah, (one lac of pagodas at one sweep,) and shortly after she herself was murdered at Mercara, and her three children (one boy appears to have died a natural death), at Nalknád, by orders of her relative, and their corpses thrown into pits.

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B. LINGARÁJENDRA.

1809—1820.

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1. *Lingarájendra's Intrigues.*

Dr. Ingledew, on the sudden death of Vírarája, had to fulfil the duties of a British Agent quite ex-improviso. He acted, it is true, with considerable tact and prudence and with perfect honesty; but he was not equal to the deep play of the Coorg parties, and was not sharp sighted enough to discern the principal mover in the scenes acted before him. Thus he failed in the task, devolved upon him by a most unforeseen combination of circumstances and persons upon a ground he had scarcely explored. He ought to have carried out the wishes of the late Rájah, as far as they had received the approbation and sanction of the British Government. But it happened otherwise.

When Vírarájendra died, there seemed to be a good prospect of peace and prosperity for Coorg. A short time before his decease, Vírarája permitted the Sóde Rájah to act for him as principal Devan, and expressed a desire, that his son-in-law should have the regency of Coorg, during the minority of Dévammáji, in conjunction with an Agent of the East India Company to be appointed by the Governor General. He had once given to Dr. Ingledew a testamentary document, expressive of these wishes, but had afterwards recalled and never returned it. As soon as the Rájah had expired, his daughter Dévammáji was acknowledged as Ráni of Coorg, by the assembled chiefs. The Sóde Rájah continued to perform the

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duties of principal Devan, or rather of Regent, and all people seemed to be happy and contented. Dr. Ingledew wrote to Mr. Cole, the Mysore Resident; "owing to the many acts of cruelty, committed by the late Rájah, the Coorg people would be satisfied with any tolerable Government, but more particularly with one like the present promises to be, where the life of the subject is more secure and more regarded, than it has been for the last two years, or, I believe, at almost any period of the late reign." Some of the eunuchs gave themselves airs, and commenced to intrigue with different parties. But upon the complaint of Umbala Náyaka, one of the Devans, who threatened to resign, unless these men were removed, they were ordered to retire to their villages, and placed under surveillance. The first serious disturbance was occasioned by a rumour, that the Sóde Rájah had forged the last will of the Rájah. Dr. Ingledew inquired into the charge, and found, that the copy of the will, produced by the Sóde Rájah, had a signature not attached to it by Vírarája himself, but by a farrier, who had been in his favour. However, the alterations in the will itself were of no great consequence, and were in perfect harmony with Vírarájendra's wishes shortly before his death. Yet, to quiet the minds of the Coorg chiefs the spurious, though honest, document was cancelled. The Sóde Rájah retained his position. But soon affairs began to take a new turn.

Lingarája, then 34 years old, appears to have had many interviews with Dr. Ingledew, and impressed him with a strong conviction of his honesty, simplicity and humility. Lingarája confessed, indeed, that he was somewhat disappointed at being entirely superseded. But his elder brother, he said, having recovered the country by force of arms, had a perfect right to dispose of the succession. He had therefore no cause, nor any inclination to complain. He would ever cheerfully submit to whatever arrangements were sanctioned by the

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Governor General. Dr. Ingledew was quite charmed with the man, and recommended him strongly to the favour of Government, as he had well deserved of the country. He had asked for an increase of his pension, which now consisted of two hundred kanterai pagodas for himself and six hundred pagodas a year for the family of his brother Appáji, who had been murdered eight months ago, and the Doctor zealously pleaded for the good, peaceable man. This recommendation is dated 4th July 1809. The peaceable Lingarája, however, was not quite as unworldly minded as he appeared to the honest Doctor. He was much at the palace, and was busy among the principal Coorgs. They certainly did not much approve of the rule of a foreigner, like the Sóde Rájah, but they seem to have had no particular predilection for the late Rájah's brother. One day there had been a large gathering of the chiefs, of which Dr. Ingledew knew nothing, at the palace. It was proposed to displace the Sóde Rájah by Lingarája, but the proposition was thrown out. Lingarája mounted his horse and rode away, in the direction of Háleri, his own residence. As he rode through the market street of Mercara, in deep despondency and actually weeping like a child, Kshauryakere Appanna, one of the Devans, met him, on his way to the palace. "Why do you cry, Lingarája?" he inquired. "I have been rejected by the Coorg Panchayat. All is lost," was the reply. "Come with me, Lingarája," said Appanna, "I will set you on the throne of Coorg." With these words he seized the bridle of Lingarája's poney, and set off with him to the Fort. He pleaded there for his helpless client before the assembled chiefs. Being a man of known integrity and considerable influence, he prevailed. The Coorgs changed their minds and Lingarája was preferred to the Rájah of Sóde.

Dr. Ingledew knew nothing of all these things, and was therefore not a little astonished, when on the 9th July, five

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weeks after the death of Vírarájendra, during which period his reports had been full of Lingarája's praises, the little Ráni sent for him, and told him, that she had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rájah of Sóde, and wished to have Lingarája, her uncle, for her guardian. Immediately afterwards, the Sóde Rájah came to him and asked his leave to return to his own country, as he had convinced himself, that he had to deal with a formidable opposition, and considered it prudent to withdraw from a situation of imminent danger. Dr. Ingledew objected strongly to so hasty a step. He was waiting for orders from Government, and before the Governor General had signified his will, he wished, that no change should be made in the arrangements, which had been in operation before Vírarájendra's death. But the Sóde Rájah informed him, that Lingarája had already taken possession of the government of the principality. A similar announcement was made by Lingarája himself. Dr. Ingledew now saw, that he had been duped. He protested against Lingarája's usurpation and resolved on withdrawing immediately from Coorg. However, the little Ráni interposed and begged him to stay, whereupon he consented to remain at Mercara, until the arrival of orders from Government, but refused to transact business with Lingarája. The worthy Doctor had now the unpleasant task of reporting to the Resident of Mysore, that he had been made a fool of by the peaceable, humble, simple-minded Coorg; but he acquitted himself of it very honestly. He had been outwitted, he wrote on the 13th July, in an extraordinary manner, and would offer no other excuse but the fact, that he had followed in the footsteps of the late Vírarájendra, who had possessed a good discernment of character, and yet spared the life of Lingarája, his only surviving brother, because he considered him a perfectly harmless creature. No wonder, if the deep cunning, which had succeeded in baffling the keen eye of a tyrant brother, and the vigilancy of Coorg

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espionage, got the better of a stranger like himself. Mr. Cole 175 *
forwarded Dr. Ingledew's reports to Madras and Calcutta. 643 *
He had, before the death of Vírarájendra, in anticipation of 648 *
the approaching difficulties, under the 7th of June fully entered upon the Coorg question in a paper, which reported the temporary assumption of the government of Coorg by the Rájah of Sóde. His idea was, that Lingarája was successor to the throne of Coorg de jure, or as Mr. Cole expresses himself, by the doctrine of the shástras (as if the Coorgs had any shàstra, or had any thing to do with Hindu Shástras; as if there had been any law in Coorg, different from the will and whim of the Rájah). After Lingarája, his son, it appeared to the Resident, had a right to succeed. If Lingarája had no son, a son of the Rájah of Sóde would be the next heir. Female succession was excluded altogether. However, Mr. Cole acknowledged, that he could not speak positively as to local usage. (Female succession was law in the Ikkeri family, from which the Coorg Rájahs had sprung, of which circumstance [611] Mr. Cole seems to have been ignorant). He wished to receive instructions from Government, how the Agent at Mercara ought to be directed to act. Was he to adhere to the doctrine of the Shástras? or to local usage? or to the personal wishes of the Rájah? Opposition, in the three cases mentioned, was to be expected from the Sóde Rájah, who was now the actual ruler, but had no right to the succession.

On the 15th June Mr. Cole reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, as an amendment to his last despatch, that the principal men among the Coorgs seemed unanimously well inclined to the Sóde Rájah, wherefore he would rather purpose, that Government should acknowledge him. On the 16th June he writes to the same authority again, that all Coorg was in favour of the Sóde Rájah, and that it would, therefore, be expedient to acknowledge him without delay. On the 18th June he sent the additional

[Errata: this should read "propose", or see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 413 -- Analyst]

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*175 *643 *648 intelligence, that Lingarája also had declared himself in favour of the Sóde Rájah, and on the 4th July he reported fully on the excellent conduct of the brother of the late Rájah, Lingarája, and recommended, that a decent, yea liberal provision should be made for him in consideration of his meritorious exertions during the critical period succeeding the death of his brother. Mr. Cole relied most fully on the reports sent almost daily by Dr. Ingledew. When this last letter arrived at Madras, Lingarája had seized the reins. Dr. Ingledew was indignant. But nothing could disturb the tranquillity of Mr. Cole. Since Lingarája was now actually in possession of Coorg, he advised Government to countenance him as long as he would respect the rights of the little Ráni. In his innocency he thought, that such a declaration of Government was sufficient to secure the safety and happiness of the princess, whose guardianship he had solemnly undertaken in the name of the paramount power during his last visit to Vírarájendra. The Governor of Madras, under the 10th July, informed Mr. Cole, that he reprobated the conduct of Lingarája, yet he did not see, why the Company should, and how they could, interfere in the internal affairs of a country so inaccessible, and that therefore Lingarája, if he had made himself guardian of the little Ráni and regent of Coorg, must be acknowledged. Even if he should aspire to absolute power, it was not for the Company's Government, to thwart his plans. This was a very easy way of keeping faith with the faithful ally of the English Government, poor Vírarájendra. But he was now dead. In the course of July a bracelet arrived from the Governor General for Vírarájendra, in token of his sympathy with his grievous affliction and of his undiminished regard and friendship. The Governor of Madras directed Mr. Cole to present the bracelet, intended for her father, to the little Ráni. This was done accordingly.

In October Mr. Cole had some disagreeable correspond-

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ence with Lingarája about the seizure of a British subject, Parsi Byramji, who had been cast into prison under a fictitious charge of having forged papers for the Rájah of Sóde. In the same month the Resident reported to Madras, that he had presented the bracelet to the little Ráni; that Lingarája was not likely to give up the reins; that the Sóde Rájah claimed one lac of Rupees of the money in the Bombay funds and a Jaghir of the value of 4000 or 5000 pagodas according to a promise made him by Vírarájendra; that Lingarája objected to this demand, and that Mr. Cole wished to know how he should act. The Rájah of Sóde afterwards consented to receive one lac of Rupees in specie, and four thousand Rupees for travelling expenses, in full for all his claims, when the money was paid him and he retired to his own country. Lingarája sent a deputation to Madras, consisting of Ayya Ponnappa, Muttanna, and Hírji, a Parsi, who had to deliver to the Governor a picture of the late Vírarájendra. The present was graciously received, the deputation dismissed with suitable gifts, and a letter written to Lingarája, which was calculated to satisfy him fully. He was thanked for the picture, praised for having taken under his immediate care the children of his late brother, commended for having taken the guardianship of Dévammáji and the regency of Coorg at the desire of his niece, and for having made a liberal provision for the Sóde Rájah, and, lastly, his professions of fidelity and attachment to the British Government were acknowledged and reciprocated with expressions of favour and friendship. The letter was addressed to Lingarájendra Vodeya, Regent of Coorg, and bore the date of 28th February 1810. Under the same date a letter was addressed by the Governor General, the Marquis of Hastings, to Dévammáji, Ráni of Coorg. The Governor General said, that he had received the acknowledgement of his letter of 3rd April 1809 to Vírarájendra, which had unfortunately came too late; and that he wished

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*175 *643 *648 the daughter to keep the Amulet (sic!!) of favour and protection, which had been intended for her lamented father. "The arrangement which has been made for the administration of the country during your minority, has my entire approbation. As your uncle and guardian, Lingarájendra Vodeya was justly the object of your choice, while from his respectable character he possesses in a great degree the confidence and affections of the people, I am satisfied, that an administration conducted by his virtues and abilities, is calculated to promote the prosperity of your country and the happiness of your subjects, and that in his parental care and guardianship you will experience the utmost attainable compensation for the loss of your respected father."

Lingarája was now acknowledged guardian of the young Ráni and regent of Coorg. The next step was, to make his helpless ward sign a paper, in which she abdicated her sovereignty in favour of her excellent and loving uncle. The document was duly transmitted to Mr. Cole, who was requested to forward it to the Governor of Madras and to the Supreme Government. This was done in the summer of 1810. On the 14th December the Marquis of Hastings signed a despatch to the Government of Fort St. George on the subject of Coorg. The document of abdication, signed by the little Ráni, appeared to him to be of no value whatever. Being a child, she could not be considered as capable of judging correctly and acting for herself. It was no doubt altogether a scheme and a fraud of Lingarája. However, the Governor General was of opinion, that it was unnecessary to take any steps now. It would be time enough, when the young Ráni attained her majority, to inquire, if she was really resolved on abandoning her claim to the throne of Coorg. In the beginning of 1811 Lingarája announced to the Government of Fort St. George, that he had permanently assumed the Government of Coorg, whereupon the Governor in Council

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addressed a letter to the Resident, desiring him to make inquiry into the claims of Lingarája to the sovereignty of Coorg according to Coorg law and usage, and suggesting, that the end might be best attained by a personal visit to Coorg. This plan, however, was not executed, nor would it have been of the slightest use to conduct an inquiry in Coorg, where no one, who cared for his life, could speak the truth in an affair connected with the Rájah. 175* 643* 648*

One thing remained to be accomplished. Lingarája had taken possession of Coorg, supplanted his niece and obtained the sanction or at least the connivance of the Government of the East India Company, but there were three lacs of Rupees in the Bombay funds and upwards of five and an half lacs of Rupees in the Madras funds, both sums standing in the name of Dévammáji. His heart was fully set on the money, and throughout the year 1811 he was busy in smoothing the way for the appropriation of the treasure. Some deputies were sent to Madras with instructions from the Rájah of Coorg, to demand the interest of the sum deposited in the Company's treasury by Vírarájendra. The Accountant General first demurred to the payment of interest into the hands of any other person but an accredited agent of the owner of the bonds, Dévammáji, the daughter of Vírarájendra. Lingarája represented, that Vírarája had left this large legacy to his daughter, because he intended her to succeed to the sovereignty. But since he himself was now charged with the government of the country, he must protest against any private member of the family being considered proprietor of so considerable a portion of the public funds. At the same time an attempt was made to appropriate the three lacs in the Bombay funds. The Company at that period reduced the interest on the public loan. Creditors, disinclined to submit to the contemplated reduction, were to receive payment for their bonds. Lingarája took the opportunity of selling the

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three lacs of Vírarájendra to Messrs. Forbes and Co., who demanded cash payment from Government. Here also the treasury objected, because the bonds were not in Lingarája's name. References were made from Bombay and Madras to the Supreme Government on the subject of the Coorg bonds. Instructions were requested.

The Governor General, however, declared, that he reserved the settlement of the question for the future. It was not absolutely necessary now to solve the difficulty. When Dévammáji attained her majority, it would be time enough to see, whose the property in the Madras funds was. In the mean time Lingarája might draw the interest as guardian of Dévammáji and regent of Coorg. As to the Bombay bonds, it was Lingarája's business to prove in a court of law, that he was the proprietor, when the principal should without any demur be placed in the hands of his agents. Lingarája disliked the idea of a judicial investigation, but succeeded afterwards in appropriating the bonds to himself. At Madras, Messrs. Binny & Co. drew the interest every year for the Rájah of Coorg, first in Dévammáji's name, and afterwards in the name of Lingarája and his son, Vírarája, themselves. How the change in the wording of the bonds was effected cannot now be discovered.

Before the end of 1812 Lingarája had succeeded to his full satisfaction in all his plans. He had taken possession of the inheritance of his brother Vírarájendra, Coorg was his, and he was almost formally acknowledged as Rájah by the paramount power. The large legacy, left to Dévammáji by her father, was as good as his own, because the Company, who had taken charge of the money from Vírarájendra for his daughter, permitted him to draw the interest, although not recognizing the claim, which he had endeavoured to set up, saying, that there could not be a transfer from a Rájah of Coorg of large property, by way of bequest, to a private

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member of his family, since the property of the Rájahs was always considered as state property. It was, indeed, of no great consequence, whether Lingarája's plea was allowed, or disallowed, by the Supreme Government, as long as they winked at his robbing his niece of the interest of her bonds. Yet Lingarája felt uneasy from time to time. He distrusted the disposition of the English Government, though it was perfectly friendly to a fault. He had a higher opinion of the good faith of the Company to Vírarájendra and his daughter, than they had themselves of their duty to keep their word pledged to the fulfilment of their devoted ally's last will. 175* 643* 648*

It may be seen from the following extracts, that the Coorg Rájah as early as 1811 was subject to fits of fear, lest the Company should execute judgment upon him, which induced him secretly to fortify his country.

2. *General Welsh's visits to Lingarája.*

The extracts, embodied in the following pages, are taken from a work, entitled "Military Reminiscences extracted from a journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies, by Colonel (now General) James Welsh." General Welsh's somewhat loosely connected, but truthful, though now and then romance-like, sketches give a perfectly correct account of Lingarája, and show also to very life the character of the relations then existing between the Government of the East India Company and the Rájah of Coorg. The Rájah was on friendly terms with the Company's Government, yet dreaded it. He was dependent upon them, yet affected a semblance of independence. He courted the favour of English Officers and invited them frequently into his country, yet guarded with the greatest jealousy their intercourse with his people. He prided himself on his European manners and character, and pretended to be adored by his subjects, while he kept them in the most abject bondage and crushed their spirit by a system [127]

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*175 *643 *648 of savage cruelty. He was permitted to do what he liked with his own people. The Company's Government took their responsibilities as the paramount power of India easy, and forgot, that they had pledged themselves to the fulfilment of Vírarájendra's last will.

The 10th chapter of the Reminiscences treats on Coorg; we read there:—"In the days of Hyder's successful usurpation of the Musnud of Mysore, the reigning Rájah of Coorg was defeated and taken prisoner by this Mussulman Prince and carried to Mysore, where he was kindly treated from policy, and persuaded the usurper, that if he would send him back to his own country, he would prevail on all his subjects to submit to the Mussulman yoke; they having previously betaken themselves to their hills and fastnesses, from whence he could neither drive nor recall them. He proved himself an able statesman, if such a term be applicable to a mountain chief, since he improved the natural fortifications of his kingdom, built towns, formed an armed militia, and successfully defied his former conqueror. He was succeeded by the boy, whom his blindness had spared, and left him immense wealth, as well as most absolute power over all his subjects and every kind of property in his little kingdom, indeed, I blush to write it, the absolute deity of his ignorant and misguided people. Such, in March 1811, was Lingarájendra Vodeyaru, to whom I carried an introduction from the Honorable Arthur Cole, Resident in Mysore, who was also nominal Resident in Coorg."

*175 *643 *648 114 In the above extract General Welsh, though no doubt unintentionally, makes several mis-statements. Amongst the English Officers and Officials, then stationed in Mysore, such may have been the current talk about the Rájah of Coorg. But, as already shown in a former part of the history, it is a fact, that Lingarája, the father of Vírarája was allured to Mysore by Hyder Ali and there detained, ostensibly as a

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guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 361 [712] [491] [764]

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*175 *643 *648 361 764

a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Rájah to the memory of his late brother and his wife. It is much in the style of Mahommedan edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball, with a weathercock above it, and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

*175 *643 *648

"On this spot, by appointment, we met the Mahá Swámi, at half past three in the evening. He was dressed in a Major-general's uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with very handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us, and desired us to be seated, after a short conversation in Hindustáni, which he at first addressed to an interpreter, until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language; he then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoanuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely, splitting every nut he fired at in the centre, while we either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him; a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieutenant Williamson, and he himself also rode a very fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour, when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves; and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horseback, with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted, and proceeded with him to the fort; the Rájah insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances, played on two fiddles; and the Mahá Swámi shewed us various portraits of himself, the King, the Prince of Wales, General Wellesley, &c. He then took us into another apartment, and

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shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, 175*
by Manton and Jover; fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., then an 643*
air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven P. M., 648*
and torchlight had succeeded the daylight in his courtyard; we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram- [541]
fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with [231]
his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

I must now describe our own habitation, built on a small 175
island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry, for the sole 648*
accommodation of Europeans. It is a large square, having 574
a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandah all round it, and four bed-rooms projecting at the angles of the verandah, all on an upper story, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, etc. It stands on a square of seventy feet, the verandah having thirty-eight glass windows, with Venetian blinds outside. The bed-rooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors; every part being neatly

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*175 *648 574 [357] furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs, chandeliers, settees, etc. etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Colonel Ridgway Mealay, and a dozen active servants, who very speedily produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's ware, with every kind of European liquor; and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes good bread!

*175 *643 *648 "After all our exertions of this day, it may readily be supposed we slept soundly; and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes an usual, a custom which I most strenuously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Rájah's stud and elephants; and amongst the latter found a young white one, about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes, and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance. After breakfast, we were astonished by a visit from the Mahá Swámi, in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels; and *certes*, in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us, this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and our shooting apparatus; and, on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Rájah himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck, with a hook in the right hand and a knife in the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. 'Such a man,' thought I, 'at the head of his followers, must be invincible.' So perfectly different from the effeminate grandeur of most eastern

*175 *643 *648 224

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potentates.* Arrived at the spot, which was only about a mile off, we dismounted, and, while the people were preparing seats on trees for our reception, amused ourselves shooting arrows at a mark, in which, as usual, the Rájah beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Rájah between us, and sat in a snug little wicker-box with three guns of the Rájah's each, and two of his eunuchs to load our pieces. The Rájah had a single rifle carrying a twelve ounce ball, and two double ones, of one ounce each....The creature rolled over instantaneously, carrying away several small trees, as he extended his enormous bulk upon the ground....It stood ten feet high, and was in excellent condition; the tusks were two feet outside, and nearly three feet long when extracted; and the length of the body was very nearly the same as its height.....Here, supposing our day's work was concluded, we proposed to take leave, but we were yet to learn something further of the kind attentions of this excellent Prince. He told us, that having kept us so long from our own tiffin, it being then three o'clock, he had ordered a dinner to be brought out for us; and, to our surprise, we found a small house built of leaves, a table and chairs, a dinner, consisting of pillawe, mutton cutlets, curry, &c. all ready for us. Nor was this all: the Rájah followed us in, and begged us to excuse him, as he was not very well; but left his servants with guns, powder, shot, &c. and four elephants, desiring us to amuse ourselves after dinner as we pleased. We accordingly dined, and then beat a thick jungle for game, though without success, it being the dry season, when they retire into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. At five P. M., we returned to our palace, well satisfied with the adventures of the day.....On the 25th of March, we

175* 643* 648* 224

175* 643* 648* 431

* Sorry shall I be, in the sequel, to reverse this most delightful, though airy vision; but truth, with me, is the first maxim, and it will force me to dispel the delightful romance which was here intruded on us by the most plausible appearances.

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*175 *643 *648 [431] paid our parting visit to the Mahá Swámi, and received from him the following presents: two gold-handled Coorg knives, two panther-skin caps, two sandalwood sticks, one royal tiger- and two panther-skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Rájah informed us, that the present indifferent state of his health, and not being certain of finding game immediately, had alone prevented his taking us into the country to shoot, but promised, if we would return at the same season next year, we should be amply gratified with field sports. Thus ended my first trip to Coorg.... I shall anticipate a period of my Journal, and extract the next trip at once. Accompanied by Lieutenant Meredith, I set out on the 17th of October 1812, and reached Siddhéshvara, the first village in his country; after which my Diary regularly proceeds as follows:—

"Here we were regaled with curry and rice, by the Coorg Rájah's guards, who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockade seems newly finished. We had some very unpleasant heavy rain in the evening, and saw many wild fowl in the tank. The whole road from Periapatna is extremely bad, and would require much repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night, succeeded by a fog.

[491]

*175 *648 "On the 18th of October we set forward, still in our palanquins, in a dense fog.....The road the whole way was very bad. The last four miles, in particular, through swamps and paddy ground, intersected by deep water-courses.

"We arrived at Vírarájendrapett at twenty minutes past three P. M., and took a walk to look at a Christian church building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half finished, and will be a grand edifice for the Romish Christians to erect in a Pagan country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap-stone on the Malabar Coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a dis-

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tance resembles on old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájah's Subadar gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c. and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Kávéri, which we reached at seven A. M., and crossed in boats, the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree.....We found the fort of Mercara completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at a quarter-past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahá Swámi. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent off his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He shewed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then a gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith; and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him we took our leave; and when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes! In short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, Madeira, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

175* 648* [712] 175* 643* 648* [177]

*On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the Mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from

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*175 *643 *648 Mysore, at half-past ten; and having to start early, we dined at noon. At one P. M., the Rájah arrived in his military uniform, on horseback. He dismounted and sat with us some time, shewing us some of his guns, and then inviting us to mount our horses and proceed, he accompanied us to the top of the hill, when, wishing us good sport, he returned, and we pursued our journey. We found six tents pitched in a clean compound, about five miles off.....On the 21st of October, after breakfast, we mounted our elephants, at seven A. M., and proceeded over nullahs, swamps, hills, &c. about five miles further, where we found our trees prepared, and all the jungle beset by some thousands of beaters; when we forthwith climbed our respective ladders, to wicker litters, in the centre of a deep jungle.....

*175 *648 "On the 22nd we set out a little after six A. M.; it was impossible to tell the direction, but through rivers, jungles, &c. and latterly, ascending a steep and very high mountain covered with wood, our elephants groping and kneeling, while our empty palanquins could not even be carried up from the bottom, we gained a beautiful plain on the summit, covered with trees and deep jungle all round it; the distance about eight miles: it is called Perumboo Kaud, on a range designated Pannimatta Kundu.....And here, at nine A. M., we set to work in the old way. I saw six elks, and fired at three; Lieuts. Davies and Meredith saw only three, the former did not fire, the latter fired twice.....On the 23rd we started at half-past six. I have remarked that all the Coorg pike-men, instead of trailing or sloping their pike, when they come to trees and other obstacles, always carry it in the left hand, and advancing the right to support it, 'charge pikes,' and push on. This is evidently descipline, and may be taught for their own safety, in advancing among wild beasts. We passed the mountain we were on yesterday, and dismounting at the bottom of one a mile further, ascended on foot to the summit. Our

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sport did not commence till eleven A. M., the jungle being amazingly thick and game rather scarce. I fired and wounded an elk, which Meredith killed, and I killed a junglee buckrah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the same colour and size of a deer, having exceedingly short legs, and therefore its swiftness must proceed from the length and strength of its body; it had short branching antlers, and was so extraordinary an animal altogether, that I preserved the head and antlers.....It was the only animal of the kind, I ever saw in my life. A panther was started, but he escaped, from the density of the jungle. We got into our palanquins at sunset, and moving in great state, with every one of our three thousand beaters carrying a lighted fire-stick, arrived at our pavilion at half-past eight P. M., actually illuminating all the country through which we passed. Our total game killed this day was one wild hog, seven elks, and one junglee buckrah. It matters not to what distance we ramble, the Rájah's attention and kindness extend all over his dominions. We never sit down to a meal, but in pops a large basket of fruit, or some sweetmeats from his own table, and his people are the most orderly, obliging, willing creatures I have ever met in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward, which in general will go a great way with the natives of India; but these people reject, with apparent horror, every proffered present, even when alone. There is certainly something very uncommon, indeed unfathomable, in this.

175* 648* [643]* [574] [431]

"On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way to Mercara, but had no sport, killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile occasionally, is marked out into a kind of fortification; having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman,

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*175 and famous for sporting; because two thousand men can do
*648 more in such enclosures, than ten, or even twenty thousand, in equally thick jungle, without these advantages. I remarked also, this evening, from my bed-room window, an immense concourse of people, seemingly labourers, winding through a distant road, and mentioning the circumstance at dinner, I observed it threw a damp on the countenances of the attendants, amongst whom, in spite of all my entreaties to the contrary, I saw the native officer of our honorary guard. No one would satisfy my curiosity. I therefore changed the subject, and speaking to my old friend the butler, asked him how he came to be so sickly since I last saw him, and what had become of four fat Bengalees, who amused me with their civilities, when I was last there? A part of their duty being to run after us, if we only went into the garden for a moment; one carrying a chair, another a juglet of water, a third a bottle and tumbler, as if an European could not exist a minute without such accompaniments. He turned pale, and trembled; told me he had had a fever, but was now better, and that the other men were gone away. I rallied him on his grave appearance, and inquired if he was not happy. He immediately replied, "Happy! he must be happy in such a service; that every one, under the Mahá Swámi, enjoyed happiness." I immediately launched forth in his praise, and I observed this gave Mahomed pleasure; little did I dream, that every word he or I uttered, would be instantly repeated to the Rájah; yet, fortunately every thing I then had to say, was favourable. On retiring to rest, and sitting down to bring up my Journal, the occurrences of the day passing in review, I began to ruminate particularly on the workmen I had seen, and all the repairs I had witnessed in the fort and barriers. It immediately struck me that the Rájah, mistak-
*[643] ing a late prohibition of Europeans passing through his country, issued in consequence of the gross misconduct of two

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officers, both since dismissed from the King's and Company's service, had imagined the British were going to declare war against him, and was consequently fortifying his country; and I supposed the work-people were employed on some strong place in the neighbourhood. Having obtained special permission for myself and companions, I determined that I would immediately undeceive him, as an act of kindness to both parties. 175* 643* 648*

Rising very early on the 25th, we took a quiet walk in the garden, and returning up-stairs, were followed by Mahomed Sahib, the butler, who entreated to speak with me in private, and to request Lieutenant Meredith to remain in the verandah, to prevent any one from listening. This we acquiesced in; and no sooner were we alone in the bed-chamber, than he threw himself at my feet, and entreated me, by the memory of his old master, to save his life. I was perfectly thunderstruck; raised him up, and desired him to explain himself; when he told me a tale which harrowed my soul. The four Bengalees, whom I had left fat and happy, had become dissatisfied with promises, and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had, in consequence, been inhumanly murdered. He himself had [681] applied for leave, and was immediately mulcted of all he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws, made on purpose, and used in native courts; his body flagellated, and a threat held out, that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Rájah being acknowledged as the God of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control. That, for instance, if a poor fellow, standing in his presence, with both hands joined in adoration as of the [687] Supreme, incessantly calling out Mahá Swámi! or Great God! should be suddenly bit by a musquito, and loosen his hands to scratch; a sign too well known, would instantly be made by this *soidisant* Deity, and the poor wretch be a head shorter

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[689]

in a twinkling. This, he told me, had been the fate of the fine-looking Parsee interpreter, whom I had seen at my last visit, who, having built a house, and amassed some wealth, was beheaded, and his property seized for the state; and this, he also assured me, was the fate of every man who entered the country, if he ever attempted to quit it again: and the Rájah, admitting his troops to a share in the plunder, bound them to his interests by chains of adamant. He entreated me to take him with me out of the country, which, he said could be easily accomplished, because he must accompany me to the barrier; but I could not listen to such a proposal, and at once told him so. To connive at the escape of one of the Rájah's servants, while I was his guest, would have been a direct breach of hospitality, which I could not consent to practice. But learning on some further conversation, that the native officer, under the appearance of an honorary guard was placed there as a spy over every word and action of every gentleman who lived in that palace, I proposed to enter into such conversation with him, in Hindustáni as being reported, might induce the Rájah to grant him leave. He also told me, that the Rájah fearing some attack from the English, was building new forts, and repairing all the old ones, and then retired, I believe, unobserved. The signal being made for breakfast, we sat down, attended as usual. I entered into conversation with Mahomed Sahib, talked of his mistress now at Madras, and his late master's will, and asked him if he had received the thousand pagoda legacy his master had left him. He replied, it was the first he had heard of it. I had, however, actually heard something of the kind, and advised him to get four months' leave of absence, to go and see his old mistress, before she embarked for England. He told me, he certainly should like to go and see her, but he could not bear to leave so good, so kind a master as the Mahá Swámi; to which I replied, that I was sure the Rájah

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would allow him to go with pleasure, and said, I would immediately ask his Highness; but he begged me not, as he was sure the Rájah would allow him to go, if it were really for his advantage; here the conversation dropped, and being reported, it had a capital effect. 175* 643* 648*

This forenoon we took our leave of the Rájah, who received us in his palace, where he was amusing himself shooting blunt, but very heavy headed arrows, at different men, armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time, and then dismounted. I had been informed, that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliárapah, a gold-mounted Coorg knife, and sandalwood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandalstick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness, I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps, has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rájah of Népaunee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindustáni, Kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Mahá Swámi; as the finest flowers of their gardens are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India. [431] [422] [784]

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*175 *643 *648 The sequel may as well be anticipated here, to connect the whole in one. A few months after, when in my own house at Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearance of Mahomed Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I have saved his life, that the Rájah had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me, in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of every thing at the last barrier; but that he never would return. I saw him in a good place, shortly afterwards, well and happy. The Rájah, Lingrájender Wodeer died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the Musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I have heard of no cruelties committed by the present Mahá Swámi, who is described as a mild, inoffensive young man. [491] The English have had, however, little or no intercourse with that country, since 1811, a road being opened through Wynád to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own [224] pioneers. I have omitted to mention, that as this country abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they [136] should be hunted every season, and the former Rájah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger, after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers."

*175 *643 The above extracts give a tolerably correct idea of Lingarájah's character and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vírarájendra to the deposition of the present ex-rájah in 1834. Vírarájendra was impelled to deeds of blood by a naturally savage temperament, hardened by habits of internecine warfare in which he was engaged almost throughout life, and inflamed towards the end of his career by paroxysms of the darkest suspicions, and a melancholy ever hovering on the brink of insanity. His brother, Lingarája, had none of his redeeming qualities. His cruelty was without excuse. He

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had some ambition to shine as a poet. Some of his pieces, 175*
addressed to one of his wives, are still preserved. They have 643*
no merit, and were perhaps made for him. However, he may have been a Nero in a small way. Cruelty seems to have been his sport. He liked to kill his victims with his own hand, with gun, bow or knife. For small offences people had their ears cropped, their noses cut, or their tongues clipped. For [681]
an impertinent answer men or women had their mouths rinsed, [687]
that was the phrase, i. e. their lips were cut off all round their mouths, and they were left to perish without food or drink. Others were thrown down a precipice on the hill side, near the "Rájah's seat" in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Lingarája had as great a passion for gold as for blood.

During the first years of his reign he was restrained from 175*
giving full vent to his atrocious propensities by the influence 643*
of his Devan, Kshauryakere Appanna, who seems to have 644
been a man of character and independence, bold enough to 687
lecture the tyrant whom he had placed on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, the Rájah of Sóde. But by degrees Lingarája became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Rájah's gratitude, continued to exhort, to warn and, at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man. One day the Devan was seized and carried before the Rájah. He was charged with treason. He knew, that he was doomed. The Rájah himself conducted the investigation. "Confess your guilt," he cried. "I am guilty indeed," replied the intrepid minister, "of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, Rájah of Coorg." Lingarája was mad with rage. Appanna, with several other so called accomplices, was carried out into the jungle to a distance of some miles. There they were nailed to some large trees, the Rájah feasting his eyes on the torments of his help-

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less victims, who died with curses on their lips. A large number of people, the families, relations and friends of the condemned men, were slaughtered on the occasion. Some say, that the Devan had entered into a conspiracy against the Rájah's life, and that on a hunting excursion a shot, aimed at Lingarája, passed close by him, whereupon he seized the traitors and exterminated them and their party; but this may only be an invention of the Rájah, calculated to throw a veil over a crime of a dye too dark even for Coorg. In 1820 the miserable tyrant died. He believed that he was destroyed through magic arts and demoniac influences employed by secret enemies. He had held possession of Coorg for eleven long years. The complete ignorance of his subjects, whom he managed to isolate entirely from the surrounding countries, subject to the East India Company, combined with the terror of his arm, kept up by frequent executions, and a system of treacherous espionage, fostered by the Rájah among his terrified slaves, laid the Coorgs prostrate at the feet of their rapacious and blood-thirsty master. He died forty-five years of age amidst the gloom of dread superstitions. His queen, who preferred death to the fate which, she thought, awaited her from the hatred of the young Rájah, swallowed diamond powder, and was buried with Lingarája in a splendid sepulchre near the tomb of Vírarájendra.

3. *Lingarája's character.*

Of Lingarája's personal character, Lieut. Connor who made his acquaintance gives us the following graphic picture:—

"The late Chief, anxious to prevent his brothers from acquiring any influence, retained them in a species of exile; Appáji Sáib, the elder, is represented as having been of a violent temper and impatient of control; this turbulent spirit hurried him to a premature end, and Lingarája had nearly shared the same fate, but seems to have owed his safety to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

his insignificance. Having passed the early part of his life in occupations but little removed from those of the ordinary husbandman, his abilities are not above mediocrity, nor does he possess docility to compensate for the absence of genius. Weak, frivolous, and puerile, he is naturally swayed by those around him, but overbearing, irascible and sometimes cruel, he is represented as being controlled by no compunctions of morality or conscience in quieting those apprehensions to which a jealous and distrustful disposition give birth; but a suspicion easy to be provoked and difficult to be appeased, suggests the belief, that he feels all those terrors which he inspires. Authority in Codagu would seem always to have been maintained by the sword, and though circumstances will not allow of a proof of what they indicate, they warrant the conclusion, that he is at least equal to any of his predecessors in the liberal use of it. He is said to be disliked by his subjects, many of whom have fallen victims to his caprices. Of his acquirements but little can be said; his means of observation have been too limited, to admit of an extended knowledge of other countries, indeed both his ideas and information are confined within the narrow limits of his own little territory.

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"A courteous dissimulation disguises under a polite deportment, a temper naturally imperious and relentless, and a suspicious and vindictive disposition is concealed by a mild and specious address; to Europeans he is remarkable for a prepossessing affability and condescension; feeling only the servility of others, and in a situation where none can resist, few dissuade, our wonder should be more excited by the suavity of manners for which he is remarkable, than the severity of disposition that characterises him.

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"The nature of his education has given him a propensity to active exercises, much of his time is occupied in field sports; they are on an extensive scale and embrace a wide circle of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 slaughter, game without distinction or number being killed on these occasions. He is a good marksman, uses his spear with dexterity, is an excellent mahout and skilful rider; it is difficult to say, whether he takes an active personal share in the administration of his affairs—I am led to think not—nor is it easy to state what are his usual occupations or the ordinary distribution of his time, when not exposed to public view; much of it, however, is devoted to frivolous and childish pursuits.

[292] [411] [301] "Lingarája is now in his forty-fourth year, about the middle size and actively formed, but in no way remarkable for any particular symmetry of features; he is rather dark complexioned and the general expression of his countenance is not disagreeable, though not indicating the habit of peremptory authority and acknowledged command; he is plain in his dress, being usually habited in a loose gown, reaching to his ancles; to this is added a black silk cape, and a cap of similar materials substitutes the place of a turban; on great occasions, however, this simplicity of dress gives way to the splendour of an English general's uniform; a string of pearls to which some jewels are affixed suspended round his neck forms the only ornament of his person, a Codagu sword is always placed on the table before him (it appears one of the ensigns of his authority) or carried with him, when he moves.

"The forms of his court exhibit but little pagentry, presenting nothing of that cumbrous and barbaric pomp in which Native Princes of whatsoever rank so much delight; indeed it is remarkable that he seems always surrounded by menials rather than men of rank. There is, however, an appearance of permanent regularity and economy, the reverse of that gorgeous improvidence for which they are remarkable. About 90 elephants and half as many horses together with some troops of dancing girls—without which Hindu greatness would be incomplete—serve to maintain the rustic splendour

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of his court; the few troops that garrison his town are also his guards." 175* 643*

Dr. Moegling pithily characterises Lingarája thus: "He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg spirit. Greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dose of sensuality were united in his character." [157] [114]

In a Shásana-stone deposited in the Mercara Onkáreshvara dévastána, which was built by him, he is however, by his native admirer praised as:—"The illustrious Lingarája Wadeer, son of Lingarája and grandson of Appájirája, of the Lunar race, pure as the milky sea, worshipped with the fragrance of the Párijáta flower, of the family of Bháradwája, follower of the Ashwaláyana Sútra of Rig Véda, a zealous and learned worshipper of Shiva, sitting on the illustrious throne of Coorg in the centre of the milky city, adorned with precious jewels, of unequalled beauty and bravery, smiling like the sun in unparalleled glory, famous to the end of the world, generous and brave.—"

C. VĪRARĀJA.

1820—1834.

1. Vírarája's tyranny.

With the death of Lingarája affairs in Coorg did not improve. The unfortunate people had only changed masters. As soon as the young Vírarája, who was about 20 years old, had taken possession of his father's throne and treasure, he destroyed the people, who had displeased or thwarted him during the life of his father. Many members of the family of the Coorg Rájahs seem to have fallen at that time. One, Channa Víra, escaped with his family across the Mysore frontier. But to no purpose; his relative knew how to turn [648]*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*195 to account his connection with the British Government.
*643 Letters and messages were despatched to Mr. Cole, the Resi-
*648 dent in Mysore, requesting him to order the seizure of a refractory farmer, who had made his escape from Coorg after having committed a crime, and the delivery of the criminal to the servants of the Rájah. Mr. Cole had the man apprehended near Periapatna, and sent him back to Coorg with a letter to the Rájah, requesting information as to the guilt of and the punishment awarded to the refugee. No answer was given to the Resident. Channa Víra was carried to Kántamárnád, where he was massacred with his whole family, twenty-two souls on one day. In 1826 Mr. Cazamajor, the successor of Mr. Cole, despatched a Captain Monk to Mercara and charged him, among other things, to enquire after the fate of Channa Víra. Captain Monk was told by Vírarája, that there had been much sickness in the country during the last season, and that Channa Víra with his whole family had
*195 been swept away by cholera. After this inaugural blood-
*643 shed, the new Rájah seems to have shown less cruelty than his father or uncle. An intelligent Brahman, who is intimately acquainted with Coorg affairs, told me one day, that he estimated the victims of Dodda-Vírarája's reign at about five thousand; Lingarája, he thought, had not killed more than three thousand, or perhaps three thousand five hundred; and the late Rájah had not destroyed more than fifteen hundred lives, if so many. Still, the last man was a greater curse upon Coorg, than his predecessors. Less cruel he appears to have been. (The above estimate of Coorg murders is no doubt greatly exaggerated, but the proportion assigned to the three Rájahs agrees perfectly with the general tradition of the country.) But, if less cruel, Vírarája, young as he was at his accession to the government of Coorg, became a mon-
[595] ster of sensuality. He kept the youngest of his father's wives for his use and increased his establishment of concubines to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

about one hundred. A number of other women, of the best families, were summoned to Mercara after accouchements, and kept in a house near the palace during the period when they gave milk to their babes. Part of their milk was daily taken for the Rájah, to be used as a medicinal ingredient of his food which according to some superstitious notion became thereby more wholesome and nourishing. To refuse compliance with the demands of the master of Coorg was certain death, not to the recusant party only, but probably to the whole family. The wretch was free to riot as he pleased. He actually demanded to have the choice of all unmarried girls in the country. When hearing of this outrageous resolution, the Coorgs at once—it is said in one night—married all their grown up daughters. The Rájah was furious. Many of the unfortunate parents, who thus saved the honor of their children, were dreadfully flogged or had their ears cropped, or were thrown into prison. Rumours of these doings reached Mr. Casamajor. He reported to Government. But no reliable information was procurable. Coorg was kept hermetically sealed. Only a few passes were open. These were guarded by strong posts. Travellers were often detained. Without a passport no one could enter the country. On slight pretences persons were fined, maltreated, imprisoned. Some, who had gone to Coorg, disappeared altogether. Manuel Pereira, a British subject, was kept in custody by the Rájah; so was a Jew of the name of Samuel Joseph. Apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Dévammáji, the daughter and heiress of Dodda-Vírarája.

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Mr. Casamajor went in person to Mercara, about the middle of November 1826, to make inquiries on the spot. He was too polite, and was completely baffled by the Rájah. The representative of the British Government was surrounded by guards and spies. No inhabitant of Coorg dared to answer his questions. The Rájah met his interrogations and admo-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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nitions with the most barefaced lies. Mr. Casamajor had to report: "I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information from the Rájah respecting his family. Having heard, that he had a brother, eight years of age, a son five years old, and a daughter a year and an half old, I mentioned to him, that I had heard so. He said, it was a mistake; that he was quite alone, and the only male of the family." "'I am the only male, the rest are females. I have said so.'" "Dévammáji and Mahádévammáji, Dodda-Vírarájendra's daughters, were not, he said, in the palace, but in distant villages." Mr. Casamajor did not even succeed in obtaining a sight of Manuel Pereira. He returned to Mysore little satisfied; still his account of the Rájah was, on the whole, rather favorable. "He appeared anxious to please the British Government, was inquisitive, showed a good deal of intelligence, and there was some hope of improvement, as he was a young man."

Rumours of frequent executions continued to reach Mysore, and Mr. Casamajor received instructions to demand of the Rájah a regular report of every case of capital punishment ordered by him. Some correspondence ensued; Vírarája protested against this demand, but his protest was of no avail; the order was repeated. However, the Rájah never complied with it, and matters went asleep again. News came, that Vírarája had raised a regiment of female cavalry, who accompanied the Rájah on his rides, and who were drilled like soldiers. Mr. Casamajor thought, that the Rájah must be mad. He was confirmed in his opinion by the report that a Coorg, of the name of Nága, having fled the country, had been shot in effigy at Mercara. This took place in 1832.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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2. *Channa Basava and Dévammáji's flight. Muddaiya's murder.*

1832.

On the 17th September 1832, I. A. Casamajor, Resident in Mysore, reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, that a Coorg of the name of Channa Basava and his wife, Dévammáji, sister to the Rájah of Coorg, had taken refuge at the Residency. They had fled their country to save their honor and their lives, and implored the protection of the British Government. Dévammáji had long been kept from her husband. After an engagement of eight years, she had been permitted to join him. Of late the Rájah had made incestuous proposals to her through an old woman-servant, and had threatened to kill her husband, if she refused compliance, on the following Shivarátri festival. In this extremity they had drugged the guard of honor, who watched them, and set off from Appagalla, their residence, at nightfall. During the night they reached Beppunád, passed Amadnád in the morning and were drawing near the Mysore frontier, when they were stopped by the Coorg frontier guard. Being fired at, their party returned fire. Channa Basava placed his wife behind him on his horse, and made his way into Mysore, followed by a few of his attendants. The rest fell into the hands of the Coorgs and were carried to Mercara. Also the child of Channa Basava, a boy of a year and a half, was seized and delivered to the Rájah, his uncle. This is the substance of the reports of the Resident. That Channa Basava would have been murdered, if he had not run for his life, is probable enough. He was a scheming fellow and had drawn upon himself the Rájah's suspicions. But the charge made against Vírarája by his sister may have been unfounded, and only brought forward in order to strengthen their claim on British sympathy and protection.

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The Rájah demanded, that the fugitives should be delivered to him. Mr. Casamajor demurred and referred the matter to Government. The Supreme Government decided under the 18th January 1833, that the Coorg refugees should not be restored to Vírarája. In the mean time the Rájah formed mad schemes for the recovery of his relatives. They all came to nothing. Channa Basava and his wife were removed to Bangalore. There they were to have been assassinated. But every thing failed. The fugitives had dreadful stories to tell. Accusations accumulated against the Rájah of Coorg. A Parsee from Bombay had been killed at Mercara. Probably Manuel Pereira also had been destroyed. A man from the north of Coorg deposed: that he saw Vírarája, on a hunting excursion, shooting at Náráyana Náyaka, Hoblidára, first with blunt arrows, then with a sharp arrow which killed him, in presence of all his retinue. Besides, numbers of people, men and women, Coorgs and slaves, relatives of the Rájah's family and others, who were believed to have been privy to the plans of Channa Basava, or to have assisted him in his escape, were killed, or mutilated, or starved to death, or thrown into prison.

Among the first victims of the Rájah's wrath was Muddaya, a brother of Channa Basava, Munshi to the Rájah, and a favourite. Vírarája himself beat him cruelly; afterwards he was executed by Kunta Basava, an upstart favourite of Lingarája, who having been both the tool and the prompter of the father, kept his position and influence with the son. He was first dog-boy, then soldier, then Jemadar; then he rose to the post of Commander; at last he became principal Devan. He was a vicious, overbearing, slavish, unprincipled man. By killing Muddaya, he got rid of a rival. Muddaya had been a clever and respectable man, and was perfectly ignorant of Channa Basava's plans. Every body knew, that the poor man had been destroyed without cause. The Rájah himself, hardened as he was, had terrible fits of remorse. Muddaya

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would not let him sleep. As soon as he sunk into slumber, Muddaya would stand over him with a drawn sword, and Vírarája awake, crying: murder! Muddaya! seize him! After some days a conjurer showed the Rájah how to obtain rest. If he had a picture of the dead man painted on a fresh wall, and looked at it every twenty-four minutes during the day, his nightly frights would abate. The Rájah took the wise man's advice, had a likeness of Muddaya painted on a new wall, and walked up to it every now and then, saying: I slew him, because he was a traitor. By degrees his sleep returned. 175* 643* 755

3. *Complications with the British Government.* 175* 643* 648*

These cruelties of Vírarája accelerated his downfall. On the 18th January 1833, Sir Fred. Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to the Rájah of Coorg, giving him a sound lecture on the principles of good Government, warning him most earnestly and positively demanding compliance, in future, with the order of Government, communicated to the Rájah in 1827, to report all capital punishments taking place in Coorg. Sir Fred. Adam informed the Rájah, that Mr. Casamajor was desired to proceed to Coorg in order to have a personal conference with the Rájah, and that Government demanded free passage for any person, who might desire to accompany Mr. Casamajor on his return out of Coorg. The interview between the Rájah and Mr. Casamajor took place before the end of January 1833, at Mercara. Seven years, Mr. Casamajor observed, had produced a marked change in the Rájah. The Resident wondered; for he had not, could not have, an idea of the extreme profligacy of the man, nor of the strength of his murderous propensities, that had steeped him deep in blood during the interval between 1826 and 1833. The Rájah looked uneasy, seemed to be subject to sudden alarms and very unsteady of purpose. The presence of an English gentleman

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*175 *643 *648 and a representative of the great Sirkár, to which he owed allegiance, must have been very distressing to the abandoned, guilty man, whom folly, passion and a maddened conscience were now hurrying onward to ruin.

*175 *643 *648 662 While Mr. Casamajor was at Mercara, Vírarája was deep in intrigues. He had lately entertained the bedmaker of the Rájah of Mysore, who had come on a secret mission of treason against the Company. He had endeavoured to engage the services of a merchant of Mysore, Nun Lál Barti, for the murder of Channa Basava, and for opening a communication with Ranjit Sing, whom he was led to believe to be a secret enemy of the English. He succeeded in finding out a Sikh man, a native of Lahore, called Lahore Sing, and persuaded him to go on an embassy to the Sikh-ruler, undeterred by the shrewd remark of the stranger, that Lahore being so far from Mercara, it would be difficult for Ranjit Sing to avail himself of the friendly offices of the Mahárájah of Coorg. He had secretly encouraged a rebellious Polygar of Nagar, of the name of Súryappa, who had given considerable trouble to *175 the English authorities. And now he had to confront Mr. *643 Casamajor. He could not but look embarrassed, alarmed, un- *648 steady. The Resident solemnly warned the Rájah to abstain in future from his cruelties, and advised him to relax the rigour with which he had shut up his people from communication with their neighbours under the rule of the Company. Vírarája contended, that he could not do away with, nor even relax, ancient observances without losing his authority. When Mr. Casamajor hinted, that he knew more, than he chose to say, of the Rájah's disaffection, and that further disobedience might be punished with deposition, the Rájah used the language of calumniated innocence, and made the strongest professions of obedience to the Company. Formerly, when very young, he might have been too severe, he admitted; but now he was more considerate. As for a change

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of system, however, he was most reluctant, and when Mr. Casamajor pressed the point, he turned round and asserted, that he would do as he pleased, Coorg was an independent country, etc. Mr. Casamajor replied, that Coorg had been subject to Tippu, and was now subject to the Company, as was proved by the annual tribute of an elephant, in lieu of the former payment of Rs. 24,000. When the Resident requested the Rájah, to treat Dévammáji and the other members of his family kindly, he answered, that he required no such admonitions; but as for Dévammáji and her family, they were all dead, long since. This was the most barefaced lie. Dévammáji indeed, and her sister Mahádévammáji had been murdered, probably before the end of 1832, a month or two before Mr. Casamajor's visit, but her three children were still alive, and were murdered at Nalkanád, when the British troops crossed the frontiers of Coorg.

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4. *Assassination of the Rájah's family.*

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The end of the two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájender was most miserable and surpasses in horror all the other abominations of this monster tyrant. Shortly after the flight of Channa Basava and his wife, Dévammáji, her sister Mahádévammáji and their children, were taken by the Rájah's orders and by his sepoys to the Appagalla Panya, one of the private farms belonging to the Rájah, about four miles distant from Mercara. After some days, the Devan Basava and an eunuch, named Mandaya, a Jemadar of the palace, came there one morning early, conveyed Dévammáji and her sister Mahádévammáji, to the fort at Mercara, and confined them in the store-room in rear of the palace, placing a strong guard over them. The same morning, before noon, the Devan with the same eunuch came to the store-room, and in presence of some of the guard, compelled the prisoners to put their hands into boiling ghee. They left them shut up till about 2 o'clock P. M.,

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when the Devan and the eunuch came again, and ordered one of the Jemadars on guard to bring two ropes. When brought, the Devan himself adjusted them round Dévammáji's neck, who made great resistance and implored to be taken before the Rájah, whilst the Jemadar and some of the guards held her hands, and pulled at the rope, which was thrown over a beam in the roof. In this manner both sisters then and there were put to death. As soon as life was extinct, they were taken down, wrapped up in matting and placed just outside the store-room beneath a small plantation of sugarcane. In the meantime orders had been sent by the Devan to the guard of Válekára, Pariahs, at the Kumblagiri barrier, about a mile from the fort, to dig a hole for two bodies in a secluded part of the jungle, and for some of the said guard, to be in attendance in the evening at the Sallyport, (a secret passage, leading under the ramparts) by 7 P. M. Several of them attended and, with the help of some of the men from the store-room-guard, conveyed the two bodies to the hole already prepared; the Devan accompanying the party and witnessing the interment.

Perhaps Dévammáji had revealed the place, where she had deposited her wealth, on a promise that her life would be spared, and therefore, in her anguish, desired to be brought before the Rájah. Certain it is, that the Rájah learned from her the exact spot, where her jewels had been immured; for he despatched a Munshi of his, a Yedavanád man, of the name of Kálingaya, in company with the Devan Basava to Dévammáji's house, some time after her removal from it, and instructed the Devan to break the wall of the room adjoining Dévammáji's bedroom, a little above the floor, where he would find the treasure. "On our digging," Kálingaya says, "a brass vessel of a size holding one and an half seer of water, with the mouth properly closed, was discovered. It could have been lifted with one hand. We did not open the mouth of

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the vessel, but brought it to Mercara, and the Devan Basava delivered it to the Rájah. It was not opened in my presence. I am not aware, what description of coins or jewelry or precious stones it contained. The vessel was not full, as on taking it up in the hands the contents were shaking about." Dévammáji probably had given her treasure to the Rájah as a ransom for her life; but by this very surrender of her wealth she sealed her doom. Dévammáji is described as a person of a commanding figure, fair complexion and round face. Her sister Mahádévammáji was short and slender, but also fair. Thus ended two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájendra and of his beloved Ráni.

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The grand-children of Dodda-Vírarája and the remaining members of Appáji's and Lingarája's families, the nearest relatives of the Rájah, were carried to Nalkanád palace, when he himself retired to that secluded spot, in March 1834. Their removal to Nalkanád boded no good. They were kept in a couple of garden houses, under strict watch. General Fraser states:—

"One day subsequent to our troops entering the country, orders were given in the morning by the Devan, to dig a pit for a dozen persons, and in the dusk of the evening five women were put into one house and seven children into another, and the Kaplas (a jungle-tribe residing in the Nalkanád forest) and some of the Yedavanád men (Kunta Basava's especial followers), who had assisted in the murder of Dévammáji and Mahádévammáji, were sent into both houses with ropes, and then and there strangled every one of them, and afterwards tied them up in mats, the Devan Basavappa standing outside and accompanying the party, when the bodies were interred. The Rájah, also on this occasion, was close by the scene of murder, though not present. On the following morning, when walking with the Devan in front of the Nalkanád palace, on observing the Kaplas, he said to the Devan, that as they, the

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*175 Kaplas, had executed the murders, they had better be put to
*643 death also. But the Devan interceded for them. They are
644 old servants, he said, who have come from a foreign country (the Malayalam). He suggested, that they might be sent out of the country, and a present given to them, which was done accordingly. But instead of quitting the country, they proceeded with their families some miles distance into the jungle, where they remained about a month; and when all was quiet, they returned to Nalkanád."

This account shows that, sometimes at least, the Devan was more humane than his master.

*175 *5. The war and the Rájah's surrender.*
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*648 The personal conference of Mr. Casamajor with the Rájah in the beginning of 1833 having proved fruitless, the Resident returned to Mysore. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. The Rájah harboured rebels, intrigued with Mysore and scarcely cared for appearances. Mr. Casamajor recommended the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to keep the Rájah in check and to protect his subjects, but the Government were still loath to go to extremities. Since the Rájah had taken a personal dislike to Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Graeme, the Resident at Nagpore, then residing for the benefit of his health at Bangalore, was requested to proceed to Coorg and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. However, the Rájah was unwilling again to meet an English representative, seized and kept in durance two native envoys of Mr. Graeme viz. Daraset, a Parsee merchant of Tellicherry and Kulputty Karnikára Manoon, a Sheristadar of the Collector of Malabar, who had gone to Coorg furnished with passports from Mr. Graeme. The former the Rájah allowed to return to Tellicherry, but the latter he refused to set at liberty until the Rájah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. Having an extraordinary

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idea of his power and the strength of his country, he resolved on war. He addressed the most insolent letters to Sir Fr. Adam, Governor of Madras, and to Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor General. Now the patience of the most peace-loving Governor General was at an end, and a British force was organised to march into Coorg and depose the Rájah. As it drew near his frontiers the Rájah published the following outrageous proclamation:

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Proclamation of Vírarája.

Proclamation published for the information and guidance of the Hindoos, Mussulmans, Poligars, public servants, Ryots, Chetty Merchants, and people of other castes in Hindoostan.

1. It is well known that the Kaffers, Nasara (Christians), low Pheringhies, with the view of converting people of other religions to their dirty faith, have, ill intentionally, polluted the Dévastánams, Muzeeds, and other temples at Bangalore, Cuddapah, Mussulibunder, Nagpoor, Ramcepet and several other countries, sent out their Padres and ruined them. This circumstance being certainly too well impressed on the mind of every one, what more need be said?

2. Those who have from time to time strenuously attempted to convert, by force, people of other religions to their faith, have by the commands of God, perished—but set this aside, an instance in proof of this may be given. Tippoo Sultan attempted to force all the other religions, to embrace his religion; and with this view ruined a great number of people, destroyed the Hindoo temples and committed various sorts of oppressions; which acts not being acceptable to God, he was destroyed. This fact is well known to all of you. Now, the Kaffers, Nasara, low Pheringhies have in like manner commenced to destroy the religion observed by people of different castes, and to introduce their own religion. When evil comes, people lose their senses. When death comes, medicine avails naught; thus then their end is fast approaching. There is no doubt of it. The Hindoos and Mussulmans having respectively consulted their Shásters have found, that, if for the protection of their religions, these Kaffer, Nasara, Pheringhies be now fought with, God will help us, and make us successful. There is no doubt of this, so let all be fully convinced of it.

3. These Kaffers, Nasara, low Pheringhies have now wickedly determined to wage war with the Halery Samsthánam, and have accordingly

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collected some black people of Hindoostan, whom they are going to send in front, that they may all be cut down, and the race thus annihilated in some degree, thinking that by these means they will be able easily to convert the rest to their faith. It is, therefore, to protect people of all castes against such invasion, the Halery Samsthánam have determined to meet with arms those Kaffers, Pheringhies, Nasaras. Accordingly, if all of you will join the army of the Halery Samsthánam, you will not only be defended, but you will also render the devastation of those Kaffers, Pheringhies, quite easy; after this is done, you will be protected and enabled to live happy and contented, following the religion of your respective castes unmolested. Do not think, that another such opportunity will offer itself again.

4. To avert the evil which threatens you now, we have taken all this trouble and published this proclamation. Should any of you pay no attention to it, but keep yourself neutral, you will at last find yourselves under the yoke of the Pheringhies, lose your caste, and experience the greatest misery to the end of your lives, and after death you will not be admitted before God, for having thus sinned against him. Do not doubt this. Therefore, if ye, people of all countries, join the Halery Samsthán and help it, you will meet with every kind of protection from it, and be able to live happy. Accordingly it is expected, that all of you will come forward and help the Halery Samsthánam.

5. P. S. It is further hereby commanded. Those Nasaras, Kaffers, Pheringhies will, in order to get possession of the Halery Samsthán, spare no pains to gain you over. They will even give ten, where one would be enough. Let not this allure you and make you swerve from your real intention or lead you to entangle yourselves; for, after they attain their object, they will oppress you, and violate your religion. Be sure of this.

(True Copy and Translation.)

(Signed:) F. CLEMENTSON,

Pl. Collector.

(Abstract translation of the proclamation published by the Coorg Rájah, received from the Officer commanding in Wynaad with his letter of the 31st March 1834.)

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The Governor General through his Political Agent Col. Fraser issued the following proclamation:— 175* 643* 648*

The conduct of the Rájah of Coorg has, for a long time past, been of such a nature as to render him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government.

Unmindful of his duty as a ruler, and regardless of his obligations as a dependent ally of the East India Company, he has been guilty of the greatest oppression and cruelty towards the people subject to his government, and he has evinced the most wanton disrespect of the authority of, and the most hostile disposition towards the former, from whom he and his ancestors have invariably received every degree of kindness and protection.

It would be needless to enumerate the several instances of his misconduct, but it is sufficient to state that, in consequence of an asylum having been afforded in the British Territories to his own sister Dévammáji and her husband, Channa Basavappa, who to preserve their lives had fled from his oppression, the Rájah has presumed, to address letters replete with the most insulting expressions to the Governor of Fort St. George and the Governor General of India, that he has assumed an attitude of hostility and defiance towards the British Government, that he has received and encouraged the proclaimed enemies of that Government, and that he has unjustifiably placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company, named Kulputty Karnikára Manoon, who had been formally deputed by the British representative for the purpose of opening a friendly negotiation, thus committing a gross outrage, not only upon the authority by whom the above named individual was deputed, but upon the established rules of all civilized nations, by whom the persons of accredited agents are invariably held sacred.

The ancient alliance and the firm friendship, which had so happily subsisted between the predecessors of the present Rájah and the Honorable Company, have caused his errors to be treated uniformly with indulgence. The most earnest remonstrances have been in vain tried, to bring him to a sense of his obligations, and it is not until further forbearance would be culpable, that His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, at the suggestion and with the concurrence of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, has resolved on employing the only means left of vindicating the dignity of the sovereign state and of securing to the inhabitants of Coorg the blessings of a just and equitable Government.

It is accordingly hereby notified, that a British army is about to invade the Coorg territory, that Vírarájendra Vodeyar is no longer to be considered as Rájah of Coorg, that the persons and property of all those who conduct

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themselves peaceably or in aid of the operations of the British troops, shall be respected, and that such a system of Government shall be established, as may seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people.

It is also hereby made known to all British subjects, who may have entered the service of Vírarájendra Vodeyar; that they are required to place themselves under the protection of the British authorities, by whom they will be kindly received, and their rights and privileges respected, and that such of them, as may in any way render assistance to the enemy, will be considered as traitors and punished accordingly.

This proclamation will be carefully made known in Chittledroog, Raidroog, Mysore, Bellary, Malabar, Canara, in order that the relatives of such persons as have taken service in Coorg from those places or adjoining districts, may adopt the earliest means of communicating its purport to the parties in whose safety they are interested.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER, *Lieut. Col. and Political Agent of H. E. the Right Hon. the Governor General.*

Issued at Bangalore this 15th day of March 1834.

Upon this Vírarája published the following:

Counter Proclamation.

The explanation of a proclamation, issued for the knowledge of the bad English people, who are mean slaves and servants of the auspicious feet of the Halery Samsthán Mahárája.

In answer to a proclamation of the bad Englishman, son of a whore, who in a state of forgetting Mahádéva (God) and through pride had written on a paper whatever occurred to his mind, for the purpose of giving information to the inhabitants of Halery Samsthán, and fastened the same near the boundary, I, the slave of my Master's Majesty, let you know as follows, that the proclamation (containing the evil subjects) which was fastened in the boundary by the wicked Englishman, the son of a slave, is not at all possible even to be seen with our eyes or hear with our ears, and in the very time of tying the said proclamations, which are replete with indecent subjects, the hearts of all of us, who are the servants of the king's feet, were inflamed as the fire through wind. The wicked Christian European, the son of a slave, who resolved to prepare this, should be beheaded, and his head thrown out, the hands, mouth and head of the person, who wrote this, should be cut off, and the generation of the low caste, blasphemer and bad European should be burnt down. These

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hopes are to be soon effected. All the above subjects are certain. All the wicked Europeans, the sons of whores, have evil intentions. Very well, very well, we will fill up all your bellies according to your wishes. Be this known to you, written on Sunday, 6th decreasing Moon of the month of Phálguna, of the year Vijaya, corresponding with 30th March 1834.

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The invading force numbered six thousand men and was placed under Brigadier Lindsay in whom was vested the supreme command of the expedition, whilst Col. Fraser was to accompany him in the capacity of Political Agent of the Governor General for Coorg affairs.

The force was divided into four columns which operated in the following manner:—

The *Eastern Column* under Col. Lindsay and composed of one Company of Foot Artillery from Bangalore—three 12 Pr. Howitzers, two 5½ inch heavy Howitzers, two do. mortars, one 6 Pr. gun—400 Rank and File and Head-Quarters of H. M. 39th Regiment of Foot, 4th, 35th, 36th, 48th Regiment, and the Rifle Company of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry and 300 Sappers and Miners with Head-Quarters, marched on the 2nd April from Bettadapur upon Sulacottu and reached the Kávéri opposite Hebbale, where on the Coorg side a barrier was thrown up, consisting of a rude wall of mud and stone with a range of loopholes near its upper part and defended by a few men armed in various ways. Before the force was ordered to advance, Col. Fraser with a white handkerchief in his hand attempted to cross the Kávéri as a messenger of peace, when a Ginjal was fired from the opposite side, followed by two more in quick succession. It was then necessary to reply in kind, and two Howitzers fired a few rounds of grape and ball, under cover of which the advanced guard crossed with Cols. Lindsay and Fraser; but before they reached the opposite bank, the enemy was seen retiring towards Rámaswámy Kanave. Commanded by a Coorg Káryagár, it numbered but 100 Mussulmans, of whom

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*175 about 60 were armed with matchlocks and the remainder
*648 with swords, a very few Coorgs provided with firearms and having also the management of the Ginjals, and about 50 ryots armed with bows and arrows. The strong position at the fortified Pagoda near Rámaswámy Kanave offered but a feeble resistance and was carried in about a quarter of an hour and likewise a rough breastwork and barrier near Haringi, at the sacrifice of a few men wounded and on the side of the enemy, who mustered 350 men, chiefly Coorgs, half a dozen killed. On the 4th April the force advanced only five miles on account of the difficulty of the road which had been obstructed by large trees felled across it. But a flag of truce having been sent into camp from the Rájah, accompanied by one of his four Deváns, named Lakseminárayana, another person, Mahomed Taker Khan, who called himself the Rájah's friend and four of their attendants, there was no further resistance to the advancing force except by the obstacles of the road. Of the two preliminary conditions for an armistice, one had been complied with. Kulputty Karnikára Manoon had been delivered by the Rájah to the British camp, but the Rájah had not yet placed himself at the unconditional disposal of the British Government. On the 5th April another Deván, Apparanda Bopu, with a party of 400 Coorgs, went to meet Col. Fraser, surrendered to him and offered to conduct the Company's troops to the capital. At 4 P. M. on the 6th April they entered the Fort of Mercara; the Rájah's flag, which was flying in one of the bastions, was lowered and the British colours hoisted in its stead under a salute of twenty-one guns. A company of the M. 39th Regiment remained within the Fort, the remainder of the troops encamped on the heights around.

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On the 11th Col. Fraser published the following Proclamation:— 175* 648*

Whereas the rule and dominion of Rájah Vírarájender Vodeya over the country of Coorg have now definitively and for ever ceased, it is hereby proclaimed and directed, that the whole civil administration of the country shall be conducted as heretofore by the Gaudas, Shánabhogas, Hobliddrs, Parpadigárs, Subadars, Devána and Karnik, as at present employed in their respective stations, with the privilege of immediate and direct appeal from every native of Coorg of whatever rank or degree to Lieut. Col. Fraser, the Political Agent of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, until the permanent establishment of a form of Government which will be determined under the authority of the Governor General and upon the model best calculated to secure the future wellbeing and happiness of the people of the country.

It is hereby further distinctly explained, that the administration of justice will be exercised by the authorities above enumerated only to that extent and degree with which they have been hitherto individually charged to the entire exclusion of that superior power and jurisdiction which have been heretofore exercised by the Rájah Vírarájender Vodeya alone. No punishment therefore extending to life or limb or more severe than simple imprisonment will on any account whatever take place without a reference to Col. Fraser and the sanction of the British Government.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER,

Mercara, 11th April 1834. *Lieut. Col. and Political Agent.*

Vírarája, at the commencement of the war, had removed to his palace at Nalkanád, a place almost inaccessible to an army. He had taken with him his women, his band, his treasures and what remained of the Coorg Rájah's families, that he might destroy them all, if necessary, in order to render it impossible for the English Government to transfer the principality, or the property of the murdered Dévammáji to any other heir of Dodda-Vírarájendra, and thus secure his wealth and his country to himself.

The leaders of the Coorgs who in their ignorance had boasted before the Rájah, that they would sally forth and exterminate the English, were true enough to their words and

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*175 took up their posts at the different passes, where they might
*648 have defended themselves most effectually and caused great loss to the Company's troops, had the Rájah like his great uncle, Dodda-Vírarájendra, headed his Coorgs and vigorously directed the defence. But his spirit showed no spark of heroic courage. Incited partly by hope, that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, he sent orders, prohibiting his Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company, hence the easy advance of the latter.

A *subdivision of the Eastern Column* under Col. Stewart advanced on the 2nd April from Periapatna towards the Kávéri, opposite Rangasamudram, where the enemy was stationed in considerable force, but being plied with a few cannon shot, he left his entrenched position and retired across country, leaving six men dead. Col. Stewart crossed the Kávéri at Kondanghery and proceeded to Vírájpet, where he was to co-operate with the Western Column and open up communication with Mysore by way of Siddápur.

The *Northern Column*, under the command of Col. G. Waugh, was composed of one Brigade 6 Pr. guns from Bellary, 300 Rank and File and Head-Quarters H. M. 55th Regt., 9th Regt. N. I., 31st Regt. Light Infantry, Rifle Company of 24th Regt. N. I., and 200 Sappers and Miners.

It marched on the 1st April from Hosacotta to Shanivár-sante.* On passing the Coorg boundary river, Hémávati, the enemy's advanced posts had retreated and no molestation was offered until the force reached Codlipet, where an armed body of 200 men occupied an entrenched high ground, but on their flanks being turned, they speedily fell back and the advanced guard of the English encountered only one more slight opposition at Mudravalli, which was as speedily overcome. A far different resistance the troops met on the following day, when they were to join the Eastern Column at

* [Errata: This should read "Sanivár-sante." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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Haringi. They had scarcely proceeded a few hundred yards beyond their encamping ground, when they found the road blockaded with felled trees, which rendered their progress exceedingly difficult and slow. As the column approached a village situated in a wood near the base of the pass in which the enemy's principal position was situated, a feeble fire was opened, but readily silenced. The stockade, known as the Buck-stockade, was exceedingly strong; outside protected by thick bamboos and trees and surrounded with a deep ditch and inside built of mud walls, faced with stones, and pierced with innumerable loopholes which commanded the approaches in every direction. The intrepid Coorgs who held it, were commanded by the present (1870) Head Sheristadar Madanta Appachu, a fine old Coorg, of tall stature and martial bearing, but ever since the British accession a most loyal and devoted servant of Government.

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Determined to carry it by assault, as the stockade barred their advance, the troops under Major Bird of the 31st Light Infantry as Field-Officer of the day attempted every means of attack for four hours and a half, during which they were exposed to a most severe and raking fire; but in vain. A misdirected flank-movement of H. M. 55th Regt. under Col. Mill proved equally unsuccessful. Col. Mill was shot dead on the spot, likewise Ensigns Robertson of the 9th N. I. and Babington of the 31st N. I. Major Bird determined to withdraw the column and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover, and on account of the heavy list of wounded and for the sake of supplies and a more convenient camp he retreated several miles to the rear. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including the three officers, and 118 wounded.

The *Western Column* marched from Cannanore on the 31st March and was under the command of Col. David Fowlis. It consisted of the following arms: Half a Company of Golun-

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danze—four 6 Pr. guns—300 Rank and File and Head-Quarters H. M. 48th Regt.—20th and 32nd Regts. N. I. and 200 Sappers and Miners.

It was to reach Mercara after forcing the Heggala-Ghat and occupying Vírájpet. The Light Company of H. M. 48th Regt. and the Grenadier Company of the 20th Regt. N. I. proceeded on the 2nd April in advance beyond the Stony River into Coorg; their progress was checked by a party of Coorgs posted near the river, and Lieut. Erskine, a most promising young officer of the M. 48th, was killed. At six the following morning the main body broke ground and had to fight its way up the Pass every inch. The Coorgs had fortified it with three successive stockades, as well as with breastworks and felled trees at every hundred yards. The first stockade was taken with trifling loss; but from that time till four in the afternoon a series of hard conflicts was maintained in carrying the successive barriers which the enemy defended with bravery, maintaining at the same time a continued skirmishing from the wood. The last stockade was only captured by attacking it in reverse as well as in flank. In these achievements Capts. Butterworth and Macdonald greatly distinguished themselves. Also a volunteer, Thomas Bell, son of Col. Bell of H. M. 48th Regt. excited the admiration of the Commanding Officer for his "conspicuous bravery in every attack and skirmish with the enemy."

Next day, on the 4th April, as Col. Fowlis marched in advance and within a quarter of a mile of his camp, a flag of truce appeared, bearing a proposal from the Rájah for a suspension of arms. He replied, that, if the Coorgs did not fire, his troops would also abstain from firing; but as his orders were to go up the Ghat, go he would. He accordingly effected this march without opposition and in the afternoon at two he passed through the East-Ukudu (guard-house) at Heggala, where he halted and was supplied with grain by the Coorgs.

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His service was now completed with the loss of twelve killed and thirty-six wounded. On the 13th April a detachment of this column under Major Tweedie marched without opposition to Nalkanád and took possession of the Palace. It is rumoured, that part of the Rájah's hidden treasure there got wings after the arrival of the troops; but they did not find the Deván Kunta Basava, who was to be sent a prisoner to Mercara. 175* 648*

Thirty men of H. M. 48th Regt., two Companies of the 48th Regt. N. I., two Companies 20th Regt. N. I. and one 12 Pr. Howitzer with a detachment of Artillery men, were left at Virájpet under the command of Col. Brock of the 48th Regt. The main body of Col. Fowlis' Column marched on towards Mercara and remained encamped near the Muddarammdy river 7 miles south of Mercara. Col. Stewart's force which was to co-operate with and had joined the Western Column at Virájpet, was directed to proceed to open the Siddapur Pass into Mysore.

The *Western Auxiliary Column* under the command of Lieut. Colonel George Jackson and with the present Commander-in-Chief of Madras, then Capt. McCleverty H. M. 48th, as Brigade Major, consisted only of 150 Rank and File H. M. 48th Foot, the 40th Regt. N. I. (400 Rank and File) and 50 Sappers and Miners, who never joined but were retained at Cannanore and had not a single gun.

This column was intended to occupy the lower Taluqs of the Coorg dominions for the purpose of covering the Company's country and giving protection and confidence to such of the inhabitants as might be well disposed to the British Government. If possible it was to take up its position at the ruined fort of Sulya, at the foot of the Ghat, but was strictly enjoined, not to divide itself into small parties.

Col. Jackson advanced from Kumbla, a small town on the sea-coast south of Mangalore, on the morning of the 29th March at 3 o'clock 9 miles towards the east on an extremely

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*175 *648 difficult road, and his advanced guard fell in with the enemy's advanced piquet about half a mile distant from their stockade, where three prisoners were made, who said their piquet was under orders from the Rájah, not to fire unless first fired at. As, however, the Coorgs would not quit their post, unless force was employed and as they assembled at the gateway of the stockade, the Company's troops made an assault and carried it without difficulty or loss. On the 30th they marched to Uppanangalla, on the 31st to a Pagoda near Bellur, on the 1st April they reached the Ishvaramangala Pagoda, where Col. Jackson learnt, that a strong stockade obstructed the road on a hill in the midst of a thick jungle near Madhur and Bollary. A reconnoitering party, consisting of 4 officers, 40 European and 80 Native Infantry was sent to ascertain its locality. This duty was completed on the 3rd April, but the party was attacked on the spot, when it had received orders to retire and it reached the camp 5 miles distant at Ishvaramangala with the loss of 2 officers killed and wounded and more than half of the men, the greater proportion killed. Col. Jackson, after considering this loss and the reported strength of the position, thought it impossible to attempt carrying the stockade without further reinforcements and fell back towards Kumbla, but on learning that his retreat would be cut off by the Coorgs who outmarched him, he turned across country to Kásergóde, which place he reached on the 6th April with the remainder of his disorganized and disheartened force. His retreat was greatly harassed by crowds of skirmishers. The coolies and bearers decamped as well as they could; and at every favourable interval the enemy fell upon the followers, the sick and wounded, and massacred them with the most horrid barbarity. Part of the ammunition and public stores, the officers' tents and equipments fell into the hands of the Coorgs, while several of the officers' horses were shot. The casualties of this

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column amounted to thirty killed and thirty-six wounded. 175* Col. Jackson was so overcome by the mortifying failure of 648* his expedition, that he himself applied for an enquiry by a Court Martial into the cause of his failure.

In a General Order, dated Ootacamund 9th September 1834 the Commander-in-Chief concurred in the opinion expressed by the Committee of Enquiry respecting the conduct of Col. Jackson, viz. "The Court do not see reason to ascribe any blame to the Lieut. Colonel, and they would be doing him less than justice if they omitted to record their conviction, arising from the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses who have been examined, that he most zealously and most unremittingly exerted himself for the good of the service on which he was engaged, and that on every occasion, when his column came in contact with the enemy, he was to be found at the point, where danger pressed and where his presence was most required." It is very probable, that if the Court had been desired, to express an opinion on the wisdom of the authorities who sent a force so inadequate to the task imposed, its verdict would have been less favourable!

The issue of the war had already been decided by the success of the Eastern Column in occupying Mercara, the capital. Life and honorable treatment being offered him by Col. Fraser, if he would surrender, the Rájah availed himself of so favourable terms and returned within the stipulated time of three days from Nalkanád to Mercara after a vain attempt of gaining at least 15 days' time, to march in proper princely style with his women and baggage. He entered Mercara Fort at noon of the 10th April, accompanied by his unarmed attendants (Pahara Chowkee) and his women, and was received with due respect at the outer gate by the officer commanding the Fort. Col. Fraser thus reports to the Governor General his first interview with the Rájah on the evening of the 11th April:—

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"The Rájah of Coorg having sent me a message yesterday morning, that he wished to see me, I called upon him at five in the evening and he detained me until past seven. When I first went in, I found the whole palace almost entirely dark, in consequence of the windows being closed and blinds let down all round it, for the purpose of preventing the inner of the palace being overlooked or its inmates seen by the officers and men of the Company of H. M. 39th Regiment doing duty in the Fort. The Rájah himself came out a moment afterwards from behind a veil which separated an inner appartment from the front verandah. He took me by the hand which he continued to hold, but seemed for some minutes so frightened and agitated, as not to know what to do or say. I addressed him in Hindustáni and enquired after his health, to which he replied in the usual terms. At length one of his attendants suggested to him to go to the upper part of the palace. To this he silently assented, and while he still held me by the hand, we proceeded through one or two passages and ascended a flight of steps, where all was so perfectly dark, that I was obliged to feel my way along the walls with my disengaged hand. Arrived in an appartment in the upper part of the building, where the windows were entirely closed, and where there was no light whatever but from a common lamp set upon the ground, he seated me by him on a sopha. It is impossible to repeat the desultory remarks which he continued to make to me for about two hours and he himself repeatedly observed, that he was weary and unwell, that his head was confused and he knew not what he was saying. The principal object he seemed to have in view was to justify his first proceedings in regard to his demand for the surrender of Channa Basava, founded, as he said it was, upon previously understood agreements, and the letter to him from the Resident in Mysore under date the 1st August 1828. He said, that he detained Kulputty Karnikára Manoon only because

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this person had promised to procure for him the surrender of the fugitives and that he thought, he would be a useful mediator between him and the British Government. To some remark I made upon this subject, the Rájah replied, that he was an ignorant man, and knew not, that he was doing wrong, or acting in a manner contrary to the usage of other countries. He spoke repeatedly and earnestly of the friendship which he and his ancestors had ever entertained for the English, and prayed for my intercession with the Governor General, that he might not be removed from his Fort, but allowed to remain and judged by the tenor of his future conduct. He often repeated, that he was young, that he was ignorant and unacquainted with the customs of the world, that he had never benefitted by the advantages of society and that in all his late proceedings he had been misled by evil councillors such as Abbas Ali and others, whom he plainly designated as villains. I am led to believe, that this account of himself is just, that he is a weak and ignorant person, spoiled by the possession of early power and that the feelings and superstition which nature gave him, instead of being perverted to evil purposes as they have been, might have taken a different and far better direction, had he been guided by judicious advisers and had a more frequent intercourse been maintained between him and the officers of the British Government.....

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"In the course of my conversation I acquainted the Rájah, that the future determination of his fate depended not on the least on myself, but entirely on the pleasure of the Governor General; but in order to prevent his entertaining any hope of which the disappointment hereafter might in consequence be more painful, I acquainted him, that I had not the least hope, that under any circumstances whatever would he be permitted to remain in the Fort of his country."

Finding out that his deposition and removal were deter-

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mined upon, he felt uneasy at the thought, that Kunta Basava, the accomplice of all his atrocities, was likely to be delivered or to give himself up to Col. Fraser, who had fixed a prize of one thousand Rupees upon his apprehension, for he looked upon him as "the worst and most dangerous character in the whole country." In all his enquiries about the Rájah's doings, Col. Fraser was constantly referred to Deván Basava for information, as if he was alone possessed of the secret of all the acts of murder that may have been committed, and as if the Rájah himself had been little else, than a young man devoted to his own idle or sensual pursuits, leaving to his Deván the exclusive charge and direction of any species of cruelty and convenient crime. Basava had betaken himself to the jungles and went to live with a Kuruba family in an inaccessible part of the western mountains, not far from Nalkanád; but he was apprehended and a Coorg man escorted him in the evening of the 14th April, to the Kagodlenád Kachery at the fort of the Mercara hill. A message was received there at nightfall from the Rájah. Basava was strangled by the men in the Kachery and hung up on a tree close by. Next morning the Coorg, who had delivered Basava, was sent about his business and a report made to Col. Fraser, that Basava had committed suicide, and had been found in the jungle at a distance of a mile and a half from Mercara. Dr. Grant of the 35th Regt. N. I. and the Provost Martial of the camp were sent down "to investigate as far as possible the circumstances of the Deván's death and especially to ascertain, whether it seemed likely, that he had died by his own hand or had been put to death by other persons." The Doctor duly reported, that he had no doubt but that the Deván committed suicide.—His determination must have been very firm, for the Doctor found him suspended by two ropes, and a third rope, a spare one, it must be supposed, was found at the foot of the tree!—The Rájah's scheme succeeded well

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

enough. Col. Fraser fully believed in the suicide of Basava; all the Coorgs *seemed* to believe it—but those who knew, afterwards confessed the truth—and the Rájah was at liberty to shift all blame from himself upon the dead man! Kunta Basava was a Badaga of the lowest extraction, who had risen from a dog-boy to the Devánship under Lingarája and having ingratiated himself with Vírarája by pampering to his vicious propensities, he retained his post. He hated the Coorgs as much as he was hated by them and maltreated them, whenever he had an opportunity. Shortly before the outbreak of the war Kunta Basava assaulted the Deván Chepudira Ponappa in the presence of the Rájah, whom he dissuaded from fighting against the Company. With his clenched iron fist Basava gave him a blow on the temple, which sent him to the ground for dead. The accomplice of the Rájah's crimes perished with ignominy; Chepudira Ponappa became the principal man in the country under the British Government and was much respected both by his superiors and the people! His grandson Ch. Soobiah is now Assistant Superintendent of Coorg. 175* 643* 648*

The object of the expedition having been attained, and no disturbance of the tranquillity of the country being anticipated, the Coorg Field-Force was broken up and only a body of troops kept in Mercara sufficient for any emergency. The prize-money distributed amongst the troops amounted to over ten lacs of rupees. Regarding the services of the Field-Force the following is the 175* 648*

"General Order, by His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in India."

Head Quarters,

Ootacamund 17th May 1834.

The Governor General and Commander-in-Chief has much pleasure in expressing to Brigadier Lindsay C. B. his entire approbation of the manner in which the military operations under his general control against the Rájah of Coorg have been brought to a speedy and successful termination. His

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Lordship had confidently anticipated this result from the Brigadier's long experience and established reputation.

To Lieut. Col. Stewart, who commanded a detachment from the main Column under Brigadier Lindsay the expression of His Lordship's satisfaction is also due for having successfully overcome all the obstacles opposed by the enemy to his progress and for having effected in obedience to his orders a junction with the Column under Col. Fowlis' command.

The Column under the command of Col. Waugh met with complete failure, the loss of many brave men is to be deplored and of none more than of the gallant Lieut. Col. Mill. The determined valour, displayed by the Officers and troops and more especially by His Majesty's 55th is the best consolation for this misfortune. (? !) His Lordship has carefully examined the detailed reports which he had required of the operations of this Column and is happy in generally concurring in the opinion of Brigadier Lindsay, that Col. Waugh is not justly chargeable with blame; that all his orders and arrangements appear to have been made with sound discretion and a due observance of correct military principles, and that the disaster may be ascribed to the extreme difficulty of the country and to those accidents, to which the best concerted schemes will occasionally be liable.

It may perhaps be regretted, that the attack was so long persevered in, but the good order in which the retreat was made to the ground occupied before the attack, proves that the arrangements were ably made, while the perseverance with which the main object of the operations of this Column was followed up, reflects the greatest credit upon Col. Waugh.

The good disposition made by Col. Fowlis in command of the *South-Western Column* for the attack of the Heggala Ghat and the gallantry with which it was carried, reflect the greatest credit upon that Officer and the Officers and men under his command.

Col. Fowlis' name will be brought to the particular notice of the Honorable Court.

To all the Officers and men, composing the several columns, above enumerated, His Lordship expresses his thanks for their zealous and gallant conduct, although the troops have had to engage an enemy much inferior to themselves, yet the excessive strength of the mountainous and densly jungle-country constituted a resistance which the greatest perseverance and courage could alone have surmounted. The army have the satisfaction of knowing that a sanguinary tyrant has been subdued and a valuable acquisition been made to the Company's territories.

To the excellent order and discipline of the troops may in part be as-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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cribed the general desire expressed by the inhabitants, to become the subjects of the British Government.

The conduct of Lieut. Col. Jackson in command of the North-Western Column, being under investigation, His Lordship refrains for the present from making any remark upon the operations of that part of the Force. (Vide page 341.)

The Governor General cannot omit to mention in this place the eminent services of Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser, to whom was entrusted the conduct of our negotiations with the enemy. By the judicious arrangement which that Officer adopted, the successes of the troops were ably seconded, while his subsequent measures in administering the affairs of the Coorg country have been so discreet and conciliatory as to gain for him the confidence of the inhabitants and to secure their entire and willing obedience.

By Command of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General.

(Signed:) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Governor General.

As a mark of the King's approval Brigadier[1] Lindsay's services, he nominated that Officer "to be Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order."

[1] [Errata: This should read "approval of Brigadier". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p 474 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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IV. PART.

COORG

under the British Government

Since 1834.

A. HISTORICAL EVENTS.

1. THE RÂJAH'S DEPOSITION AND THE ANNEXATION OF COORG.

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The representative of the Governor General now entered into negotiations with the remaining Devâns and other principal men, which must have puzzled them not a little, but which they turned to pretty good account, after having comprehended their novel position. They no doubt had expected, that the principality would, without ado, be converted into a Company's talaq, and indeed the Headmen of the lower Districts, of Amra-Sulya, at once petitioned for the annexation of their Districts to Canara. The Coorgs were surprised to find themselves treated almost as an independent body. The chief men being assembled in the unfinished palace—the site of which is now occupied by the Central School—Col. Fraser informed them of the deposition of the Râjah and called upon them "to express their wishes without apprehension or reserve, in regard to the form of administration, which they desired to be established for the future Govern-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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ment of the country" "The Devâns and Karnik, or principal accountant, a person of coequal rank with the Devâns then went round the assembled multitude, who sat in perfectly quiet and decent order, as is usual in native Durbars, and after taking the votes of all present, returned to the place, where I sat, and acquainted me, that an unanimous wish had been expressed to be transferred to the British Government and to be ruled in future by the same laws and regulations which prevailed in the Company's dominions." (Col. Fraser's Despatches to the Governor General.)

Not being quite sure, whether the Rájah would not, in the end, be allowed to remain in Coorg, and, wishing to be on the safe side, they added a proposal to permit the Rájah to stay amongst them at Mercara. When they were most positively informed, that he *must* leave the country, they were greatly relieved and readily acquiesced in the orders of the Sirkar. In other respects the Coorgs were treated, as if they were the masters of the country and were greatly pleased with the sudden change from abject servitude to a kind of consequential independence. The upshot was, that Col. Fraser issued a proclamation, which declared that Coorg was annexed, because it was the wish of the people to be ruled by the British Government!

It ran thus:

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory, heretofore governed by Vîrarâjendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company.

"The inhabitants are hereby assured, that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government, to augment their security, comfort and happiness."

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER,

Camp at Mercara, 7th May 1834. *Lt. Col. and Political Agent.*

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Gradually light began to break in upon the darkness of Coorg affairs, as soon as it became known, that the Rájah was to leave the country. Col. Fraser wrote on the 7th June to the Governor General: "The Rájah is cunning, false, hypocritical and well capable of deceiving those around him, who happen not to be aware of the past events of his life. But, in my opinion, he has forfeited every claim to indulgence, and I think, that his atrocious character would render it discreditable to the British Government, to concede more to him, than was granted to him, life and honorable treatment."

The cruelty to his subjects and the massacre of his relatives were fully established and in reply to an official report on the subject the Governor General's Secretary wrote to Col. Fraser: "With regard to that portion of your letter, dated 29th May, which treats of the murders perpetrated in Coorg between the period of the flight of Channa Basava and his wife to Bangalore, up to that of the surrender of the Ex-Rájah, I am desired to observe, that these atrocities are of such a description as to render it exceedingly doubtful in the opinion of the Governor General, whether any indulgence beyond that of granting him his life should be extended to the author of them. At the time when the Ex-Rájah surrendered, no conception was formed, that his cruelties had been carried to so enormous an extent as would now appear to be the case, nor indeed would it seem possible for the imagination by any effort to ascribe to one individual the perpetration of so much wickedness as may now, with too great an appearance of reality, be imputed to the Ex-Rájah."

Col. Fraser, on being transferred to the Commissionership of Mysore, left Coorg in September 1834, on which occasion he received the following address, the contents of which and of his reply reflect great honor on the respective parties, and give us a just appreciation of their character:

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Address of the Coorgs.

To

Lieutenant Colonel J. S. FRASER,

Commissioner for the affairs of Coorg.
&c. &c. &c.

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Honorable Sir,

We, the undersigned natives and inhabitants of Coorg, would ever reproach ourselves for having omitted to perform a sacred duty, did we not adopt this mode of expressing, in the name of ourselves and our community, our sincere and deep regret at your approaching separation from us. We are aware that although your honour is going to Mysore to assume charge of the Residency to which His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General (may His Lordship be prosperous!) has been pleased to appoint you, yet you still retain the office of Commissioner for this country, and that its administration will be conducted under your orders and supervision. We should nevertheless, not permit you to separate from us without acknowledging the heavy debt of gratitude we owe to your honour.

You arrived in this country in the capacity of Political Agent to the Right Honorable the Governor General. After the deposition of the Rájah you were entrusted with the administration of this country. We are very much indebted to His Excellency for having selected a person of your excellent qualities to govern us. Although you never had a previous personal intercourse with us, yet all your acts and measures regarding this country were such as preserved inviolate our rights, civil usages and religion. Your abilities, and knowledge of the customs, manners and feelings of the people deserve our unqualified praise. Your name must ever be revered for the philanthropic and benevolent disposition and liberality, which you have evinced in all your proceedings. It is with pleasure we declare that you have always shown a scrupulous anxiety to maintain and protect us in religious usages, and a solicitude to improve our moral and intellectual faculties. We have seen your patience, benevolence, conciliating manners in your intercourse with us, your unwearied assiduity to ameliorate this country in every respect and make it flourish, and your desire to promote our interests and secure our happiness.

We recollect also with delight the humane disposition you have always shown in attending to the representations and grievances of the people; thus free access to you and the facility which you have afforded in obtaining justice. Your honour always consulted the inhabitants in the adoption of all

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measures connected with the administration of the country, and there is nothing which you have done that has not been consonant with the wishes of the community, a circumstance by which you have acquired the confidence, esteem and affection of the people of the country. It is impossible that we can adequately express our sense of obligation for all your benevolent acts, nor could a few words satisfy our minds, which feel more impressed than can be uttered by even the most laboured language. The numerous kindnesses and benefits which we have received from you are engraven on our hearts, and they will ever be most gratefully remembered not only by us, but by the whole population of Coorg, your name will be venerated, and handed down with honor and respect to the latest posterity.

In testimony of these our sincere sentiments, and as a lasting memorial of the high estimation in which we hold you, we respectfully request your acceptance of a *gold cup*, and *a Coorg dress*, which we have taken the liberty to present to your honour.

You will ever have our fervent wishes for your happiness and prosperity; and we will always offer our humble supplications to the Almighty that He may bless you and your family with health, long life and uninterrupted happiness.

Signed by the whole of the Native Officers and about 630 of the *Principal Ryots of Coorg*.

Lieutenant Colonel J. S. Fraser's

Reply to the Address of the Coorgs.

Devans, Native Officers, and Inhabitants of Coorg.

I consider myself greatly honored by this address, and accept with pleasure the *gold cup* and *Coorg arms* which you have been pleased to present to me. I shall preserve them while I live as a highly flattering memorial of your friendship and kindness.

I think myself fortunate to have been brought by the commands of my Government into official connection and personal intercourse with a people like the brave Coorgs, for whom I entertain an unfeigned and cordial esteem.

I attach a peculiar value to these presents, because I regard them as indicating not merely a feeling of personal good will towards myself, but as conveying also a gratifying testimony that the Coorgs are entirely satisfied

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with the proceedings of the English Government, and an assurance that the sentiments of allegiance and fidelity which now unite this country to the British dominions will never be destroyed or impaired.

To advert to the points that are more particularly touched upon in this address, namely the mode of administration under which the affairs of the country are conducted, and the share which I have personally had in this administration, I have only to observe respecting the former, that in as far as it has proved satisfactory to the people of the country, they are indebted for it exclusively to the supreme British Government of India, under whose orders and guidance I have acted. The invariable object of those orders and that guidance has been the happiness of the people of Coorg. This principle of administration could scarcely fail of being attended with a prosperous issue under the direction of common prudence. But if it should be thought that success was still contingent on secondary agency, I can yet assume no merit for the performance of the subordinate part that has rested with me. Let the inhabitants of Coorg take that merit to themselves, for it is theirs.

They have been quiet, respectful, and obedient; open and frank in the declaration of their sentiments, and equally ready to receive the expression of mine. We have in fact acted in concurrence. We have proceeded hand in hand. And what has been the consequence? Why, this plain and obvious one; that since the first day on which I took charge of the country, I knew that all was right; that but one interest, one wish, one feeling prevailed; and that the Coorgs and myself, the governed and the instrument of Government, were associated in a common bond of union. Long may this be the established system here; for while it is so, the well-being of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants are secured.

Farewell then for the present, my brave and estimable friends! I shall come and visit you sometimes, and shall always be happy to meet you again. But wherever I am, and in whatever circumstances I may be placed, be assured that the prosperity of Coorg will never cease to be an object of my sincerest wishes, and most anxious solicitude.

(Signed:) J. S. FRASER, Lieut. Col.

and Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

2. THE RÁJAH'S EXILE AND DEATH.

VICTORIA GAURAMMA.

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After a short stay in Mercara, the Rájah had to leave under an escort of the 35th and 48th N. I. commanded by Col. Stewart, who at Bangalore delivered him over to the charge of the Commissioner of Mysore on the 12th May 1834. The Ex-Rájah rode away through the town of Mercara, ordering the band to strike up "the British Grenadier," as if he had no sense of his fall. A number of his wives accompanied him. In their pálkies and his own he concealed vast sums of money in gold so that the bearers could hardly carry their loads. At the first halting place beyond the frontier of Coorg, at Sirlecote, he buried a great quantity of treasure, for he found the concealment no longer safe as he was allowed to carry away only ten thousand rupees. A certain Káryagára from Nálkanád who accompanied the Rájah afterwards helped himself to a large amount of this treasure and when the secret oozed out, he found it necessary to inform Capt. Le Hardy, that he knew of treasure secreted by the Rájah. An elephant was despatched to the eastward under the guidance of the honest Coorg, who faithfully delivered to the Company all he had left there and received a reward of Rs. 1000 for his loyal honesty! Gold coins were handed about rather freely at Nálkanád and are not yet scarce in certain houses.

From Bangalore the Ex-Rájah proceeded to Vellore and finally to Benares, where he drew a monthly pension of Rs. 6000 out of the Coorg Revenue. The British Government confiscated the money, deposited in Government securities by his uncle Dodda-Vírarája; still the Rájah was in possession of the valuable jewelry of his murdered cousin Dévammáji which together with the money carried away from Coorg, enabled him, to play, though under Government surveillance, the roll of a rich Indian Prince and to keep up through paid

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

agents a secret correspondence with Coorg and to revive from time to time rumours of his return to the principality, which caused no little anxiety to the English Superintendents of Coorg.

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When the Ex-Rájah was convinced of the hopelessness of ever regaining his principality, he demanded the payment of the capital of Rs. 680,000, the inheritance of his cousin Dévammáji, the interest of which he drew up to 1833 through Messrs. Binny & Co. in Madras. But in vain.

At last in 1852 he obtained leave from Lord Dalhousie, to visit England with his favourite daughter Gauramma who was then ten years old, in order to give her the advantages of an European education. Arrived there he expressed a wish to have her brought up in the Christian faith. Queen Victoria took an interest in the Indian Princess and at her baptism on the 30th June 1852 through the Archbishop of Canterbury, she stood sponsor and gave her the name "Victoria." By this achievement feeling himself strong in the royal favor, the Ex-Rájah commenced a Chancery suit against the East India Company for the recovery of the Rs. 680,000, but it dragged on a weary course, meanwhile in 1858 the Government of India was placed under the Crown and his suit fell to the ground.

The Coorg Princess *Victoria Gauramma* was by the Queen first placed in charge of the wife of Major Drummond and then entrusted to Sir John Login, formerly guardian of Dhulip Sing, in whose family she received a most careful and pious education. Unhappily married to an English Officer, she died on the 1st April 1864 and her husband and child have since mysteriously disappeared. Vírarája had died before and was buried in Kensal-Green, a London graveyard,—but as a heathen. True to his character in Coorg, he remained a stranger to the influence of Christian faith and morality in England.

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Thus ended with Vírarája Vodeya the *Royal House of Coorg, the line of the Rájahs of Haléri!*

3. VÍRARÁJENDER'S SONS AND RELATIVES.

CHANNA BASAVA.

Whilst in exile, six sons are said to have been born to Vírarájender by his several wives, in addition to the baby boy, Chitrashékara, who was six months old, when his father left Mercara. At Vellore Lingarája and Sómashékara were born and at Benares: Vírabhadra, Nanjunda, Muddarája and Patmarája. Of these seven sons the first and the two last named are dead and the remaining four live at Benares on a small stipend from Government. A few years ago they sent emissaries to Coorg to obtain wives from amongst the leading Coorg families, though they themselves are Lingaites. They were evidently anxious to reawaken an interest amongst the subjects of their father; but their overtures were unsuccessful; the Coorgs one and all declined the proferred alliance.

Channa Basava and *Dévammáji* after their return from Bangalore had their confiscated farm at Appagalla with all its former belongings restored to them, and Government not only increased the land from 1596¼ to 2562¼ Butties, but gave them also a pension of Rs. 250 p. m. Yet they were not satisfied. Channa Basava, having received so much attention at Bangalore, flattered himself with the hope of eventually being seated on the Coorg throne as the only remaining male relative of the Ex-Rájah. On his return he assumed the title "Arasu" i. e. king, petitioned Government to grant him for a residence one of the three palaces at Mercara, Haléri and Nálkanád, as his house at Appagalla was like a "cow stable", "unhealthy" and "unpropitious." He also wanted the Punya, or Rájah's farm at Nanjarájpatna and the charge of the Rájahs' tombs at Mercara, for the mainten-

[Errata: This should read "Panya". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ance of which Government allowed Rs. 2000 per annum. But the Coorg Headmen exposed his designs so cleverly in an official report to Government, that it is quite refreshing to read their clear and telling arguments, which evince a most loyal disposition to the new Sircar. They plainly state it as their private opinion, "that Channa Basava is obnoxious to the Coorgs and that if he be aggrandized in any respect, a discontent will be created in the country." Thus he remained in his obscure position as a farmer at Appagalla. He died on the 3rd August 1868 at his farm. His widow, Dévammáji and his only son Sómashékarappa, are the only surviving legitimate relations remaining in the province. Two daughters are married to Polygars in Mysore. 175* 648* 643*

Of the other members of the Rájahs' family, two relics of Tippu Sultan, *Dévammáji* and *Nílammáji*, cousins of Dodda-Vírajender, had the palace at Nálkanád assigned for their residence without, however, any claim or title to the property. Dévammáji died there before 1852 and was buried in the garden behind the Palace. Nílammáji followed her in 1865 and was buried by her side according to Mussulman rites. 175* 644

There were three more distant female relations residing at the palace at Haléri, of whom Rájammáji, the widow of Vírappa, died on the 26th September 1868 and Lingavva, the widow of Nanjundappa, brother of Vírappa, and both sons of Appáji Arasu, younger brother of Dodda-Vírájender, on the 8th May 1869.

4. ABHRAMBĀRA, THE IMPOSTOR.

These two brothers, Vírappa and Nanjundappa, together with fourteen others of their relations were apprehended by order of the Ex-Rájah, immediately after his father's death in 1820, and confined in a building in the Fort of Mercara, called the Kótemane, where the whole of them died of starvation and misery within three months after their imprison- 175* 643*

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ment. Rájammáji was at this period only 7 or 8 years of age and long entertained the idea, that her husband, Vírappa, had escaped and was still alive. This rumour circulated for the first time, when the British force entered Coorg, and it was said, that he accompanied the invading army to claim the Musnud. The report gained so much credit, that the Ex-Rájah despatched spies, to ascertain the fact. Rumour stated, that Vírappa had effected his escape from prison by the person who had been ordered to put him to death and who, as a proof of his having carried the order into execution, showed the Rájah a quantity of blood which he obtained from a wound, made in Vírappa's arm, that he proceeded to Mysore and remained for some time in the village of Avarti, till his wound was healed, when he wandered about as a Sanyási. In 1833, the news spread in Coorg and reached the Rájah, that a Sanyási, an extraordinary man, went about in the Manjerabad district, that he had a number of followers, performed miracles and composed extempore songs like Dasarapadas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara and sung in the palace. The Rájah became curious to see the man. Abhrambára, this was the Sanyási's name, was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival he was introduced to the Rájah. He was a tall and powerful man, sparingly dressed and wore a long beard looking more like a Mussulman Fakir, than a Hindu Sanyási. The Rájah asked him: "Who are you?" "A man," was the answer. R. "Where is your home?" S. "Here." R. "Who was your mother?" S. "The womb." R. "Who was your father?" The Sanyási continued to give the Rájah short, contemptuous and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, but being afraid of maltreating him, he sent him abruptly away. Afterwards he regretted the measure and sent a messenger to bring him back, but Abhrambára had crossed the frontier and, though overtaken, refused to return. He was no more seen till after the establishment of

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the Company's Government, when in March 1835 he again appeared in the north of Coorg and was believed to be Vírappa. A person who knew the latter brought the information, that the Sanyási bore no resemblance whatever to Vírappa; others said the change in appearance had been caused by an attack of small-pox. No one could be found who had heard Abhrambára assert his identity with Vírappa. He appeared, indeed, to deny the truth of the story, but in a manner, calculated rather to confirm than to dissipate the report of his being Vírappa. His usual answers were, that he was only a poor Sanyási, that he was nobody, that he was the meanest servant of those by whom he was visited. The Coorg Devána did not believe in the truth of the rumour and Capt. Le Hardy apprehended no danger, but made further enquiries and kept a watchful eye on the Jangama. About the end of May 1835 he was again wandering about the country, but without any followers except a few Brahmans and Jangamas. From Codlipet he proceeded to Sómwarpet and thence to Haringi, where he found accommodation in the house of the Dalavai (General) Venkatappa. His next visit was to Haléri Palace, in an outhouse of which he stayed a day and a night; after his return from Mercara he stopped there again and went back the same way he came to Kenchamane Hosakóte, accompanied by about 70 followers from Halérinád, Yedavanád and Yélusávirashíme, but only about 40 men went with him beyond the frontier and amongst these 11 only were Jamma-ryots and one a Kodaga. During his visit at Haléri Palace it could not be discovered, that any conversation or correspondence took place between him and Rájammáji, nor is there any proof of her having sent him a gold necklace during his stay at Subramanya. It is possible, that Abhrambára's only motive in going to the Haléri Palace was, to foster the belief of his being in correspondence with Rájammáji with the view of strengthening the report of his being her husband.

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*175 *643 At Hosakóte his designs could no longer remain doubtful. His pretensions to the throne of Coorg were openly proclaimed by his followers. He assumed the headdress—a small cocked hat, and other insignia worn by the Rájahs of Coorg and circulated a proclamation. He is also said, to have predicted a disturbance that would shortly take place in Coorg and to have warned his followers, that by associating with him, they might possibly render themselves liable to punishment. Indeed two of his followers Kalyana Basava and Puttu Basava were seized at Baitur, in Malabar, and brought to Mercara. Laksminárâyana, one of the Deváns was also implicated in the Impostor's proceedings and eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the head of the so-called Coorg insurrection of 1837. Abhrambára was at last caught and kept as a political prisoner in the Bangalore Jail. After 30 years' detention, he was set free and his first journey was to Coorg in July 1869. Being allowed but a passing visit under surveillance, he came again in June 1870 but was sent back to Mysore and died on his way at Seringapatam.

5. THE COORG REBELLION.

1837.

*175 The so-called *Coorg Rebellion* was properly speaking a rise of the Gaudas, a tribe on the Western slope of the Ghats who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits. These were disaffected to the Company's Government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara Sulya, Puttur and Bantwála, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been retransferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been taken. Under the Coorg Rájahs, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore now demanded cash payment. This was considered a grievance, as the

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farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers. One of the four Devána, the above named Laksminárâyana, a Brahmin, who was displeased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Devána, made political capital out of the ill-feeling of the Gaudas. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, was in league with some rich and influential men of the malcontent Gaudas and he likewise entertained some intrigues with Abhrambára. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore and two Companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the Jail and with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Kacheri and some Civilians' houses, situated on the hills, overlooking the town. All the Europeans of the station were seized with a panic. The Civilians who fled on board a ship, bound for Cannanore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses and thought the whole country was in arms. The Commanding Officer held a council of war and, deeming discretion the better part of valour, would have embarked the garrison, consisting of a Regiment, much weakened it is true, by the defeated detachment of several Companies, had boats been procurable, and ran away before a few hundred Gaudas, if so many, and the rabble of the Jail! Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay; but when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with. The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground and restoring order. 175*

Though this was altogether a Gauda-affair, a rise was also planned amongst the Coorgs at Nálkanád and Beppunád and amongst the Badagas in the Panje, Bellári and Subramanya districts and the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by the late Rájah's trusted and favored Sivácháries. Also the 175* 648* 669

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late Deván, Kunta Basava's relatives, connections and ever ready tools were there. Formal proclamations were issued in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambára, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haléri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance. A number of Coorgs about Talakávéri and Nálkanád believed the proclamations to which the Rájah's seal was attached and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms and went down to the Head-quarters at Sulya. Abhrambára's letters patent were carried to Beppunád. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Vírájpet went to Mercara, to see the Deváns, to report to them and to ask for directions. Capt. Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Deváns, he left Ponappa at Mercara and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampáji, whither the insurgents were expected to move according to Bopu's information. When Capt. Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampáji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bisli-ghat and North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampáji. He forthwith marched to Sampáji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Deván. On his return to Mercara he was told by the

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other Deván Ponappa, who seems to have borne Bopu a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Capt. Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu and charged him straight with treachery. "Go down to your friends, the rebels; be an open enemy; go, and I will come after you; and, if I catch you, you shall be hung." Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Ponappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances were certainly against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to gain the confidence of the Chief which he had evidently lost? The man broke out into tears and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. "Do you stay, Capt. Le Hardey," he said, "and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility upon yourself, I will set out immediately and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead." Capt. Le Hardey felt, that the man was true and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunád and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the north under Subadar Appachanna the present (1870) Head Sheristadar. Bopu, with another troop marched straight down to Sampáji. Two "Lictors" of his own fashion preceded the "Coorg Consul," viz. two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Deván evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Nálkanád friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Deván to scour the way before him; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rájah's shooting master and great favourite, a man of the Male-Kudiya tribe, who could hit, it was said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded further than the "Rájah's Seat" and were just descending the

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*175 *648 669 Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya and a late Párpadyagára, Appaya. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give him information of the insurrection; they must have known things and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demanded explanations; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows were the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampáji pass, he met with a party of Nálkanád Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; they were armed, but dared not fight the Deván; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nálkanád had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him, without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn by the "Lictors" and from that time Coorg has been at peace. The Coorgs were most abundantly praised by [703] Government for their loyalty and in recognition of their services of the recaptured treasure Rs. 20,000 were to be

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divided amongst those employed on the expedition; but they begged, that they might be honored with other distinctions in lieu; consequently they were rewarded with jaghir lands to a great extent and pensions for three generations, with horses, gold and silver medals, and broad cloth, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Devâns. The "Coorg medal" in gold weighs 7 Tolas without, and 11¼ Tolas with the chain and is two inches in diameter. On one side it represents a Coorg warrior in fighting attitude, and on the other it shows round a wreath which encircles the Coorg-knives—the Picha-Katti and the Odti-Katti—the following inscription in English: "For distinguished conduct and loyalty to the British Government Coorg. April 1837." The same inscription in Canarese is given on the reverse side. During the "Mutiny" in 1857 the Coorgs enjoyed the confidence of the local Government to such a degree, that after the suppression of the Rebellion, General Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner, issued to them the following Notification in English and Canarese, bearing at its head a medallion representing a Coorg in full warrior costume.

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NOTIFICATION.

26th February 1861.

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"In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty and intrepidity, characteristic of this little nation of warriors and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby, for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act, commonly called the *Disarming Act* are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg."

(Signed:) M. CUBBON,
Commissioner.

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B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashíme—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
131 and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which
632 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
103 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

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Name of Taluqs and Nádu	Area.	No. of villages.	Seat of Kacheries.
I. Mercara-taluq	*209*	*57*	*Mercara.*
1. Mercara-Haléri-nád . .	49	15	Mercara.
2. Kagodlu-nád	40	6	Talatmáne.
3. Horur-nárokkal-nád . .	39	11	Boykeri.
4. Hudikéri-kanta-murnád . .	49	14	Murnád.
5. Ulugulo-Mudikéri-nád . .	32	11	Sunticopa.
II. Padinálknád-taluq . .	*413*	*57*	*Napoklu.*
1. Padinálknád	142	12	Nálkanád Palace.
2. Katiednád	51	12	Bhávuli
3. Tavunád	139	9	Bhágamandala.
4. Benganád	42	11	Kolagadála.
5. Kuyinkéri 2/A	39	13	Pálur.
III. Yedenálknád-taluq . . .	*210*	*49*	*Virájenderpet.*
1. Yedenálknád	92	22	Virájenderpet.
2. Beppunád	41	8	Arméri.
3. Ammatnád	77	19	Cólepét.
IV. Kiggatnád-taluq	*400*	*63*	*Hudikéri.*
1. Anjikérinád	89	15	Hudikéri.
2. Thavalakérinád	110	15	Thavalakéri.
3. Hattugatnád	113	13	Ponnappet.
4. Betiednád	89	20	Kuntagráma.
V. Nanjaráj patna 2/A	*262*	*114*	*Frasrpet.*
1. Surlabi-Gadinád	113	21	Mádapur (Mahádévapur)
2. Yedavanád	94	37	Sómawárpet.
3. Nanjaráj patna-Hobli . .	55	26	Frasrpét.
4. Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli		30	Kampur. 3/A
VI. Yélusávirashime-taluq.	*91*	*168*	*Saniwársante.*
1. Kodli-Hobli	27	55	Kodlipet.
2. Bilháda-Hobli	18	40	Saniwársante.
3. Nidhada-Hobli	46	73	Gaudhalli.
Grand Total . . .	*1585*	*508*	

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A, A, A [Errata: These names should read "Kuyinkéri-nad, Nanjaráj patna-Táluq and Rampur" respectively. See corrigenda, Cat 116, p. 479. Ah.]

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13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
[464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

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since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

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632 361 [485] Frank Vardon, the intrepid companion of Dr. Livingstone in South-Africa. He died on the 21st June 1860. At the junction of the three Ghat-roads rises the *Roman Catholic Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat, stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where, though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding [205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front [697] of the Superintendent's Kacheri is the *Post-Office* and the *Jail-garden*, and below it the dome of the *Onkárésvara-temple* with its gilt orb peeps out from a hollow round which the dwellings of the Coorg officials and of Brahmins are clustered amid a dense mass of vegetation. Some of these houses are two [206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house, attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a broad bund, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or *Mahádévpet* in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines. An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by allotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme has not made much progress since. The new portion was

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to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

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Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples
of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted
with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

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632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti 2 Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131] 2 The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a
[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 499 — Analyst]

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flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

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632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
369 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Poonappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

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exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

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632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bissly-ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Fraserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

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and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shiváchárics possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

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632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

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Though fully alive to their
material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára-Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-nduvé (village-jungles)

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635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yéluná-vira-shíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálk-nád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38¼ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingsites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

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There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi-
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. *In the time of the Rájahs.*

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchayat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

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692 Pancháyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Devân's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Pancháyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default 681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads. 565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Devâna, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájaha, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the 692 officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated 684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication 682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had 684 been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable* 687 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital 696 punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

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efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 (203)

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah. 692 177

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692 Governor General, the prerogative of the Rájah. On the
177 30th August 1834 he issued a set of "*Rules for the conduct*
67 | *of the District functionaries in Coorg*" from which we cite the following paragraphs as they contain the principles and routine of the English administration until lately modified by new Acts.

"Civil Justice."

Para 55. "Whereas it is necessary for the due administration of justice in the Coorg country, to introduce regularity in the system which has prevailed, and to define the judicial power of the district functionaries, the following rules have been enacted and are published for general information and guidance.

56. The custom of adjusting differences by mutual composition of the parties being highly commendable, the Sirkar will be glad, when parties settle their disputes in this manner; or by the arbitration of a referee selected from among their neighbours. If an adjustment cannot be effected by this means, they shall then have recourse to the Sirkar functionaries.

57. The Patéls are empowered to hear, try and determine on their own responsibility upon oral evidence such suits as may be preferred to them for sums of money or other personal property the amount or the value of which shall not exceed five rupees.

58. If the parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Patéls, they may appeal to the Párapatiagárs. The jurisdiction of the Patéls is to extend to all civil suits to the amount above limited, which may arise between the parties residing within the villages.

59. The Párapatiagárs at the head of their Kacheri may hear the appeals against the decision of the Patéls. They shall try on their own responsibility causes not exceeding Rs. 50 upon recorded evidence, and all causes above that sum

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and not exceeding 100 Rs. shall be investigated through a Panchâyat which they shall convene for that purpose. The Párapatiagárs shall take cognizance of all civil suits arising within their respective nâds. Appeals against the decision of the Párapatiagárs lie to the Kacheri of the Subadár. 692 177 671

60. In hearing and determining civil suits the Párapatiagárs shall be assisted by the Shánabógas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Shánabógas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Párapatiagárs, each complaint being entered in the order in which it may be received and will forward them after being signed by the Párapatiagárs to the Subadár's Kacheri.

61. The Subadár shall try and settle causes to the amount of Rs. 100 on his own responsibility; but in cases, where the sum in litigation may be above that sum and not exceeding Rs. 200, he shall assemble a Panchâyat and settle them. The Subadárs shall take cognizance of all suits arising within their respective taluqs.

62. In trying and determining suits, the Subadár shall be assisted by the Sheristadars and the Gumastas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Sheristadars and the Gumastas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Taluq-Kacheri, entering each plaint in the order in which it may be received and forwarding them monthly to the Daryâft-Kacheri.

63. A Kacheri, denominated the Daryâft-Kacheri, and composed of one of the three Devâna and the Karanika or any two of these, accordingly as they may be engaged or otherwise in their respective and more specific duties, has been established at the Huzur. It shall hear all appeals against the decision of the Subadárs and determine them. This Kacheri shall decide on its own authority causes from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000 upon recorded evidence.

64. All causes above Rs. 1000 and not exceeding Rs. 3,000 shall be inquired into and settled by a Panchâyat which

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692 will be convened by the Daryáft-Kacheri. The Daryáft-
671 Kacheri assisted by a Panchayat shall make inquiry into
177 causes beyond Rs. 3,000 and submit the proceedings to the Huzur and carry its orders into effect.

65. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall be assisted by two Mut-
693 sudies of the Devan-Kacheri in writing the proceedings of
671 the inquiries they make. The Mutsudies are to keep registers
177 of all suits decided by the Daryáft-Kacheri and preserve in regular order the records connected with that Kacheri, distinct from that of the Devans. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall submit for the perusal of the Huzur these registers monthly.

66. The plaintiff and defendant in a cause shall be allowed to employ their relations or agents to plead before the Párapatiagárs, the Subadárs and the Daryáft-Kacheri, as also before the Panchayats assembled by them, furnishing them with power for that purpose.

694 67. The plaints shall clearly state the name and residence
671 of the complainant as well as of the person complained
177 against, the grounds on which the complaint is founded, the amount of value of the property claimed and all such circumstances as may serve for the elucidation of the case.

68. The Párapatiagárs or Subadárs may send peons either with a verbal message or written summons (yádást) to the defendant, directing him to appear in order to answer the complaints preferred against him.

69. The complainant shall be directed to accompany the peons entrusted with the summons, or otherwise to send relations or agents for the purpose, indicating the residence of the defendant and identifying his person.

695 70. After the defendant makes his appearance the com-
671 plaint shall be read over to him and he shall be directed to
177 give an answer to it on a day which shall be fixed, he being furnished with a copy of the complaint.

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71. On the delivery of the answer by the defendant who ought to state therein what he may have to say, a copy of it shall be sent to the plaintiff. The latter shall be required to give his reply within a prescribed time and after he delivers it, a copy of it shall be furnished to the defendant and he shall give a rejoinder. Afterwards the plaintiff and the defendant shall be directed to give in a list of the witnesses whom they wish to produce. The depositions of the witnesses shall be taken with all possible expedition and they shall be ordered to return to their homes or respective employments. The Párapatiagár or Súbadár shall then decide the cause according to justice and the custom of the country. 695 671 177

72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he hás wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Panchâyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Panchâyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Panchâyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

73. Where Panchâyats are assembled for investigating any dispute, the parties shall be caused to give written agreements binding themselves to abide by the decision of the Panchâyat. After the award is passed, the parties shall be 695 671 177

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695 671 177 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be taken from them.

74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 671 177 694 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an individual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 671 177 694 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses may be residing in another country, the district-servants are to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 177 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
681 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
[681] with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Police.

671 177 625 [635] 41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

671 177 625 622 43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

[685] [628] 47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

000 48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having
died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the 671
spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall 177
examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks [625]
of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with [682]
what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them.

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be [635] particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief.

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not [635] extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police [692] of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals [625] may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded.

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property [768] and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed.

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of [766] leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

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53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the deceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the headman of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

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[671]

Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high 648
and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg.

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during 177
the last ten years the[1] admission of pleaders into the Courts 692
and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary.

Before the 1*st December* 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided 635
over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal juris- 692
diction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town- 177
Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and [634]
police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchâyatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1*st December* 1868 *the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of* 1868 *came into operation.* Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of . . . . . Rs. 100.

Subadárs of the the 1st class	„	300.
Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class .	„	1000.
Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class . .	„	3000.

The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

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671 692 177 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner; but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! [1] However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 177 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the [692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

[1] [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 99a — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ríots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable" neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 974 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: this should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 565 701 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards, escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 651 433 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660¼, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 731 423 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

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and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of
567 British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question
648 to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by
423 the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then
427 prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-
648 lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

1st to the holder of the farm,
2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,
3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by
423 the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had
427 availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

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to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

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It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,872¼ butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Deváns, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

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Waste land, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,		311
35 „ 50 „	four	„ „ „	651
above 50 „	five	„ „ „	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—,it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [184]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 at the rate of Rs. 2—8 per 100 butties, the whole extent of Umbali-tenure would be about 448,900 butties.

651 423 622 An addition, at least in name, to these Umbali-holdings has been lately made at the recommendation of Capt. Cole, who proposed "that a fixed remuneration in the shape of a reduction in the assessment on the land, held by each Patél, be allowed to him as a "*Gaud-Umbali*" for the large additional work thrown on the Patéls by the effects of advancing civilization, by the opening out of the country and by the settlement of Europeans." This measure was hailed with satisfaction by the Patéls; most of them fixed the Umbali on the hereditary lands of their houses and in some cases the Umbali amounted to the entire assessment on their lands, which by this remission became virtually Jhágir or free, so that the "Gaud-Umbali" should be classed with the Inám-lands or freeholds.

651 423 The *Jódi-tenure* (from the Can. jódi, a favourable quit-rent) is the holding of land which has been alienated to the office of the Patéls in the Yélusávirashíme- and Nanjarájpatna-taluq and for the maintenance of religious establishments, in all parts of Coorg. Half of its original assessment having been relinquished in favour of the holders, the Sirkar receives only Rs. 5 per 100 butties as from Jamma-land. Like this the former cannot be sublet and, if left uncultivated, it is at the disposal of the district officers and may be given by them to any ryot on Ságu-tenure, when 5 Rs. of the land-tax are paid to Government and the other 5 Rs. to the religious establishment to which it belongs. The revenue of the Jódi-tenure in 1869-70 was Rs. 5,930—5—7.

All these different holdings were liable to three additional taxes payable to Government viz: ghee-house- and Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The *ghee-tax* amounted to half a seer of ghee for every 100 butties of land and was paid in consideration of the Sirkar's expense on feasting the Coorgs, who assembled at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the Huttari- and Ganri-feast at the Rájah's palaces for exhibiting their national dance, accompanied by singing and instrumental music. At the general request of the people it was abolished, as the English Government neither fed nor gave the dancers presents on these occasions. 651 423

The *house-tax* is paid by every farmer at the rate of 9 As. 7 P. per family, Pariahs paying only half that sum. Merchants and other classes pay according to their caste or trade from 3 As. 2¼ P. to 3 Rs. 10 As. 10 P. per house. 243 423 651

The *Dhúli-paddy-tax* was originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily given to the Haléri-Jangam who first pretended to be satisfied with an offering of the refuse paddy (Dhúli *Can.* dust) but, who on having usurped the Coorg Samsthán, imposed the tax by right on all ryots, vide p. 230. Since 1834 the rule was, that ryots, cultivating from 25 to 50 butties of wet land, had to pay ¾ of a butty of paddy—but no refuse!—and for 50 and upwards 1¼ butty of paddy to Government. In Gadinád and Yedavanád the ryots paid three Hannies or six seers in addition to every rupee paid for the land rent instead of the Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The paddy thus collected amounted in 1835 to 3,323 butties and in 1868-69, when this impost was commuted into a money payment of Rs. 3—3—7 per 1¼ butty or 120 seers,—this being the average market price of paddy for the 5 previous years—, it yielded Rs. 18,304—6—3 which at the above rate represents 8,516 butties, an increase of nearly 2¼ times and a considerable item in the land revenue!

The *Inám-holdings*, or rentfree lands, are either granted to religious institutions or for service rendered to the State and represent a nominal land-tax of Rs. 17,298—8—4. For *Dry-cultivation* the land is divided into fields and pieces of ground, denominated in the Registers respectively "Sargas" and "Tundus," each of the latter measuring from one to two cawnies and the former comprising from one to eight tundus. 423 651

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 Though the name, situation, size and extent of each tundu is minutely specified in the Registers, no mention is made of their estimated produce. Practice has, however, established the rule, that Government should receive one sixth of the gross produce, which in 1869-1870 effected a revenue of Rs. 9,362—3—5. When several families unite in cultivating pieces of dry land, each ryot contributing his share of labour and agricultural stock according to his means and receiving a corresponding proportion of the produce, such a farm is called "Hola-kula" or family field. The house-tax is, however, collected from each ryot.

423 651 245 With the year 1866-67 a new source of land revenue arose from the *assessment on land* taken up *for coffee cultivation*. After much deliberation and correspondence on the part of the "*Coorg Planters' Association*" and *Government*, the latter finally resolved in October 1863, to abolish the "Halut" or excise duty of 4 as. per maund of 28 lbs., or one rupee per hundredweight of clean coffee and to substitute on acreage rental on the following terms:

From the first to the fourth year the land is rentfree from the date of acceptance by the District Officer of the tender for the grant.

From the fifth to the ninth year one rupee per acre on the whole area, except a certain proportion of waste grass land.

From the tenth and subsequent years two rupees on the same area.

The Planters' Association (in September 1864) expressed itself entirely satisfied with these Rules which on the whole were considered both "just and liberal." A six years' experience, however, under adverse circumstances of bad seasons, Bug and Borer convinced the Planters, that the assessment, having been fixed upon too sanguine expectations of coffee-produce and therefore wrong premises, had turned out to be unjust and illiberal, and in some instances had become actually

oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

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shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656 423 425

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold.

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and boundaries of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ less than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency beyond $\frac{1}{10}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{10}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the ____ day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of ____ of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. ____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of ____ in ____ of the ____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: ____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

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And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18 — to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area.

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And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the.... day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____in the taluq ____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

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The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

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Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

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VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 5th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over. 651 423 245

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Náds, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Báne-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Náds, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is 651 423 249

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government
423 was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!
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General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagárs of Nádu bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close,
423 we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue
635 and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

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Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhóga shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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423 (kei-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Hazur."

635 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government
634 allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee	of assessment in	January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

651 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-*
423 *bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceeded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs. 89,915.		1854-55	Rs. 128,917.
1839-40	" 102,270.		1858-59	" 145,949.
1844-45	" 108,498.		1864-65	" 167,803.
1849-50	" 127,118.		1869-70	" 150,661.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

b. *Forest Conservancy.*

A glance at the Coorg Forests and their general Flora, as stated in page 16 ff., will show, that the formation of a Forest Conservancy Department in 1864 was an absolute necessity, and it is only to be regretted, that it was not five years earlier in operation, before some of the finest forests fell under the Planters' axe. There is, however, still scope enough for the energy and talents of a well trained Forest Officer in Coorg, and the more a scientific system of working the reserved forests is introduced such as was originated by Dr. Brandis and carried out in Burmah and other parts if India,[1] especially in the Madras Presidency under the able direction of Dr. Cleghorn and Major Beddome, the better will be the prospects of an ever increasing revenue from this department, which seems not yet to be in a very flourishing condition. Being left without rules fixed by law, the Forest Officer cannot act with that authority which is due to his position and necessary to the interests of Government. 654 185

Of the trees reserved by Government, Sandal and Teak are its monopoly, the Kuve or Poonspar is sold at the rate of Rs. 20 per tree, Blackwood and Anjili are sold at Rs. 10 and Ebony, Hone and Irupu at Rs. 6 per tree. All other timbers, bamboos and firewood are allowed free to the ryot paying land revenue to Government and also to all Government servants in Coorg whose pay does not exceed 10 Rs. per mensem, without written permission or any prohibition whatever, except that only mature trees must be cut and that the timber must be used solely for bona fide agricultural and building purposes and not for sale. For the same kind of trees which are free of charge to the ryots, traders have to pay from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4—8 per tree and Rs. 6 per 1000 bamboos, whilst non-ryot residents, if for their own use, pay only half price. 655 185 654 [435] [435]

[1] [Errata: This should read "of India". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 494 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

655 654 185 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

[651]

1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . .	"	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	"	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . .	"	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 648 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, 1/1 Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

1/1 [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 999 — Ann Hist.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extensive cultivation of coffee and the consequent acreage-assessment rendered a Revenue-survey necessary and the Field-establishment organised in 1863 under the superintendence in succession of Mr. Plumb, Lieut. W. Freeth and Lieut. R. M. Clerk has ever since been at work. A detailed revenue survey of thousands of petty holdings is, however, a far more laborious and tedious task than a topographical survey, and consequently requires much more time. As a beginning of a new topographical survey of Coorg, Horurnúrokkalnád in Mercara-talu: has been completed by Lieut. Freeth, and the work is continued by Lieut. Clerk along with the revenue survey. The reasons given for the delay in completing the operations of the survey are the reduction of the establishment, interruptions from heavy monsoons, subordinates being prostrated with fever etc. added to the incorrectness of the data upon which calculations were based.

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648
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The mapping of the field-work is executed in the Madras Central Office.

Memo. shewing the number of estates surveyed, mapped etc. from the commencement of Survey in 1863 up to 31st March 1870.

Estates Surveyed.	European.		Native.		No. of estates mapped.	No. of estates lithographed.	Remarks.
	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.			
2365	168	64809	2197	29496	1592	1164	Horur-núrokkalnád topographically surveyed and mapped—Area 20856 acres, at a cost of Rs. 2075 or 1 As. 7 P. per acre.

There are still about 21 European and 1,753 native estates to be surveyed. The cost to the Planter of surveying

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

654 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three
648 annas per acre.
651

d. *Abkári.*

651 Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or
273 sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best
[656] intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet
273 and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret
178 of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country. 273 178 [177]

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery! 656 273 [178] [655]

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád. 653

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 Coorg is crossed by two trunk-roads from east to west
491 and from north to south, intersecting each other at Mercara,
653 and by a branch-road near Vírájpet the western and eastern highroads are connected.

Previous to the occupation of the country by the British in 1834, the roads were in a primitive state, wholly impracticable for wheeled carriges and scarcely less so for bullocks, it having been part of the policy of the Rájahs, to render their country as little accessible as possible, from an idea common to the mountaineers in all parts of the world, that the chance of invasion and conquest was thereby diminished. For the same reason some of the more direct and practicable lines, leading to Mercara were shut up and travelling by them prohibited.

The *Eastern trunk-road* from Mysore enters Coorg at Frasrpet, where it crosses the Kávéri, which is spanned by a fine masonry bridge of 7 arches and 516 feet in length. The part of the line between Frasrpet and Mercara is 19¼ miles in length and was commenced in January 1835 and completed in 1837 by a detachment of Sappers under Capt. Underwood, Lieuts. Randall, Doria and Fast. The Kávéri-bridge, however, was built in 1846-48 by Capt. Ch. J. Green with the material of the dismantled Fort at Frasrpet. It bears the inscription: "The Most Noble George Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, Major-General Mark Cubbon Commissioner of Mysore. Frasrpet Bridge. The first stone of this bridge was laid on the 1st day of January 1846 by Capt. W. G. Onslow, Superintendent of Coorg and it was opened to public traffic on the 12th day of May 1848. Charles James Green, Capt. in the Madras Engineers, Architect."

[485] To break the distance of 19¼ miles, there is a Traveller's Bangalow at Suntikoppa, 9 miles from Mercara. The elevated situation is pretty, but the present condition of the Bangalow wretched.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The upper portion of this road near Mercara has in several places too steep a gradient and should, as the Chief Engineer proposes, be reconstructed. The *Sampáji-Ghat* or the line from Mercara towards Mangalore, which, however, ought to be called "*Fast's Ghat*" in honor to the professional skill of the young Engineer Officer who planned and executed this great work and who fell a victim to jungle-fever, was commenced after the monsoon in 1837 and offered considerable engineering difficulties, as it followed for many a mile through dense jungle. It is for the most part very direct; the soil is generally good and, except in two places, so gentle is the slope down the Ghat of 19¼ miles in length, that for bandy traffic it offers no difficulty. Between the 9th and 10th miles only the gradient for a very short distance is as much as 1 in 12 and 1 in 6 or 7. The total fall in the first 15 miles of this Ghat is about 2900 feet, which gives 1 in 37 for the whole line. From the foot of the Ghat to Sampáji, 4¼ miles, the fall is only 55 feet. The cost of cutting out the roadway of these 19¼ miles, including the removal of rocks, trees, etc. but without bridges amounted to about 3500 Rs. per mile, exclusive of the pay of the Sappers and cost of tools. Whithin a short time the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, whilst the easy access to a market gave stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg and with the advent of coffee-planters, whose extensive estates line both sides of the road, its importance became invaluable. 648 491 653

The stages on this road from Mercara are: 6 miles to Madyanád, 14 to Sampáji, 13¼ to Sulya, 11 to Káu, 10¼ to Puttúr, 15 to Pánemangalore, 7 to Feringapet and 9 to Mangalore with a Traveller's Bangalow at each stage and all in healthy localities except that at Sampáji. 491 [485]

The road from Cannanore into Coorg through the Periambády Ghat and the Anachaukur road were finished some twelve years later, chiefly for military purposes. The line [653]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

491 from Vírájpet to Mercara was made shortly afterwards. A continuation of this line to the north of Coorg from Mercara to Kodlipet was commenced in 1862 and opened for traffic in 1868.

491 485 Considering the *Cannanore-road*, its first 2¼ miles leading out of Mercara are excessively severe, in several places the gradients being 1 in 9. The total fall in this descent of 2¼ miles is about 550 feet, giving 1 in 24 over all. Beyond the 7th mile a high arched bridge leads over the Muttaremutha and between the 9th and 10th miles the well situated, clean and comfortable Bangalow at Murnád invites the traveller. Beyond the 12th mile the river Kávéri is crossed by a ferry and thence to Vírájpet, the road is pretty level and throughout in excellent condition. Four miles from Vírájpet the Periambády Ghat commences which was laid out by Capt. Francis and is down to Urti about 10 miles in length with a fall of 2682 feet. From the head of the Ghat, which is 3141 above the sea level, the descent varies from 1 in 18 and 20 to 1 in 30, but two miles from the head to the Wottekolli public bangalow, a distance of three quarters of a mile, there is a distressing gradient of 1 in 10 and 12. The road after this is easy and level in places to beyond the fourth mile from which it drops down to Urti—6 miles from Wottekolli—with generally far too steep a gradient. On the Coorg frontier the Kalla-hole, a mountain torrent coming down from the western slope of the Ghats, is to be crossed by a good bridge. Urti is 38 miles from Cannanore and 459 feet above the sea. There is no public bangalow, but a pretty one at Gunot, 7 miles further on near the united Kalla-hole (stony-river) and Bara-pole which river flows at a little distance behind the bangalow and offers attractive sport to the lover of the "gentle art." As to a journey down the Ghat, it is replete with ever varying charms, reminding the tourist of the finest mountain scenery of Scotland, Wales or the Black Forest in Baden. And

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

And

such glorious forest trees of Poon, Sampige, Red Cedar Anjili, Hone, etc.! To see them and travel under their shade is worth a long journey. From Gunot to Cannanore or Tellicherry the road runs level and affords easy travelling. Near Ulil or Chávachári, 22 miles from Cannanore, a large wooden bridge resting on high stone pillars crosses the Gunot-river, but a public bangalow is only found at Shalot, 12¼ miles from Cannanore. 491 485 [137]

At the head of the Periambády Ghat a highroad branches off into Mysore by way of Bittangala 5 miles, Hattúr 3 miles, Tittimatti 9 miles, Anechaukur 4 miles, Panchally 6 miles, Honasur 11¼ miles, 4 miles from which place it meets the Mysore-Fraserpet road. Except between Anechaukur and Tittimatti the road is easy and generally in good condition, and since the Gonikoppa-bridge near Hattúr has been finished, at the sacrifice of the life of Mr. R. Hunter, a most promising Engineer Officer, there is no difficulty for wheeled carriages from Mysore to Cannanore, a distance of 113 miles. The public bangalows on this line are excellent in the Mysore country, but very indifferent in Coorg and Malabar.

To cut off two sides of a triangle a branch-road, 3 miles long, has been constructed from Vírájpet to Bittangala for the Mysore cart-traffic. It is hoped, that the Mysore railway may yet extend to the eastern frontier of Coorg!

The *Northern highroad*, lately constructed by Mr. Stottard, connects Mercara with Manjerabad by way of Sómawárpet and Kodlipet, 44¼ miles to the latter town. The line having been laid out under stringent regulations in regard to gradient, and the trace receiving great attention by Capt. W. Campbell, the result is a road with uniformly the easiest gradients in the Province. Most of the roadway is 18 feet wide. The smaller streams are all bridged over; for the Choran-hole a three-arched masonry bridge of 65 feet is proposed; for the Mattapúr a single-arched, and for the Hatte-hole a three- 491

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

491 arched bridge. For the present these rivers are crossed in
485 the dry season by rough stone causeways, but during the monsoon no carts can pass. There is no public bangalow on this line. During the last few years avenue trees at regular distances have been planted by the ryots along these high-roads and future generations will enjoy the benefit of this benevolent measure.

A line of equal importance, but unfinished though practicable for carts, is Col. Stuart's (vide p. 339) road from Vírájpet into Mysore by way of Anandapur and Siddápur, whence a branch, traced by Messrs. Stoddard and Gramatzki and opened out by Mr. J. Hunt, leads on the right bank of the Kávéri to Fraserpet. To avoid the steep Mercara ghat-roads for the through-traffic from Mysore to Mangalore, a new trace has been cut by Lieut. Clarke and Mr. Gramatzki to connect the Periapatna-Siddápur road with the Sampáji-ghat-road, placing in its line the iron girder bridge which is to span the Kávéri; but under the present financial difficulties the scheme has been postponed; likewise the opening up of a cart-road through Kiggatnád into Wynád, the trace of which only has been cut by the same engineers. Roads proposed are those from Bhágamandala to Sulya, from Bhágamandala to Nálkanád and Vírájpet and Bhágamandala to Mercara. The Rájah's road from Mercara to Nálkanád is still in use, but it is impracticable for carts. Here and there it is still lined with stately avenue trees.

In addition to the roads, designed and carried out from Imperial funds, others have been constructed by planters from private sources without any Government assistance, so that, for pack-bullocks at least, the country is opened up in every direction, but for the increasing traffic better means of communication are required and the proposed roads would supply every want.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

5. POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

Besides the regular postal service with Offices at Mercara and Vírájpet, there is a local post called Anché, originally established by the Rájahs and still principally used for official communication between the district functionaries and the heads of departments, who are exempt from postage, but it is open also to the public both for letters and packages on the same terms as the Queen's Post. By its means 160,999 letters, etc. have been despatched in 1869-70, whilst the Queen's Post at the two offices transmitted 147,309 letters, etc. over the three lines, Mercara—Mysore,—Cannanore,—Mangalore. For the Anché-tappál there are five lines: 205

1.	from Mercara to	Frasérpet	20	miles.
2.	" "	Kiggatnád	35	"
3.	" "	Kodlipet	46	"
4.	" "	Nálkanád	20	"
5.	" "	Madyanád	5	"

In localities away from these lines postal communication is very imperfect and public business much impeded and often seriously inconvenienced.

Mercara has lately become the Head-quarters of the Malabar Coast Division of the *Government Telegraph Department* and consequently the Bangalore, Cannanore, and Mangalore lines are here united and Mercara is brought into telegraphic communication with all parts of the civilized world. During 1869-70 1595 messages have been received and despatched, and yielded an income of Rs. 1,798—8. 655

6. MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

Considering the military services rendered by the Jammaryots in the times of the Coorg Rájahs and their martial spirit and loyalty, so often applauded by the English Government, 701 648

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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648 it may cause surprise, that no advantage has hitherto been taken of such excellent material for local military service, by organising all able-bodied men into a Coorg militia under English Officers and keeping a small body of men for short periods on duty at Mercara, instead of a Sepoy-Regiment, especially since it was the loyal Coorgs and not the Sepoys, who suppressed the insurrection anno 1837. Lately some proposal was indeed put forward to abolish Mercara as a military station, but the strategical position of the country, adjoining the foreign territory of Mysore on the one side and the Mopla inhabited districts of Madras on the other, was deemed of sufficient importance, to continue its occupation by a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

712 Mercara having been declared a *Military Cantonment*, (vide page 1009 Fort St. Georg Gazette 1856) the following are the specifications of bearings and distances of its boundaries.

Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
1	210°	312	Station 1. Opposite entrance to Fort. Boundary follows outer side of main road to station 5.
2	201	235	
3	174	315	
4	131	288	Station 5. Opposite the gate of the Roman Catholic Priest's house; boundary leaves the main road and ascends the hill in rear of the Roman Catholic Priest's house, skirting the compound which it leaves outside the limits, it continues to follow the crest of the range of hills overhanging the Mangalore ghat till it reaches Station 18.
5	261	150	
6	181	173	
7	126	77	
8	148	73	
9	200	374	
10	285	130	
11	275	191	Station 18. A slightly elevated peak intersected by a Coorg ditch and rampart, boundary follows this ditch down the slope of the hill to the burying ground which it encloses, traversing its west and south side to station 20 and thence descending the valley in which the Lines are situated to station 21. At 330 feet it strikes the bank of a Nullah along which it continues to station 23. From 23 to 24 it runs through enclosed gardens
12	178	318	
13	261	184	
14	218	165	
15	259	90	
16	212	162	
17	185	181	
18	285	485	
19	23	175	
20	41	215	

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

712

Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
21	9	720	and thence follows a pathway till it reaches the Artillery drivers-lines which it encloses. It here skirts the edge of a hill (from station 29) and joins a bandy-road on the borders of a semicircular excavation at station 35.
22	347	280	
23	307	315	
24	0	200	
25	324	175	
26	337	95	
27	352	250	From station 35 boundary follows the bandy-road above alluded to till it joins the main road by a zigzag path at the commencement of the causeway leading to the town at station 39.
28	358	238	
29	39	236	
30	65°30'	188	
31	103	105	
32	145	150	From station 39 boundary follows the outer side of the main road to the north corner of the Artillery bullock shed compound; it then turns to the south enclosing the main road at station 42, continues along its outer edges as before till it terminates at station 1.
33	80	128	
34	51	27	
35	41	172	
36	81	78	
37	99	20	
38	70	240	
39	105	220	
40	77	310	
41	166	265	
42	201	340	

(Signed:) A. CUPPAGE, Lt. Col.
Comdg. Mercara.

Mercara,
26th Sept. 1856.

G. M. MARTIN,
Offg. Supt. of Coorg.

True Copy.

(Signed:) H. O'CONNELL Capt.
Ag. Dy. A. Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Army.

7. MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

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The requirements of the Military and Civil service in Coorg render the presence of a Medical Officer indispensable; it has been even proposed, to constitute Mercara into a separate charge of a Civil Surgeon, but Government thought the Military Doctor sufficient for all the wants of the station, considering probably, that the European settlers in the pro-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,016, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

8. EDUCATION.

It speaks well for the Coorgs, that no sooner were they brought under the English rule, than they expressed an anxiety for the education of their children. It was, however, in those days a difficult task for Government, efficiently to satisfy their wants. In 1834 an English and a Canarese School were established in Mercara and Vírájpet and a Canarese School only in Kiggatnád at a monthly cost of Rs. 90 for the whole educational establishment. The result was in due proportion. The Vírájpet School collapsed in 1842 and the teacher's pay was appropriated for the maintenance of five Canarese Schools. For a number of years this state of affairs continued and the annual educational Report ran thus in stereotyped fashion:—"There are (25) boys learning English and (429) learning native languages, making a total of (454) showing an increase (or decrease) of (8) boys in the English and (17) in the native schools." This was the beginning, middle and end of the educational Reports, excellent in their way, short and businesslike, entailing no waste of time in writing or reading them! They said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English, there were some difficulties. The Schoolmaster could not, of course, be expected to know more, than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Kacheri who was better paid. After 20 years of English tuition, there was not one Coorg who could write an English letter or make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who had acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine through the medium of the English language.

The teaching of the native languages, Hindustani at Mercara, and Canarese in the districts, consisted in reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplica-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

871 tion tables and, when the scholars had further advanced, the reading and writing of petitions (Arjis). Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men in the Kacheris felt quite happy in their complete ignorance, being cunning enough to look after their own interests. What more could be required? Their only care was to keep every thing in statu quo and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past.

871 In 1855, encouraged by Sir Mark Cubbon, Dr. Moegling,
177 the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, established an English
797 School at Mercara, the charge of which was placed into the hands of the Rev. G. Richter in May 1856 and in February 1857 the Supreme Government sanctioned a liberal grant for its support. Maintaining its missionary character, the Coorg Headmen, one of whom felt in particular its christianizing influence upon his sons, at first opposed the school with all their might, but the Head-sheristadar, Nanchappa, having been reconciled to the new order of things, the School began to flourish and gain the favour of the people. Unfortunately for Coorg and the School, the Devân Nanchappa, who was a high spirited and influential leader of his people and would have done much for the advance of education, suddenly died by a fall from his horse.

871 On the departure of Dr. Moegling to Germany in De-
177 cember 1860, Mr. Richter was nominated by Government Principal of the School and with the year 1861 a new period commences in the educational affairs of Coorg.

The educational scheme, proposed by the Principal and heartily approved of by the Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Commissioner and the Supreme Government, has ever since been gradually carried out and comprises, when fully established, the following features:—an unlimited number of Vernacular district-schools, five Anglo-vernacular schools

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2½ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 872

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been

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872 established at Vírájpet, Kiggatnád and Fraserpet with a total of 245 pupils are to serve a double purpose. Being affiliated to the Central School, they form for the younger children in the distant Náds convenient seminaries to learn near home the elements of English and in time supply the Central School with a better prepared class of scholars, who will at once join the third form. With the opening of two more Schools at Padynálkanád and Kodlipet, each taluq will have an English School. The teachers, with one exception are pupils of the Central School.

658 648 873 The *Central School at Mercara* gradually advanced to its present position, the first decisive step having been taken in 1862, when the Coorg Headmen petitioned Government for assistance. A copy of their Petition will show both the earnestness of the Coorgs and the extent of the scheme:—

From the Headmen of Coorg

To

Capt. JOHN CAMPBELL,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Headmen of Coorg, being the representatives of our countrymen, beg most respectfully to lay before you what is now uppermost in our minds and what appears to us of the greatest importance for the welfare of our people. If our humble petition should meet with your favourable consideration and approval, we would further beg you, to convey our wishes to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, J. Bowring Esq., with such recommendations and improvements as you may deem proper.

Though the noble generosity of the late lamented Chief Commissioner, General Sir Mark Cubbon, K. C. B., the blessing of education has been extended to us six years ago, though we did not appreciate it then, as we do now. Our minds were darkened and full of prejudice as to its possible effect; but the influence of the established English School at Mercara, its steady progress and the temperate, judicious and devoted manner in which it has been carried on for the last six years, have disarmed all our fears and we earnestly desire, that all our children should be benefitted by the instruction there given. The great influx of European settlers into our country makes the

[Errata: This should read "Through the the noble". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 494 -- AH.]

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education of our children appear to our minds doubly necessary, since our own ignorance renders our intercourse with the Planters difficult and disadvantageous to us.

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The peculiar circumstance, however, that Mercara, though the capital of the province, contains but a few Coorg-houses, enables only a limited number of Coorg boys to attend the school. To remedy this disadvantage, we have resolved to collect a sum of money amongst ourselves sufficient to build and endow a boarding house for about 100 boys.

The Coorg officials and the Pensioners (vide p. 365) are ready to contribute half a month's pay, which together with the subscriptions of the Coorg farmers will amount to about Rs. 6,000. This is all we can do at present; but we earnestly desire, that also our daughters should receive some education and for them we would have to build a similar house.

The question now arises, where to build the houses. Certainly near the School. The present English School, however, is on a slope of the hill on which the Fort is built and within military limits, it is enclosed by two roads, the compound belonging to it very small and in the vicinity no suitable spot available. The school-house itself, which was originally the Rájahs' elephant's stable and had afterwards been turned into a travellers' Bangalow, has no suitable arrangements for schoolrooms and does not admit of an increased number of scholars. It was the generous gift of Sir Mark Cubbon for the school and has answered its purpose very well for the beginning, but now it is too small and larger premises are required.

We therfore most humbly beg, that Government may give us a helping hand to carry out our plans. We propose to have all the School buildings required within the same compound and under the eye of the resident Principal, and for this purpose no other spot in Mercara seems to us in every respect more suitable than the site of the old palace. It is central, spacious and healthy. The few remaining walls would yield some building material and the foundations might serve for the new school-house with the Principal's dwelling; the compound would afford an extensive playground and gymnasium and enough room for a garden, to be cultivated by our children. We beg that this piece of ground be granted to us for this purpose.

We estimate the cost of the school-house, the Principal's dwelling, the boarding house and out-houses, the gymnastic apparatus and the laying out of the garden at about Rs. 20,000; towards which we bind ourselves to collect Rs. 6,000; the sale of the present school-house may yield Rs. 3,000 and if Government would grant the rest, we should feel deeply grateful.

Mr. Richter, the Principal of the English School, who has conducted it for the last six years and won our entire confidence, has not only given the

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first impulse to this movement, but also declared himself with his esteemed partner most willing, to carry out the proposed plans and since both have hitherto acted as father and mother towards our children, we have not the least hesitation in confiding them also for the future to their parental care; the inner arrangements of the boarding houses, however, will be managed by our own people.

On the proposed site our Rájahs built a palace for the sole accommodation of their English friends during their visits at Mercara, whom they hospitably entertained and amused with all the wild sports of our native country (vide p. 297 ff.); how much nobler would be the task of our present benevolent Rulers, if on the ruins of the same palace they assisted us in erecting the desired buildings for the accommodation of our sons and daughters and entertained them in the halls of wisdom and knowledge with sublimer sport than the wild jungles of Coorg could furnish; and while even these palace ruins are in some degree honorable to our late Rájahs, we are fully convinced, that the new buildings will be a more lasting and brighter memorial to the honor of the paternal Government of India!

From the kind interest, which we rejoice to hear, the present Chief Commissioner entertains towards us and especially in educational matters, we have great hopes of a favourable result of this Petition.

Assuring Government of our heartfelt gratitude for received favors and of our devoted loyalty, we subscribe ourselves

Sir,

&c. &c. &c.

Mercara, 26th August 1862. 65 Signatures.

In transmitting the Petition to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Capt. J. A. Campbell remarked:—

"I have the greatest satisfaction in being the medium of bringing this most interesting movement on the part of the people of Coorg to the notice of Government, and I beg to bear my testimony to the genuineness of the feeling expressed in this petition, both as regards the earnestness of the people to progress in knowledge, their readiness to make sacrifices in the cause, and the esteem in which they hold the present Headmaster and his wife, to whom they have already given so much of their confidence."

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The Petition was forwarded by the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, accompanied by the following letter:—

Sir,

I have particular pleasure in submitting to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg together with a request, which may be deemed a national one, on the part of the Coorg people to be admitted to those benefits of education which others in more favoured positions have already received.

There is a genuineness of expression about this address, which I beg to send in original, that, I feel assured, will secure the hearty approval of the Government of India. It has probably rarely happened in India that a whole race has come forward in this manner, putting aside traditional prejudices, to meet half way the earnest wish of their Rulers, that they should educate themselves, and it is especially remarkable among mountaineers in this country, as the hill races are generally far below those of the plains in their acquisition of knowledge.

I have informed the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg, that I would lose no time in laying the address before His Excellency in Council, and that I feel convinced, that the Government will receive with peculiar pleasure the spontaneous expression of the good will borne by the Coorg race towards their Rulers.

In respect to the site solicited, there is no difficulty, and I have signified my assent to its being made over for the School in conformity with the existing practice in regard to building grants at Mercara.

With reference to the sum required to enable the people to carry out their wishes, I have no hesitation in soliciting that the sanction of Government may be accorded to the project being undertaken, so that the Coorgs may receive early intimation, that their earnest wish for their own enlightenment has been made known to and has been approved of by the Viceroy in Council, as the knowledge of the interest, taken in their welfare by the Head of Her Majesty's Government cannot but be an additional link to bind them to British rule. The detailed accounts required for the Budget can be estimated for in due course.

The Government of India may perhaps also be pleased to make known their approval of Mr. Richter's exertions.

I have etc. etc.

Bangalore 27th October, 1862.

(Signed) L. BOWRING,
Commissioner.

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658 648 873 In the extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council in the Home Department, under date 15th January 1863 after a summary of the preceding correspondence: "The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the grant of a sum of money not exceeding Rs. 11,000 for the purpose indicated." "His Excellency in Council also notices with approbation the exertions of Mr. Richter, the Head Master of the School in question, who is stated to have won the 'entire confidence' of the people, and to have been the means of giving the first impulse to the present movement."

Rejoiced at the good news, the Coorgs enabled Mr. Richter to set at once to work. A building committee was formed consisting of the late Superintendent, Major Martin, and the three Head-Coorg-Officials, and having received the needful instructions at Head-quarters in Bangalore, the Principal planned and executed within the next five years under the most trying difficulties the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548—11—7, towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,721—15—5, the Europeans in Coorg Rs. 471, the sale of the old school-house produced Rs. 6,500 and the balance was liberally paid by the Government.

The boys' boarding-house is now being fitted up for occupation in the beginning of 1871 and the girls' boarding-house will shortly be ready too. It is being built by Colovanda Cariappah, the first Coorg pupil of the English School of 1856, and now Subadár of Mercara-taluq and always with his friend, Chepudira Soobiah, the staunchest and most liberal supporter of the cause of education amongst his people.

871 797 The Basel Missionary Society, in whose connection Mr. Richter hitherto stood, observed with uneasiness the extraordinary educational movement in Coorg and were apprehensive of being thereby involved in responsibilities which they considered foreign to their missionary operations; they

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came, therefore, to the resolution of dissolving in the most friendly manner, his connection with them, and Mr. Richter, since October 1863, fully entered the Government service in the Coorg Commission and the Society withdrew from any further interference and obligation in educational matters in Coorg. 871 797

The new Central School was opened in May 1869 and contains now 176 pupils of whom 12 are girls. Besides 93 Coorgs, there are 14 Christians, 28 Mussulmans, 3 Parsees and the rest other Hindus. 873

The course of instruction, here adopted, aims at a practical education, yet keeping in view the standard of the Matriculation test for the highest class. Divided into six classes, of which the Hindustani and Canarese classes are at the bottom, elementary instruction is first imparted by means of the Vernaculars, which in the higher classes gradually give way to English instruction and Canarese is studied only as a language. The girls, of whom seven are Coorgs, form only for needlework under Mrs. Richter's instruction a separate class, their other lessons they learn with the boys. In the lower and middle classes history is taught in Canarese and consequently the boys are well grounded in an intelligent knowledge of the subject. In geography a thorough knowledge of Coorg in Canarese prepares the pupils for a better understanding of India, Asia, and the Map of the World. Geometrical linear drawing with definitions lays the foundation for Euclid of which the First Book is taught in Canarese in the middle class, whilst the first class absolves the Third Book with deductions and mensuration of plain figures and of solids. Arithmetic leads up to decimals, the compound rule of three and evolutions; Algebra includes simple equations. The study of English comprises: Grammar, composition and analysis of prose and poetical selections; in the same way Canarese is studied in the two upper classes.

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873 At the request of Government, "Botany" has been added to the list of lessons of the first class. Singing is a general lesson for the musical boys and upwards of 60 Canarese and English songs are practised. The Gymnasium engages twice a week the whole School and the exercises are very popular. A library and some philosophical apparatus are aids for evening lectures for the further instruction of studious youths who left the School.

873 157 On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which generally distinguishes Brahmin youths. They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound common sense. In a competitive examination, the quick-witted Brahmin, though not half so well informed, will outstrip the Coorg lad; but give the latter time and he will maintain his place due to his real worth. Coorg 873 464 lads and others, trained in the Central School, are now found in every office of the various departments of Government in Coorg and some fill important posts; but it is to be regretted, that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them. Some time ago the openings in the offices were so many, that the young men could not resist the temptation of well paid employments under Government and relinquished their studies. For the same reason none of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the Matriculation examination, though, in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, "if these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the Matriculation test of the Madras University." (vide his Report of 1869-70.)

873 658 Foreseeing the difficulty of permanently supporting the boarding-houses without the aid of public charity or Government assistance, the general speculation in coffee in Coorg

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suggested a source of revenue, which was thought both legitimate and profitable. Some of the most public spirited and liberal minded Coorgs took up the idea and the following is the agreement concerning the proposed Endowment-Plantation:

"We the undersigned, Headmen of Coorg, taking a lively interest in the intellectual enlightenment of the sons and daughters of our countrymen, have by the advice of the Rev. G. Richter agreed upon and resolved to carry out the following plan:—

1. Having obtained as a free gift from the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, L. Bowring Esq., the two jungles Paramádu and Punchi in Yedenálknád,—a claim to which having been relinquished by the late Subadar, Colovanda Soobiah, in favour of the present undertaking—we bind ourselves by this document to raise at five per cent interest per annum from amongst ourselves and other Coorgs who are willing to join us, a sum of money sufficient for the purpose of opening a Coffee-plantation as an endowment for the Mercara Central School and its boarding-houses.

2. The subscribers choose amongst themselves six Coorgs as a committee, who together with the Principal of the Mercara Central School undertake the management of the whole business and who have power to fill up vacancies.

3. No part of the money thus lent can, before the execution of the plan, be withdrawn by any subscriber unless his subscription is refunded by a substitute. When the estate comes into bearing, from the proceeds of the year's crop a sum of money, sufficient for the working expenditure of the current year, is to be first deducted; of the remainder the interest of the subscribed money is to be paid to each subscriber and of the balance the capital is to be repaid in proportion to the amount of each share. The Plantation, however, remains mortgaged to the subscribers until their advances have been repaid.

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873 4. After the loan has been repaid, the Plantation will be for ever the property of the Mercara Central School and held in trust for the same by the appointed committee, but *the annual net profits can only be applied to educational purposes.*

5. The *disposal* of the money accruing from the Plantation rests solely with the managing committee, but the propositions of expenditure are made by the Principal of the Central School as the representative of Government and his vote is decisive, whenever the division of committee-members is equally balanced. The Principal will also carry out the resolutions of the committee.

6. If after due notice, four of the committee-members, the Principal included, are present at a meeting, they may pass final resolutions.

7. What money is required for every three months' operations, may be called up from the subscribers through the Secretary after one month's notice. The Principal of the Central School may convene a meeting of the committee once every three months or whenever circumstances render it necessary.

Clause. As the present Principal of the Central School has taken so great an interest in the welfare of the Coorgs and we may expect him to do the same also in future, we cheerfully accord him his position in our committee, but in case of the present Principal retiring from his post, his successor will have no claim to the same privileges and can be admitted only with the consent of the committee.

Mercara, 17th October 1863.

Chepudira Soobiah, 2nd Assist. Supt.
Coloranda Cariappah, Subadar.
Madanda Appachoo, Head-Sheristadar.
Konganda Appeya, Judicial Sheristadar.
Kolanda Appachoo, Muktasir.

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Bitionda Cariappah, Head-Moonshi. 873
Kuttetira Eyappa, Treasurer.
Korovonda Ponnappa.
Shamana.
Chaurira Appeya,
Timappeya Appeya.
Bittandra Mutteya.
Appaneravana Acheya."

The Plantation not succeeding so well as was anticipated, 871
though it is now in a hopeful condition, the Principal sug- 651
gested another plan and in September last (1870) the Coorg Headmen passed and submitted to Government for sanction the following resolutions:—

1. —"With the sanction of Government an *Educational Cess* should be levied on the ryots of Coorg in the shape of a plough-tax, the mode and extent of levying which is to be left with the Superintendent's approval and authorization, to the Headmen as on former occasions.

2. From the children of the ryots thus taxed, no schooling fees should be levied; the fees from other children in the *Anglo-vernacular Schools only* should be added to the local-cess-fund.

3. The money thus raised, which may amount to Rs. 3 or 4000, is not to supersede, but to supplement the ordinary educational Budget-grant and should be spent upon the *maintenance of the Mercara boarding-houses, the upkeep of the Vernacular and Anglo-vernacular school-houses and the extension of Vernacular education throughout Coorg.*

4. The management of the Cess-fund should be vested in the Principal of the Central School conjointly with the three principal Coorg Officials and the eight Subadárs."

Thus the Government system of education in Coorg may 658
be said to be of a comprehensive and an expansive character, resting on the sure and proper basis of Government assistance and conjoint local exertions and claiming the interest of all classes of the Coorg population. The work is still in its infancy, but promises well for the future.

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872 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are
797 the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were
162 in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg
795 Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a
643 tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame
175 the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-
[798] Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

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them in and about his capital. The Konkanis are noted for their industry and skill of adapting themselves to circumstances. Dodda-Vírájender eagerly welcomed them into his depopulated country, granted them land at Vírájpet, procured for them a Priest in the person of Father John de Costa, a native of Goa, assisted in building a chapel and allotted to its maintenance a stipend of 84 butties of paddy and a certain amount of oil and candles, which allowance his successors continued and which the English Government since 1835 commuted into a monthly grant of Rs. 20, "its continuance being dependant not only on the Priest's conduct, but that of his flock, in as far as he may justly be considered responsible for it." This stipend is now looked upon as the Priest's salary from Government and attempts have been made, to get it increased, but Sir Mark Cubbon declared: "that the amount, the Priest enjoyed, had no doubt been deemed proportioned to the ordinary duties of his office, but if called to the discharge of any extra duties by the requisition of the members of his congregation, the Commissioner conceived that the latter should contribute the means of enabling the Priest to meet such extra-official calls."

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Pastoral jurisdiction having been claimed by the Archbishop of Goa, the Rev. F. Bernardino De Sta. Agnes, Bishop-Coadjutor, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore addressed in 1846 the Superintendent of Coorg in the following letter:—

The Mission of Coorg, by a Firman passed by the Rájah in 1805, was founded to remain always under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, who has ultimately transferred it to me. No jurisdiction over it was ever or is now possessed by the Archbishop of Goa. The jurisdiction of His Grace does not extend beyond that Portuguese territory as shewn by various Bulls which have emanated from Rome regarding the same, but the Archbishop, actuated by certain national presumption, pretends to possess something like an omnipotence in the spiritual throughout the whole of India and therefore sends his emissaries to excite dissensions and disturbances among the Roman Catholics, subject to the Vicars Apostolic, and he has

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563 795 accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

[659] In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the [162] place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may [165] be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, as

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vocation that bespeaks the estimation in which they are held. Christianity has impressed no very awful sense of religion on its rude followers, who are subject to all the degradation, attaching to a profession of it in eastern countries; but a small share of the morality it inculcates is observable, and its votaries seem still to retain most of their ancient superstitions; indeed, if either the condition or character of these followers of it be taken as a criterion, the most sanguine could scarcely hope much good to result from a more general conversion to its divine doctrines." 563 795

A church and native congregation, chiefly of Tamil-Christians, the servants of Europeans, and pensioned sepoys, especially Sappers and Miners, have been established at Mercara and Fraserpet at which places periodically a European or Native Priest resides.

2. THE ENGLISH CHAPLANCY IN MERCARA.

Mercara containing a greater number of Europeans than Mangalore and offering a more salubrious residence, the chaplain of the latter station removed to the former in 1854[1] and Mercara was ever since under the spiritual care of a clergyman of the Church of England. His congregation, comprising civilians, military officers and planters, numbers over hundred souls. Through subordinate agency native Christians, especially Tamulians, have likewise been benefitted by the successive Chaplains and the heathens around have at least an opportunity of witnessing in a chaste church (vide p. 192.) the pure and simple worship of a Protestant congregation; and should all who profess and call themselves Christians be led in the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life, what amount[2] of good might thus be effected even by those who cannot speak to the natives in their tongue! There would certainly be less cause for taunting the Christian missionary with want of success! 797

1 The first resident Chaplain at Mercara, the Rev. Mr. Prosnett,
[Errata: This should read "in 1852". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 — Analyst]

2 [Errata: This should read "what an amount". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p 494 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

797 was appointed here in 1852. The Rev. Mr. Fennell B. A. succeeded him early in 1853, and the Rev. M. O. Deane B. A. took charge in December 1866, and was followed by Rev. J. Wyneh M. A. in December 1868, who left in December 1869, when the chaplancy was vacated till December 1870 and then filled by the Rev. C. H. Deane M. A.

3. THE PROTESTANT MISSION OF THE BASEL SOCIETY.

797 648 When the account of the reduction of Coorg arrived in England, considerable interest was awakened in behalf of the inhabitants of the new Province, whom British arms had delivered from cruel bondage, and whose brave and frank character seemed to establish a peculiar claim upon the sympathies of the friends of Indian missions.

General Fraser on the 10th June 1834 in a letter to Mr. McNaughton, the Secretary to the Government of India remarks:—

"There is not probably a spot of ground in all India of this limited extent capable of so much improvement as Coorg. The people appear to have little or no attachment to the debasing superstition of the country and their minds seem to me to be more open than those of any other Indians, I have seen, to be prepared for receiving the light of the Christian religion, while their intellect may be expected rapidly to expand under the influence of that education, they are themselves soliciting." The noble-hearted General offered his share of the prize-money as an endowment of a Protestant Mission and the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Societies were inclined to extend their operations to Coorg, but both Societies subsequently found, that they could not spare men for a new Mission at a distance from their older stations, and thus a good opportunity was lost. General Fraser subsequently established a school at Fraserpet which he endowed

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a sum of Rs. 300, the interest of which goes towards the teacher's pay. The school is now under Government management and incorporated with the Anglo-Vernacular School. 797 648 [871]

In the year 1834 the Basel Missionary Society commenced operations on the western coast, in the neighbourhood of Coorg, and extended their stations to the north and south. Mercara and Vírájpet were now and then visited; but no proposal was made to the Committee to occupy Coorg. Thus the country remained nearly twenty years under British rule without the establishment of a Mission, until Dr. Moegling in 1852 was in an unforeseen and singular manner led to commence the long delayed work.

Being on the point of returning to Germany to recruit his shattered health, he was visited by a Coorg man, disguised as a Sanyási, who applied for instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was an intelligent and astute Coorg and the story of his life highly interesting. Having been baptized on the 6th January 1853, Stephanas Someyah of Almanda in Beppunád, returned unexpected and unnoticed to his house. His wife received him with great joy and declared that she would live and die with him. On the following day Stephanas took formal possession of his house, and Dr. Moegling, who had accompanied him, resolved on standing by the family and becoming security to the creditors, who speedily assembled for the liquidation of the debts of the convert. Two days afterwards his neighbours and relatives drove him and his family out of their house at night and forced them to take refuge with the missionary at Vírájpet. The Superintendent enquired into the case and the Chief Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, to whom the matter was referred gave the following decision:— 797 578

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

To

THE SUPERINTENDENT

of Coorg.

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Sir,

The Commissioner, having had under consideration your various communications regarding the reception on his return to Coorg of one, Somiah who has left his caste, I have the honor, by his advice to convey to you his instructions as to the manner in which this and similar cases should be dealt with.

In the first place it seems to be admitted on all hands, that but for the fact of his having left his caste, Somiah, as the rightful head by inheritance of his branch of his family, had nothing to do but to return to Coorg and take quiet possession of his house and lands. There would have been no aggrieved party in this case, and it requires to be shown, that there is an aggrieved party in the case as it really happened.

If it be true, as stated in the papers under notice, and the Commissioner sees no reason to doubt that it is so, that several instances exist of individuals having become outcaste from their own religion and even converts to Mahomedanism and yet been allowed to remain in quiet possession of their estates; it is clear that degradation from caste for misconduct or on voluntary change of faith is not of itself regarded in Coorg as involving the deprivation of hereditary or self-acquired property. It is therefore evident in the present instance, that neither on national nor on caste grounds could there have been an aggrieved party, unless perhaps in the event of his wife and children and the other inmates of the house which he came to occupy, having felt themselves polluted by his neighbourhood. So far, however, is this from being the case, that it appears, that one and all of them preferred being turned out in his company in the middle of the night, to remaining under shelter of the roof without him; and it is moreover subsequently reported, that the wife and children lost no time in following his example and making a public renunciation of the faith in which they had been brought up.

Under these circumstances the Commissioner must regard the act of those people who violently ejected him from the house, of which he had been in quiet possession for nearly three days, as a gross and flagrant insult to the Government, only to be excused by their ignorance and their having been led away to a certain extent by the evil example of their Subadár Appachoo. Of the conduct of Appachoo himself, there can be but one opinion, but the Commissioner is not unwilling to overlook for once the error of an old and able

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

servant of the Government and trusts, that Appachoo will justify his good opinion of him by the cheerful alacrity with which he will replace Somiah in possession of the house and lands of which he was so illegally and violently deprived. 797 578

You will be good enough, carefully to explain the whole of the foregoing to all the parties concerned and at the same time inform them, that the civil courts are open to them, should they still consider that there are any legal grounds for depriving this convert of his inheritance."

&c. &c. &c.

The Coorg-family returned to their home in June; Dr. Moegling remained in their neighbourhood during the monsoon. With the beginning of the cold season he made preparations for building a little church and a dwelling-house on a piece of ground given by Stephanas to the Mission and the work of preaching at the principal market-places was commenced. Having taken all these steps without the Society's sanction, the founder of the Mission had to bear all the burden of its support and arrangement as well as the evangelistic labour for six long years. Strong in faith, however, he cheerfully and regardless of his prostrate health, devoted himself to his Master's work who did not forsake him in his daily wants. The publication of the "Coorg Memoirs" and the periodical reports of his work in the "Madras Christian Herald" greatly helped to interest the South-Indian public in his Mission. 797

A new Mission seldom thrives well under regulations unadapted to its peculiar circumstances and requirements and Dr. Moegling had the courage to trust, that he might be able unembarrassed to labour on, and his experience was, that he could gratefully and rejoicingly say, that no man should be discouraged by mere want of money from doing his duty! Whilst standing alone with his Mission, he still continued in connexion with the Basel Committee in everything except financial support and obedience to the rules of their conference as applied to the older stations.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

797 Meanwhile two more Coorg families joined him and Dr. Moegling, notwithstanding repeated attacks of jungle fever, remained at his post and continued to labour assiduously, preaching on market-days at Vírájpet and Mercara, visiting the scenes of the Coorg annual festivals and engaging in literary labours for the Government and the Bible Society. He was treated with great kindness and encouragement by the English Officials and by the other residents in Mercara. In 1856 he married the widow of a brother-missionary, who was herself practised in all the branches of mission work including translation into Canarese, and she proved to him in all his various labours a true and worthy helpmate.

[564] In the same year a number of families, comprising 130 souls, of the Holeyas or agricultural slave-caste (vide p. 112), who had assisted in building the Almanda church, applied for instruction. They were received and located in Ammatnád on a waste farm, which was taken from Government for the purpose, where they might maintain themselves by its cultivation under the direction of Stephanas. The farm was held by Dr. Moegling's spiritual son, the Rev. A. Kaundinya, one of the first Brahmin converts of Mangalore, who cheerfully undertook the risk and responsibility. The new settlement was named Anandapur (city of joy) and a simple residence and chapel were erected. In 1858, the departure one by one of the tried friends who had known the work from its beginning, and the altered circumstances of India after the Mutiny, induced Dr. Moegling to seek substantial connexion with the Church Missionary Society and he went to England and offered himself and the Mission to their acceptance. He was very kindly received by the Committee, but, after full deliberation, they considered it better, that he should make another effort to continue attached to Basel and, meantime, they gave a liberal grant of 500 ₹ to his work. Encouraged with this help, he returned to Coorg in January 1859 after

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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having effected a new connexion of the station with the Basel Society and so it still continues. Dr. Moegling in 1860 had to part with his excellent wife, who was ordered to Europe in broken health, and at the end of the same year he had himself to follow in thoroughly shattered health and reached Württemberg just in time to nurse her in her last illness. His own state of health did not allow him to return to India.

The work has been carried on by his successors: Revs. Kittel, Stokes, Kaufmann, Kaundinya and Schnepf with varying success and under great trials and disappointments. The Christians built for themselves new houses, the proprietor of the farm erected by his manager, Mr. Hahn, a substantial dwelling and a new church towards which the Government contributed Rs. 1,000; he also opened out a small coffee plantation to give additional and permanent employment to the colony, but though very hopeful at first, the devastation by the Borer was here so complete, that the whole plantation was destroyed.

Unfortunately the locality of Anandapur being in a bamboo district and only partially and newly cleared, has not proved a healthy one; the native as well as the European residents were frequently prostrated by fever, the Missionaries Kittel, Stokes and Schnepf and Mr. and Mrs. Hahn had to leave the station on account of ill-health from severe attacks of fever and both the late pastor Mr. Kaufmann and his wife fell victims in 1869 to the Coorg fever, contracted at Anandapur.

According to the last census of the Coorg mission in 1869-70 there are 50 communicants and 7 non-communicants, 42 children, 12 catechumeni, and the parochial school is attended by 23 children.

Considering the abject and degraded position of most of these Christians before their conversion, the social, intellectual and religious standing of this colony cannot be expected to be very high; but, in spite of much weakness and grievous

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

797 shortcomings, evidences are not wanting of visible and genuine christian and spiritual life.

Of the nine Christians from amongst the Coorgs, and of Stephanas in particular, not much good can be said, in fact several of them disgraced by their conduct the christian name among their own people and proved to them a stumbling block. Stephanas, being insincere and of a divided heart, as it seems, from the very beginning, was at last found out in his secret course of wickedness and had to be excommunicated. He is suspected, to have afterwards in a fit of revenge set fire to the Almanda chapel and dwelling-house in 1867 both of which were utterly demolished, and then disappeared from the country without any trace of his whereabouts. Perhaps he has again become a Sanyásil His son, now in the Mangalore Theological Seminary, will perhaps strive, to redeem his father's discreditable Christian career. Stephanas' two married daughters at Mangalore lead a becoming christian life. Their mother died, her last years being beclouded by insanity.

Thus far General Fraser's hopeful view of the Coorgs' preparedness for embracing the Christian religion, when the opportunity was offered to them, has not been realised. To what causes this failure may be ascribed, it is difficult to say. The unpalatable defeat of some of the Coorg headmen in Stephana's affair, the loss of the 130 Holeyas of Beppunád who joined the Missionary, the Coorgs' jealousy of the moral and social improvement of their former slaves, their fancied apprehension of their own degradation to an equal footing with them on becoming Christians, the inconsistent life of some of the Coorg converts, the natural propensity of the Coorgs to, and success in material prosperity of late years and the concomitant selfindulgence, their more frequent intercourse with Europeans, the increasing influence of Brahmins upon the superstitious Coorgs—these and other circumstances

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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may have led to such a result. Perhaps General Fraser formed his opinion, before he had sufficiently made himself acquainted with the Coorg character, though he was a very shrewd observer, or perhaps the providential time has not yet come for such a decisive step by the whole Coorg-clan and his opinion may still be an unfulfilled prophesy; but however this may be, we believe, that Dr. Moegling's labors in Coorg have not been in vain. The good seed, sown by his evangeliatic and educational efforts, has struck ground and others will with joyful hearts reap the fruit of his prayers and tears and at the harvest time will cherish, with grateful recognition of his merits, the memory of Dr. Moegling, the accomplished, devoted and faithful founder of the Coorg Mission!

In connexion with the "Mercantile Association" of the Basel Mission, there is at Mercara a mercantile establishment under a European married agent, which, while serving the secular interests of the Mission, gives useful employment to a number of native converts and teaches them also in this path of life to honor their calling as Christians.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Appendix I.

Statement shewing the dates of assumption of charge of the Chief Commissioners and the Superintendents of Coorg.

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Date of assumption of charge.	Names of the Chief Commissioners.
3rd March 1834	Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser.
18th January 1836	Lieut. Col. Mark Cubbon.
1st March 1861	C. H. Saunders Esq., C. B.
21st April 1862	L. B. Bowring Esq., C. S. I.
10th September 1866	C. B. Saunders Esq., C. B.
11th November 1867	L. B. Bowring Esq., C. S. B.
21st February 1870	Col. R. J. Meade, C. S. I.
	Names of the Superintendents.
2nd September 1834	Captain C. F. Le Hardy.
11th March 1843	do. G. Haines.
2nd March 1844	do. W. C. Onslow.
7th June 1846	do. H. F. Gustard.
16th January 1855	do. G. M. Martin.
27th October 1856	Major H. F. Gustard.
31st December 1856	do. G. M. Martin.
21st June 1859	Captain H. M. Elliott.
31st December 1861	do. F. M. Mc. Hutchin.
8th March 1862	do. Tredway G. Clarke.
28th April 1862	do. J. A. Campbell.
6th May 1862	Lancelot Ricketts Esq.
5th July 1862	Captain J. A. Campbell.
17th November 1862	do. Ralph N. Taylor.
20th July 1864	William Hobart Kerr Esq., M. C. S.
3rd March 1865	Captain Robert Andrews Cole.
13th October 1865	William Hobart Kerr Esq., M. C. S.
23rd February 1866	Captain R. A. Cole.
2nd July 1869	Lieut. Edmund S. Ludlow.
6th October 1869	Captain R. A. Cole.
2nd December 1869	Major Hugh Gordon Thomson.

Appendix II.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE COORG REVENUE.

Sources of Income.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Land Revenue	89,915	6	3	102,270	9	4	127,118	14	10	162,664	12	7	182,859	15	8	286,560	4	9
Forest	7,348	4	11	65,032	12	10	13,950	1	5	38,522	12	10	102,218	10	4	106,658	8	6
Excise on Spirits and Drugs	4,445	0	0	17,609	8	0	25,983	13	4	32,266	0	0	142,510	10	10	66,374	11	7
Assessed Taxes, etc.	5,797	13	4	8,076	6	7	9,733	15	9	10,955	3	11	13,333	7	5	3,027	13	0
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17,262	8	3	33,741	14	1
Post and Service Lables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,129	8	2
Post Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	1	2
Electric Telegraph	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,863	12	0
Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
Public Works	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70,480	3	2*
Miscellaneous	3,591	0	4	4,054	2	3	3,939	9	6	6,339	7	9	10,638	12	4	7,302	3	10
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,518	15	2
Sáyers or Inland Customs	5,923	14	2	8,267	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	117,021	7	0	205,310	15	6	180,726	6	10	250,748	5	1	468,824	0	10	594,460	5	6

Note:—Forest includes Cardamoms and Sandalwood.

Assessed taxes include Mohaturfa or tax on houses and shops, Income-tax and License-tax.

*Nearly the whole amount is a mere treasury-transaction for the accommodation of the Mysore Government.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Appendix III.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF CHARGES AGAINST THE COORG REVENUE.

Heads of Expenditure.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Civil Establishments	63,949	4	10	64,510	10	7	62,515	2	7	60,021	1	6	127,513	8	11	154,763	4	4
Judicial	1,841	0	11	5,191	8	1	7,570	15	8	7,696	15	2	12,827	9	0	19,308	4	5
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	831	0	5	2,532	9	5
Police	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,152	0	0
Public Works	0	0	0	75,350	11	11	51,519	15	10	21,446	1	1	92,595	0	4	124,651	7	10*
Education	626	6	4	1,080	0	0	1,080	0	0	3,870	0	0	18,160	8	0	14,088	7	5
Post Office and Anche	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,188	0	0	5,385	13	7
Superannuation and retiring allowances	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,972	12	0
Ecclesiastical	224	10	8	240	0	0	240	0	0	240	0	0	2,876	8	0	4,836	7	8
Allowances and assignments under treaties & engagements	127,946	6	7	141,801	7	11	93,216	3	10	25,670	3	10	26,661	9	9	21,469	11	5
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,788	3	1	7,873	1	4
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,322	2	5
Grand Total	194,587	13	4	288,174	6	6	216,142	5	11	118,944	5	7	301,441	15	6	360,356	1	8

*These charges are debited to the Imperial Revenue.

Appendix IV.

MERCURIAL BAROMETER-OBSERVATIONS AT MERCARA

REGISTERED BY REV. G. RICHTER WITH BLAND AND LONG'S INSTRUMENT.

Months.	1866.			1867.			1868.			1869.			1870.			Average.		
	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.
January . .	26·44	26·56	26·50	26·43	26·55	26·48	26·40	26·59	26·50	26·49	26·55	26 51	26·34	26·50	26·43	26·42	26·55	26·48
February . .	– 42	– 58	– 50	– 43	– 55	– 48	– 40	– 60	– 49	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 40	– 52	– 45	– 53	– 57	– 48
March . . .	– 44	– 57	– 50	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 40	– 55	– 50	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 41	– 53	– 49	– 43	– 57	– 49
April . . .	– 42	– 54	– 48	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 40	– 60	– 46	– 44	– 55	– 49	– 37	– 50	– 43	– 40	– 54	– 46
May . . .	– 32	– 52	– 42	– 26	– 48	– 38	– 34	– 55	– 47	– 35	– 55	– 44	– 32	– 45	– 39	– 32	– 51	– 42
June . . .	– 22	– 45	– 34	– 25	– 40	– 37	– 15	– 47	– 35	– 30	– 47	– 35	– 29	– 40	– 35	– 24	– 42	– 35
July . . .	– 30	– 42	– 36	– 30	– 45	– 36	– 29	– 40	– 35	– 30	– 45	– 36	– 28	– 38	– 31	– 29	– 42	– 35
August . .	– 27	– 44	– 36	– 29	– 45	– 34	– 25	– 45	– 36	– 29	– 40	– 34	– 30	– 40	– 34	– 25	– 43	– 35
September .	– 30	– 42	– 36	– 28	– 50	– 39	– 33	– 45	– 39	– 25	– 45	– 37	– 31	– 40	– 35	– 29	– 44	– 33
October . .	– 15	– 50	– 39	– 35	– 47	– 41	– 35	– 48	– 44	– 35	– 42	– 39	– 20	– 40	– 34	– 25	– 45	– 39
November .	– 41	– 54	– 47	– 40	– 53	– 49	– 35	– 50	– 47	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 30	– 52	– 42	– 37	– 53	– 46
December .	– 40	– 58	– 49	– 50	– 58	– 51	– 47	– 52	– 50	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 42	– 59	– 50	– 44	– 55	– 49

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Appendix V.

THERMOMETER-OBSERVATIONS AT MERCARA

TAKEN BY REV. G. RICHTER, WITH PASTORELLI & CO.'S AND NEWMAN & SON'S INSTRUMENTS.

Months.	1866.			1867.			1868.			1869.			1870.			Average.		
	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.
January . . .	52°	75°	63°	51°	79°	64°	51°	80°	67°	56°	76°	67°	50°	76°	63°	52°	77°	65°
February . . .	54	84	70	58	85	70	52	85	67	52	81	69	54	79	66	54	83	67
March . . .	54	85	70	55	85	71	54	85	70	54	84	70	56	82	69	54	84	70
April . . .	59	82	70	61	79	70	60	84	73	54	86	72	56	85	71	58	83	71
May . . .	67	76	72	64	78	71	62	83	72	61	84	72	59	81	71	62	80	72
June . . .	61	80	68	63	77	67	61	81	66	60	75	66	59	79	68	61	78	67
July . . .	61	70	64	61	75	66	60	77	65	61	75	65	58	67	63	60	73	65
August . . .	62	70	66	62	71	68	60	73	65	59	78	67	58	75	67	60	73	66
September . .	61	76	66	58	75	65	60	78	66	60	70	65	58	74	67	59	74	66
October . . .	59	76	64	62	77	68	57	78	68	58	74	66	55	75	66	58	76	66
November. . .	51	77	66	51	81	66	50	75	64	50	74	64	53	74	66	51	76	65
December. . .	52	77	65	53	80	65	53	76	65	53	75	63	51	75	63	52	76	64

Appendix VI.

RAINFALL AT MERCARA IN INCHES AND CENTS,

REGISTERED BY REV. G. RICHTER WITH MURRAY AND HEATH'S PLUVIOMETER.

Year.	Jan.	Febr.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
1863	0	0	0·45	1·25	2·30	4·78	41·74	39·46	22·95	10·08	10·98	1·40	134·99
1864	0	0	0	1·52	4.72	24·79	74·40	19·00	11·22	3·35	0·98	1·40	141·38
1865	0	0	1·23	2·50	9·33	21·17	64·82	36·91	9·08	2·84	2·28	0	150·16
1866	0	0	0	1·63	2·41	38·59	23·52	17·66	9·14	14·68	0·13	2·28	110·04
1867	0	0	3·70	1·46	8·56	19·89	37 47	19·80	14·02	6·07	0·03	0	111·00
1868	1·33	0	1·39	1·92	3·49	30·98	19·80	25·92	4·55	4·35	1·52	0	95·25
1869	0	0	1·22	2·12	2·05	26·24	44·18	14·14	11·75	9·86	1·90	0·20	113·66
1870	0·38	0	3·54	0·10	2·24	30·21	32·29	19·66	11·68	6·64	1·82	0	108·56
Average	0·21	0	1·44	1·56	4·39	24·58	42·27	24·07	11·79	7·23	2·45	0·66	120·65

Note: The difference in the average total, stated here and on p. 84, is explained by the additional year 1870 being taken into account.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Appendix VII.

GENERAL METEREOLOGICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE THREE SEASONS

DEDUCED FROM THE PRECEDING TABLES.

SEASONS.	Mercurial Barometer.			Thermometer.			Rainfall.		WIND.
	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Inches.	Cents.	
Cold Season, October—January . . .	26·29	26·51	26·45	54°	76°	65°	10	55	N. E. and E.
Hot Season, February—May . . .	26·33	26·44	26·37	57°	82°	70°	7	39	E. and S. W.
Wet Season, June—September . . .	26·21	26·34	26·27	60°	74°	66°	102	71	W.
Average for the year	26·28	26·43	26·36	57°	77°	67°	120	65	

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Appendix VIII.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COFFEE-ESTATES IN COORG,

THEIR REPUTED PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS IN 1870.

I. In the Mercara-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Aberdour	337·21	120	J. Russell	J. Russel	
2	Abyal	344	not known	Major G. M. Martin	K. Chittyanna	
3	Angare-kolli	183·8	do.	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
4	Baliétre	130·97	90	Herbert Taylor	H. Taylor	
5	Beauvoir	44·63	44·63	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
6	Belta-male	476·70	450	do.	do.	
7	Belta-male	350·8	300	W. S. Boyd	W. Bidie	
8	Bhaktana-kotte	612·42	0	S. Jup	do.	resigned.
9	Bhima-kandi	859·58	0	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
10	Boykéri	80	80	H. Taylor	H. Taylor	
11	Cheppe-kéd	125·86	125	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
12	Closeburn	231·46		Major Martin and Dr. Kirkpatrick	P. Pearson	
13	Coorg-Coffee-Company	2095·46	800	Coorg-Coffee-Company	F. Rylett	
14	Culdees	1023·64	165	H. Bain	Scobie	
15	Edrington	46·71	not known	Capt. Marshall	Jaganath	
16	Fanny-vale	205·76	175	D. Stewart	J. A. Young	

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
17	Fisher	489·91	400	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
18	Glen-Coorg	3012·52	400	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
19	Glen-more	173	132	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
20	Háleri-kótakád	161·18	150	H. A. Mangles	F. Mangles	
21	Helen-hally	467·79	100	S. G. Tipping	S. G. Tipping	
22	Horumale-nád	455·53	300	H. Mann	C. M. Grant	
23	Hordr-kótakád	369·12	150	A. C. Campbell		
24	Kadlen-kád	116·27	118	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
25	Kagodlu-nád	174·66	174	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
26	Kánan-kád	107·60	25	J. P. Hunt		
27	Kapala-kád	184·84	180	A. C. Campbell, A. Fowler and Mr. N. A. M. Denoon	James Fowler	
28	Kére-kolli	461·22	0	late Dr. Macpherson		abandoned.
29	Kimade-male	214·13	175	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
30	Knoll	93.81		Major Martin	Major Martin	
31	Do.	40·49		do.	do.	
32	Kunni-motte	136·40	136	Henry Mann		
33	Kundalam-kolli	203·32	175	F. W. Hill		
34	Lilford	113·93	95	W. Drummond	H. Drummond	abandoned.
35	Lower Kimale	196·52		Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
36	Lower Balta-male	345·9	190	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allay	
37	Made-nád	341·13	290	H. Mann	J. W. Finlayson	
38	May-male	369·71	300	W. S. Boyd	A. Stephen	
39	Mercara-Estate	243·65	190	Mrs. A. M. Denoon, A. Campbell & J. Fowler	J. Fowler	
40	Pachanda-male	566·69	250	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allen	

41	Padachi-kád	155·30	155	J. P. Hunt and J. W. Hill		
42	Pándi-male	435·66	300	H. Mann	A. G. Aspinall	
43	Salop	299·91	220	Nicol William and Co.	F. H. Hayes	
44	Sampige-kolli	197·47	140	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	
45	Sunti-koppa	372·50		late Dr. Macpherson		
46	Upper-kimale	488·24	280	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	resigned.
47	Wóte-kolli	480·74	250	Donald Stewart	J. Russel	

II. *In the Padinálknád-taluq.*

1	Anepére-kád	455·88	167	Ch. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
2	Athumarada-Dére	204·42		J. W. Finlayson		
3	Banada-kolli	200		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		
4	Banter	364·59	170	W. U. Arbuthnot and 3 others		
5	Chetti-male	235·76	200	J. W. Finlayson	Turner	
6	Eyenkallia-male	200	80	W. Burnett and A. Stephen	A. Stephen	
7	Eyenkanungandi-kád	100		J. W. Finlayson		
8	Itiakutumbe-male	417·54		do.		
9	Kartha-kád	85·70	70	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
10	Kutanganda-Dére	94·51		J. W. Finlayson		
11	Mechanda-Dére	94·52		do.		
12	Mukati-kád	100		do.		
13	Padiche male	327·45	10	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
14	Patti-male	811·29	150	Capt. R. Taylor	Whish	
15	Thérikád	197·62	42	C. Grant and Aspinall	H. A. Wheeler	
16	Umale	283·2	150	Edg. Ludlow		
17	Waveney Valley	252·50	100	H. L. Johnstone and Brewer	J. Morgan	

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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III. In the Yedenálknád-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Allódpu I.	268·49	180	G. R. Evans	F. Marsden	
2	Do. II.	379·16		F. Marsden	do.	
3	Allathan-kád	580·16		D. Stewart		
4	Anandapur	96·82	25	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya	David	
5	Bari-kád	816·73	165	Marquis Viviano	W. Ross.	
6	Beechlands	732·3		J. Tanner	Pudiscimbe	
7	Clutha	424·95	400	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	A. Mc. Innes	
8	Kyan-betaratu-kád	300		G. MacGregor		waste.
9	Fairlands and Oaklands	386·3	280	J. Wright of Edinburgh	J. Chisholm	
10	Fowler	808·6		Mrs. A. M. Denoon		uncultivated.
11	Do.	300		do.		do.
12	Do.	120·95		do.		do.
13	Glen Moriston	262·81	130	James Fowler and Co.	James Fowler	
14	Glen Urquhart	211·80		James Fowler		abandoned.
15	Hanchi-betta	168·17	0	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya		resigned.
16	Hondi-gutta-betta	260·60		N. Stewart		
17	Kaberádu-male	300		Major Beddock and Mrs. Hearn		
18	Kákanda	862·28	500	Donald Stewart		
19	Kayem-kád	491·78	40	late Dr. Maxwell	C. Lawrence	
20	Kávéri-Estate	299·4	150	Kávéri-Coffee-Company	Pereira	
21	Kombu-kolli	376·61	250	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young		
22	Kunduri		75	Rev. G. Richter and J. Haller	J. Haller	

23	Muthada-kád	195·88		N. Stewart		
24	Muskalbora	141·66	50	late P. James and P. Kennedy		
25	Nalla-kóta	296·66	250	N. Stewart	W. T. Simpson	
26	Puriambádi	266·54	140	late Dr. Maxwell	W. Ross	
27	Pili-betta	315·93	240	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
28	Polle-kád	43·90		Donald Stewart		
29	Polle-betta	1066·88	700	H. P. Minchin and W. R. Arbuthnot	H. P. Minchin	
30	Rockliffe	960·44		J. Stewart		resigned.
31	Rockville	151·52		F. Brown		
32	School-Plantation	301	50	Central-School-Endowment	Rev. G. Richter	
33	Siddhapur	165·70		J. P. Hunt		waste.
34	Strathmore	1011·74	320	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	C. Macdonald	
35	Tanada-betta	387·33		H. Forman	H. R. Craig	
36	Thanir-halla	506·67		N. Stewart		waste.
37	Woodside	506·95		D. Stewart	J. Miller	
38	Wodder-halli	303·34	150	J. P. Hunt	Hobbert	
39	Yemmegundi	785·33	450	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young	W. Turnbull	

IV. In the Kiggatnád-taluq.

1	Athol I.	178·96	140	J. W. Savage and		
2	Do. II.	152·64	90	H. J. Marsden	J. W. Savage	
3	Bambu-kád	159·17	45	J. W. Hayes		
4	Benlomond	252	170	A. C. Burnett and G. Ross	A. Burnett	
5	Burnside	277·75		G. Anderson		
6	Clifton	232·70	150	Alex. Deacon	James Fowler	
7	Cluny	363·70		Cols. A. Cadell & Barrow	H. P. Drummond	
8	Cedial	114·03	100	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Ross	H. A Ross	

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage. Total.	Acreage. Cultivated.	Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
9	Eyguada	418·48	300	Capt. R. Taylor	F. Jaques	
10	Karia-male	1032·99	435	H. G. Roberts, D. Rose, and D. Peebles	J. Rose	
11	Kayim-kolli	667·62	147	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
12	Kikád	106·45	80	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Rose	H. A. Rose	
13	Koku-male	894·56	160	McGregor and J. Martin	J. L. Martin	
14	Kohéri	103·62		H. P. Gordon	H. P. Horton	
15	Mathigód	480·94		D. Stewart		
16	Puggadi-male			H. J. Roberts, D. Rose and D. Peebles		waste.
17	Paletód	1565·13	400	C. W. Dawson		
18	Poonambére			W. V. Drummond		
19	Roomath		45	W. Rose	J. Rose	waste.
20	Shulankéri	199·75		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		resigned.
21	Singe-mane			do.		do.
22	Sévirabetti-kád			G. Wilson		

V. In the Nanjarájpatna-taluq.

1	Allo-kotte	151·18		H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	
2	Battada-réai	238·84	100	Col. Cunningham and Barrett	S. Barrett	
3	Carton	278·61	200	R. P. Carr		abandoned.
4	Hanyal	1461·29	120	Campbell and Fowler		
5	Lowden valley	460·18	100	Mrs. E. Wright and W. Wright	W. Wright	
6	Kumba-kád		145	H. R. East	H. R. East	
7	Kavina-kolli	212·21	20	H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 473]

CORRIGENDA.

[104]

Page	Instead of	Read
wherever	"w" in native words	"v"
vi	seperate	separate
5	doures	downs
8	Bisly-pass	Bisilu-pass
14	Chóvanhole	Choran-hole
20	Thimbergia	Thunbergia
25	draft	draught
31	Tamaind	Tamarind
38	beautiful spots	beauty-spots
42	clows	claws
99	stable-manure.	stable-manure,
116	exculants	exiles
118	waist	wrist
118	Kokalédi	Kokaddédi
120	rein	rim
121ff	Doddi Auwa	Dodda-Auva
166	cobra capella	cobra di capella
168	favour	the favour
172	and pressure	(drop these words)
175	Omkarésvara	Onkarésvara
180	the Coorg shall	the Coorgs shall
181	Cutcherry	Kachéri
184	hands?	hands.
185	on Báne	on a Báne
241	Harige Shíme	Itterige Shíme
259	end his life	end of his life
259	Lingrája	Lingarája
268	frobearing	forbearing
291	purpose	propose
336	Shanivár-sante	Sanivár-sante

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Page	Instead of	Read
347	approval Brigadier	approval of Brigadier
356	Punya	Panya
367	Kuyinkéri	Kuyinkéri-nád
367	Nanjarájpatna	Nanjarájpatna-táluq
367	Kampur	Rampur
374	Perambóti	Periambádi
376	and Gauri-idol	and the Gauri-idol
397	ten years the	ten years, the
400	cheap justice	cheap and speedy justice
401	neither remarkable	remarkable neither
401	in 1812	in 1813
421	if India	of India
422	one mile to an inch	one inch to a mile
438	Though the noble	Through the noble
451	in 1854	in 1852
451	what amount	what an amount

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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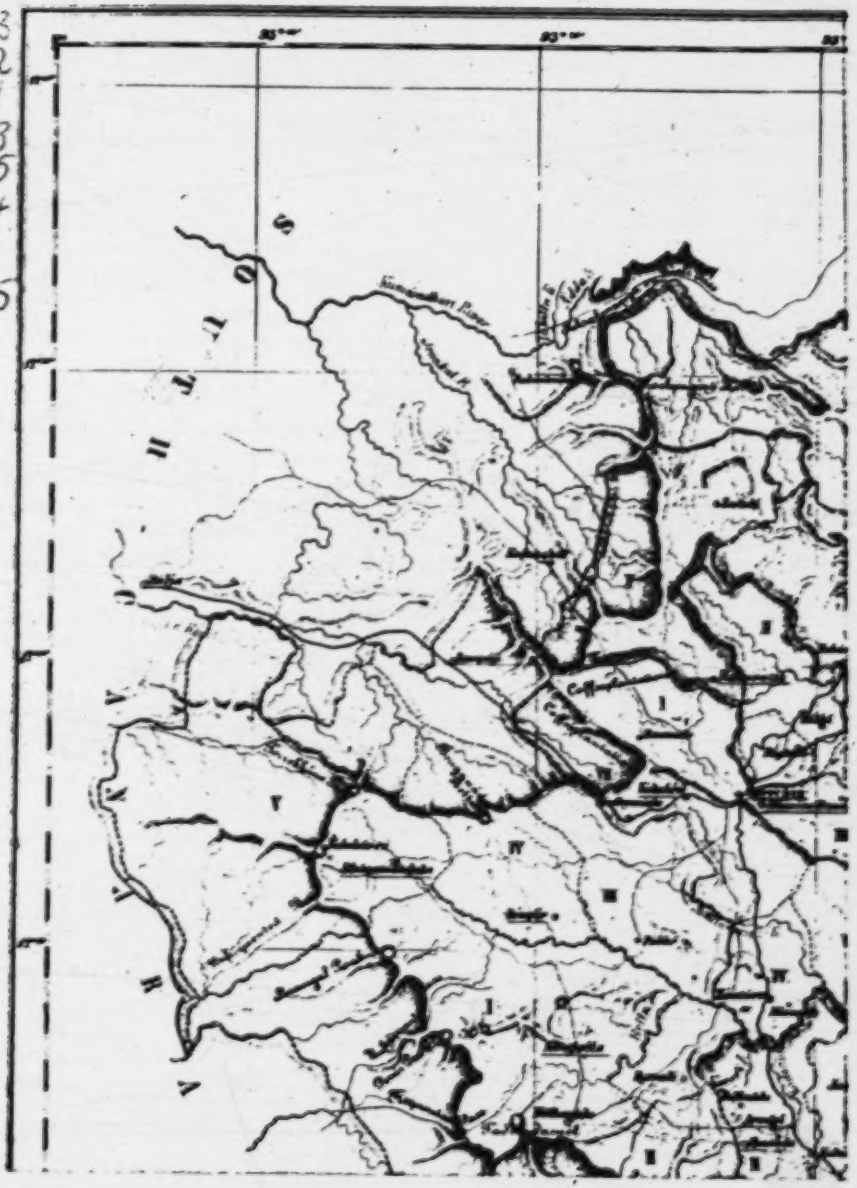

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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491
245

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (C)]

[The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter AW5 Coorg AW5

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/For a cultural history of the Coorg, see category 116, pp. 235-365./

4: Richter AW5 Coorg AW5

245

/For the effects of various insect pests on coffee trees and overall production, see category 116, pp. 67-71, 75-77./

4: Richter

AW5 Coorg AW5

643

/For a history of the Coorg Rajahs and their position in the political organization of the state, see category 116, pp. 236-246, 248-333, 342-345, and 354-360./

4: Richter AW5 Coorg AW5

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/For a history of the foreign relations of the Coorg, particularly with the British Colonial Government, see category 116, pp. 236-274, 278-279, 281-312, 317-325, 328-357, 361-365./

4: Richter AW5 Coorg AW5

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/For information on the general fauna of Coorg, see category 116, pp. 36-81./

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume IV, 1938.
ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000
[161] people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the
province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South
[131] India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were
originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still
form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring
[564] the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how
far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of
[114] the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations
121 of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological
account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a
description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those
Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in
Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns
and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and
southern extremities of the province present differences of detail
is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen-
[551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by
its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name.
423 All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the
614 sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this
ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative
or good fortune and without depending on the sib property
acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect
his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the
other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In
other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon
the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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114 [1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my
122 tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical
104 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is
the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 170 [178] [491] [648] [206] [897]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáma" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Virájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 129 [114]

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8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, f, θ, x should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. x is blank]

PREFACE

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IN 1940 I was awarded, for a period of two years, a research fellowship in sociology by the University of Bombay and this enabled me to do the field-work on which this book is based. I thank the University of Bombay for making it possible for me to study the Coorgs, and I am grateful to Professor G. S. Ghurye for advice and criticism during field-work and subsequent writing.

In June 1942, a few months after returning from Coorg, I was appointed Research Assistant in Sociology in the School of Economics and Sociology in Bombay, and the duties of my new post prevented me from finishing the writing of my field material until the end of 1944. I then came to Oxford, where Professor Radcliffe-Brown's teaching greatly modified my approach to the study of human society. At his suggestion, I started applying some of his ideas regarding the inter-relation of religion and society to the material I had already gathered, and this task proved exciting and, to me, fruitful, even though I was more an ethnologist than a sociologist at the time of my field-work. I am greatly indebted to Professor Radcliffe-Brown for his teaching and for many kindnesses.

I have been greatly helped and stimulated by the teaching and friendship of Professor Evans-Pritchard, who succeeded to the Chair of Social Anthropology at Oxford after Professor Radcliffe-Brown's retirement. I have also benefited from the advice and criticism of Professors M. Fortes and M. Gluckman.

All previous writers on the Coorgs have contributed to my understanding of the social institutions and culture of the Coorgs. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them, and especially to Moegling, Richter, N. Chiṇṇappa, and Professor M. B. Emeneau.

Coorg is a beautiful and hospitable country, and I met with kindness everywhere. I should like to thank the people of Coorg generally before mentioning certain individuals who have helped me greatly by giving me hospitality as well as information. I am under a great debt to Shri K. J. Chengappa, who has consistently and patiently supplied me with information over a period of ten years. Shri K. Kāḷappa and Shri P. M. Ponnappa have also given me information and helped me in other ways. I wish to thank

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

114-122

Shri H. Tirumala Chār, B.A., B.L., and his family for their hospitality to me in Mercara.

I am very grateful to the Carnegie Research Fund for a generous grant which enabled me to pursue my studies at Oxford. I thank Dr. A. A. Baké, and the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, for the loan of some of the photographs reproduced in this book.

My friends Mr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. K. O. L. Burridge, and Dr. Kathleen Gough have helped me by critically reading the typescript.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my brother, M. N. Gopal.

M. N. S.

OXFORD
April 1951

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

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southern extremities of the province present differences of detail
is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen-
[551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by
its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name.
423 All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the
614 sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this
ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative
or good fortune and without depending on the sib property
acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect
his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the
other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In
other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon
the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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114 [1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my
122 tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical
104 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is
the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^n), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *f*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

APPENDIX I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kalupara kaypē 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvēs of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvē of the woman's sib
[534] says: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:mu:illavē nu:bendu: aṇṇanaruvēnu: ma:lu kāṭi nindira:.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [891]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 127 [114]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

114 In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was re-published in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book [127] intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

128 I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graster, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

114 The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

104 In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

128 The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is the *Tamaind*[2] *tree* (Tamarindus Indica) which Government has reserved and partly made over without tax to certain Brahmins in Ramaswámy Kanawé, partly formed out on yearly rent. It is a stately tree and yields a dense shade, under which however, many plants do not grow and natives do not like to sleep. 137 [655] [513]

It would lead me too far to enter upon a description of the many shrubs, herbs and grasses of these jungles. Suffice it to say, that there are many and very beautiful ones, but most of them are annually swept away by the periodical fires, the purifying messengers of nature, that run through every jungle from February to April. These fires once established in the high coarse hill-grass rush madly in their onward career to the very tops of the mountains, and beautiful is the sight at night of these distant serpentine lines of flame extending over whole ranges of hills.

Coorg is rich in ferns and as these elegant plants will always attract the lover of nature, it may perhaps prove acceptable, if I append a list of such, as have been collected about Mercara and identified according to Major Beddon's work on Ferns by an enthusiastic admirer of these humble productions of nature:— [127]

Alphabetical list of Coorg ferns.

Names.	Where to be found.
Acrophorus immersus	On trees and at the foot of trees, near Ball-practice ground, Falls, etc. common.
Acrophorus pulcher	On trees and rocks; near Ball-practice ground; abundant almost anywhere.
Adiantum capillus veneris	In a wall close to the Fort.
Do. candatum	Near Ramaswámy Kanawé.
Do. hispidulum	Near Ball-practice ground, 3rd milestone, Suntikoppain Road.

[2] [Errata: This should read "Tamarind", See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

already exhibits a goodly number of these, and through the kindness of Dr. Oswald, I have been furnished with a classified list of 30 birds, collected last year in Coorg, but of course there are many more, that are common to Southern India. One would think that, during the heavy south-west monsoon, animal life in the open could scarcely exist, yet hardly does the sun break through the rainy clouds when all around there is life and joy amongst the feathered tribe. They seem to anticipate that happy time, when after the monsoon, in sunny October and November, they pay, dressed in their finest plumage, courtship to their spouses, and warbling and singing, are busy all day long, for the comfort of their expected offspring. 136*

The following survey is arranged according to Mr. Vigor's classification of birds:—Amongst the birds of prey (*Raptores*) the high soaring *Vulture* (*Vultur Indicus*) (*Kg.* adiya paddu), with wings turned obliquely upwards, stands foremost, both for his size and utility, as public scavenger of animal carcasses in which occupation he is assisted by the Pariah dog and the crow. Occasionally a solitary eagle (*Kg.* paddu) may be seen in the mountains; a fine specimen of the golden eagle (Aquila chrysaetos) came into my possession a few years ago; whilst on a mountain slope he was struggling on the ground with a large horned owl, both were caught alive. This eagle was a fine bird, in sitting posture 15 inches high; with outstretched wings 4 feet 5 inches; the upper part of the head and neck light buff, of a light brown and grey down the chest and dark brown, nearly black, on the back, and the wings tinged with brighter spots. The brilliant eye, with its brownish yellow iris and wary look, gave the bird an air of intelligence and its formidable curved and pointed bill and horny talons kept the inquisitive at a respectful distance. He managed to free himself from his chain and escaped. [127] •

The Garuda or *Brahmany kite* (Haliastur Indus) is more

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*136 (*Kg.* karingere) which catches mice and small reptiles. It frequently lives upon the thatched roofs of native houses and its flesh is eaten by the lower classes. Remarkable for its beauty and graceful evolutions is the green Whip-snake (*Kg.* pache-pámbu), which is commonly seen in shrubs. In native opinion it enjoys the imaginary purity and sanctity of the Brahmin and its skin is said to get blistered by the very shadow of man, falling upon it! An extraordinary forest-snake is the Kánam-pámbu, which is said to have a crest upon its head like a cock. The one foot long Ira-tale or two-headed snake is considered as capable of progressing equally well forwards or backwards, being gifted with a head at either end of its body. The flying snake or Páram-pámbu is very thin, of a brownish black colour and 18 inches long. Equally thin, but shorter is the Elat-áni-murgu or writing-stile-snake, which is black with white spots. Other harmless snakes are: the Billulli, the Niru-kuduma, the Túra-pámbu or cane-snake, etc.

The *Batrachians*, or the family of *Frogs*, fill the air with their croaking concert before the monsoon and during the occasional breaks, prognosticating impending rain. There is the large bull-frog, which makes itself heard at night, the common brown frog, which chiefly infests paddy-fields and tanks, and a small green frog, that lives on shrubs and trees; but all of them are feeders on insects, which they catch very cleverly. Toads, very ugly and very large, are found wherever there is a convenient hiding place on damp ground.

The river Kávéri and its affluents and the small native tanks and even the paddy-field rills are well stocked with a great variety of *Fishes*, which are caught by every class of natives, who have leisure for and take pleasure in the sport. [226] Shooting, angling, netting, basketing and poisoning with [127] Cocculus Indicus are the usual methods of fishing. For the following remarks I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Nash's list of

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136*
[127]

14 Coorg fishes and Colonel Puckle's "Memorandum" on Fishes about Bangalore.

The queen of Coorg fishes in size and quality is the *Lady-Fish*, Callichrous (Silurus) chekra H. B. or Bále-mínu as the Coorgs call it, on account of its resemblance in whiteness and smoothness to the inside of the plantain-tree-bark. They distinguish 3 kinds of decreasing size: the Patna-bále, the Bále and the Kincha-bále. Next in size and excellence of its flesh is the *Black Cat-Fish*, Clarias magur H. B.—*Kg.* Kulla-baro?—of a dark green colour approaching to blakish purple on the back and fading to a greenish white; it is chiefly reared in tanks, spawns in the mud and is full of eggs in April, May and June.

Similar in appearance and size is the *Black Murl*—Ophiocephalus striatus—*Kg.* Baro-mínu. It lives in muddy tanks, guards its young till they are about 2 inches long, before which they may be seen swimming in two lines above their parent. It grows up to 2 feet in length and is of a dull brownish green on the sides, darker on the back and whitish beneath. The *Painted Murl*—Ophiocephalus marulius H. B. (*Kg.* Kávéri-baro?) is a very handsomely marked fish of 4 feet in length; upon the darkish grey ground there are white markings like flowers, hence its name "Flower Murl". It is found in the Kávéri and other deep river pools. They spawn in April and May.

The *Black Dhok* (Ophiocephalus gachua H. B.) grows to within one foot in length and is commonly found in clear tanks. Its colour is greyish green with irregular herring bone bands of lighter colour. The anal and dorsal fins are dark grey, the edges being tipped with the light green belly colour, but the pectoral fins are dull orange and strongly marked with dark grey dotted bars.

The *Painted Dhok* is like the former in shape, size and colour, but the head is handsomely mottled and banded and 9

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194 [197] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü*; Ex. Can. ḍiṭu, Kg. ḍüṭü = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ḍeṭu, Kg. ḍöṭü = seven; Can. peṭṭige, Kg. peṭṭi = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word avang instead of the Canarese avanu = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. uṇḍu for Can. uṇṭu = are, Kg. ikka for Can. iga = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. chandra Kg. chaṇṇurö = moon; Can. yentha Kg. yennatö. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. désha, Kg. déja = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. sárya, Kg. chúriyö. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ hiḍi, Kg. ಪಡಿ pöḍi = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunci- [197] ation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

• [127] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

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193 [127]

a great deal of valuable information, though as a first attempt it is somewhat defective and requires critical sifting.

Regarding the *noun* there are in Kodagu simple and compound nouns; the combination of the latter follows more the convenience of pronunciation than grammatical rules, for the Kodagu language in its present form is anterior to Kodagu grammar. There are, as in Canarese, 3 genders, but as in the other Dravidian languages the principle of distinction is the separation between the divine, the human and the below human; only the nouns relating to the former beings partake of the distinction of male and female sex, all other words are neuter. As to number there is a singular and plural form. Following the usage of other grammars of the Dravidian tongues, the declension of Kodagu nouns may be represented with 7 or 8 cases, but several of them being but the result of affixed particles, the cases might well be reduced to 5 viz. the Nominative, Objective, Genitive, Dative and Vocative. According to the terminations of the nouns there are 3 declensions, viz. of nouns ending in *a*, in *i* or *e* and in *u*. Examples will make this clear.

First declension of Nouns ending in a.

Masculine form "rijâ," the king.

	Singular.			*Plural.*		
Nom.	rijâ (1.)		the king.	rija (2.)		the kings.
Obj.	rijana		"	rijara		"
Gen.	rijanḍa	of	"	rijanḍa	of	"
Dat.	rijangâ	to	"	rijakâ	to	"
Inst.	rijanagoeḍu	by	"	rijaragoeḍu	by	"
Loc.	rijandapakka	in	"	rijandapakka	in	"
Voc.	rijané		Oh king.	rijaré		Oh kings.

1. Though corrupted at the end of a word the *a* takes again its full sound as soon as new syllables are added.

2. The plural sometimes adds *ongu* similar to the old Canarese *ongal*, e. g. Kg. *rijongu*, old Can. *rijongal*.

[194]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

member of his family, since the property of the Rájahs was always considered as state property. It was, indeed, of no great consequence, whether Lingarája's plea was allowed, or disallowed, by the Supreme Government, as long as they winked at his robbing his niece of the interest of her bonds. Yet Lingarája felt uneasy from time to time. He distrusted the disposition of the English Government, though it was perfectly friendly to a fault. He had a higher opinion of the good faith of the Company to Vírarájendra and his daughter, than they had themselves of their duty to keep their word pledged to the fulfilment of their devoted ally's last will. 175* 643* 648*

It may be seen from the following extracts, that the Coorg Rájah as early as 1811 was subject to fits of fear, lest the Company should execute judgment upon him, which induced him secretly to fortify his country.

2. *General Welsh's visits to Lingarája.*

The extracts, embodied in the following pages, are taken from a work, entitled "Military Reminiscences extracted from a journal of nearly forty years' active service in the East Indies, by Colonel (now General) James Welsh." General Welsh's somewhat loosely connected, but truthful, though now and then romance-like, sketches give a perfectly correct account of Lingarája, and show also to very life the character of the relations then existing between the Government of the East India Company and the Rájah of Coorg. The Rájah was on friendly terms with the Company's Government, yet dreaded it. He was dependent upon them, yet affected a semblance of independence. He courted the favour of English Officers and invited them frequently into his country, yet guarded with the greatest jealousy their intercourse with his people. He prided himself on his European manners and character, and pretended to be adored by his subjects, while he kept them in the most abject bondage and crushed their spirit by a system [127]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 6 01 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [9], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, odeyā and ponnu respectively.

Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes and Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

114 In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was re-
[127] published in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

128 I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graeter, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

114 The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

104 In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

128 The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

529 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

771
128

The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

778
177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[632] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
[782] superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashíme—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
131 and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which
632 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
103 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

128, 113 Coorg AW5

[For information pertaining to literary devices and conventions, abbreviations and explanations of numerations used by the author, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. xxi-xxiii, and xxv.]

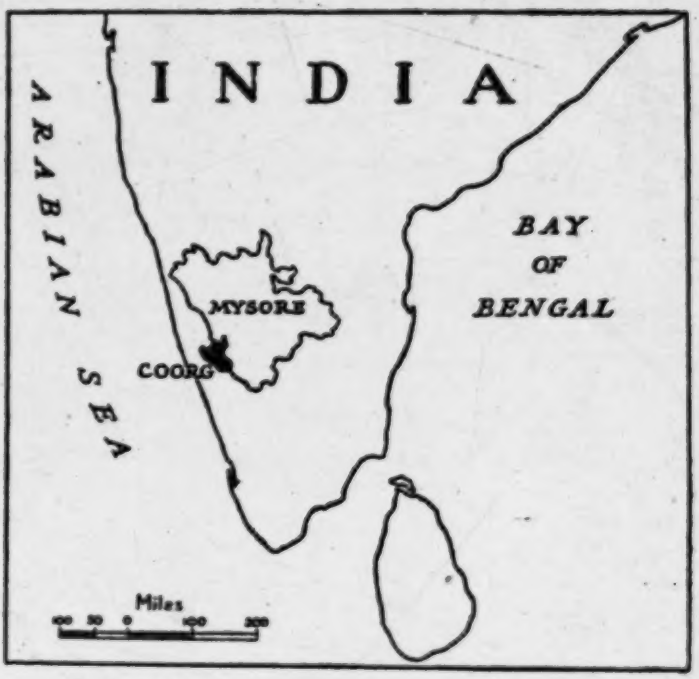
4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
[464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 2]

131



1. Map showing the position of Coorg in South India

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

I

[p. 1]

INTRODUCTORY

I

COORG is a tiny, mountainous province in south India, bounded on the north and east by Mysore State, and on the west and south by the South Canara and Malabar Districts of Madras Presidency. Its greatest length, north to south, is sixty miles, and its greatest breadth, east to west, is forty miles. The total area is 1,593 square miles, of which 519 square miles constitute 'reserve forest'. 101 131

The Western Ghat mountains which run along the west coast of India from Gujerat to Cape Comorin pass through Coorg. They generally make a precipitous descent to the west while they slope more gradually to the east. The plateau of peninsular India generally slopes to the east, and most of the bigger south Indian rivers flow from west to east. 131 133

The main range of the Western Ghats skirts the southern and western frontier of Coorg. Starting from Brahmagiri Peak (5,276 feet) in the extreme south it runs in a north-westerly direction till Tala Kāvēri, where it turns east for a few miles before it turns north-west again. It proceeds in this direction for some distance and then runs due north till Pushpagiri Peak (5,260 feet).

Spurs strike out in all directions from the main range of the Western Ghats. In the south they form either a ramification of narrow-ridged hills, or subside into undulating slopes enclosing innumerable broad valleys in which rice is grown.

That part of the main range of the Western Ghats which runs east from Tala Kāvēri is called Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa, and a high spur proceeds eastwards from it at the point it turns abruptly north-west. At Mercara this spur forks, the southern fork ending in the peak of Nūrokkal Beṭṭa, while the northern fork zigzags towards Fraserpēṭ in the east. The Nūrokkal spur continuing the Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa is important, as, together with the Western Ghats running south-east from Tala Kāvēri, it constitutes the watershed of the upper basin of the Kāvēri river.

The western half of Coorg to the north of Mercara is a plateau

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with an average elevation of 3,500 feet. The plateau extends as far 131
east as Somwārpēṭ, and then slopes towards the River Kāvēri 133
which marks the eastern frontier of Coorg for some distance.

In the extreme north, the Ēḷusāvira hills run from Koḍlipēṭ to the Kāvēri a few miles north of Fraserpēṭ.

Richter gives a good, short description of the general appearance 133
of Coorg, which is worth reproducing here:

> The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Somwārpēṭ, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpēṭ the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Vīrarājpēṭ, especially in Beppunāḍ, Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy downs rise from extensive rice valleys.
>
> The eastern frontier between the Kāvēri and Lakshmaṇatīrtha rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest . . .[1]

The Kāvēri springs from the Brahmagiri mountain, three miles to the west of Bhāgamanḍla. Both the source of the Kāvēri (called Tala Kāvēri or 'Head of the Kāvēri') and Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kanaké joins the Kāvēri, are important centres of pilgrimage to Coorgs and other Hindus. The Kāvēri flows first of all east by south to Siddāpur, where it turns north by east and flows for twenty-five miles along the eastern frontier of Coorg to Sirangāla where it diverges into Mysore. A number of tributaries springing from the various mountains of Coorg join the Kāvēri at several points on its course in Coorg. The River Lakshmaṇatīrtha which rises in the Brahmagiri hills to the extreme south of Coorg is an important tributary of the Kāvēri, but joins it in Mysore.

The rivers are generally in full flood during June, July, and 132
August, when the south-west monsoon is at its height. But they fall 133
rapidly afterwards, and in summer they are usually fordable on foot. They are not navigable, and are little used for irrigation, which is rendered unnecessary by the copious rainfall and the multitude of small rivulets rising in the wooded ravines.

The south-west monsoon, lasting from June till September, 132

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, Mangalore, 1870, p. 5.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *võṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 484 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar.

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs.

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages.

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume IV, 1938.
ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 [161] people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South [131] India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring [564] the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of [114] the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations 121 of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen- [551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. 423 All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the 614 sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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114 [1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my 122 tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical 104 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə̈ is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in mavn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P1]

COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

COORG is a small British Province perched on the slopes of the Western Ghats. It has an area of about 1,593 square miles of which the reserved forests occupy about 519 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hassan and Mysore districts; and on the south and west by the Malabar and South Canara districts of the Madras Presidency. It is an extremely hilly country and is situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats. Its maximum length is about 60 miles from north to south, and maximum breadth about 60 miles east to west. The name of Coorg is an anglicized corruption of the word *Kodagu*. It is said to be derived from the Canarese term *Kodagu* meaning 'steep' or 'hilly'. The people are called *Kodagas*. In the Coorg language, the country is Kodagu and the people Kodavas. 131 [133] 101

Natural Features—Mountains and Their Formations

The main range of the Western Ghats extends from Subramania in the north-west to the western point of the Brahmagiri in the south for a distance of over 60 miles. From this backbone several long and elongated ridges branch off from east to west. The grand mountain mass of Subramania runs to a height of 5,625 feet above sea level. Among the many 133

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 3]

The Coorg Country.

1. Geographical Features.

The Coorg country is formed by the summits and eastern declivities of the Western Ghats, which separate it on the south and west from the woody tracts of North Malabar (Wynád) and South Canara (Tulu); in the north and east it merges into the table-land of Mysore with the only partially, natural boundary of the rivers Kumáradhári, Hémávati and Kávéri. Its greatest length from north to south, from the river Hémávati to the Brahmagiris, extends over 60 and its greatest width from west to east, from Sampáji to Fraserpet, about 40 English miles. Geographically speaking, the whole country lies between north latitude 11° 55′ and 12° 50′, and east longitude 75° 25′ and 76° 14′. Its area comprises 1,585 square miles. Before the annexation of Coorg by the English, the limits of this little kingdom extended over a larger tract and included the two taluqs of Canara, Amra Sulya and Puttúr, comprising an area of about 580 square miles, which at the request of the inhabitants were separated from Coorg and added to the Collectorate of South Canara.

133

131

[648]

The present shape of Coorg, as represented on a map, is not unlike a baby's sock, a little contracted at the instep and with a loop at the top, by which it is suspended. In this situation the heel points north-west and the toe south-east, whilst the sole, heel and back seam are formed by the Ghats

133

1*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

63
131

Name of Taluqs and Nâds	Area.	No. of villages.	Seat of Kacheries.
I. Mercara-taluq	*209*	*57*	*Mercara.*
1. Mercara-Haléri-nâd	49	15	Mercara.
2. Kagodlu-nâd	40	6	Talatmâne.
3. Horur-nûrokkal-nâd	39	11	Boykeri.
4. Hudikéri-kanta-murnâd	49	14	Murnâd.
5. Ulugule-Mudikéri-nâd	32	11	Sunticope.
II. Padinâlknâd-taluq	*413*	*57*	*Napoklu.*
1. Padinâlknâd	142	12	Nâlkanâd Palace.
2. Katiednâd	51	12	Bhâvali
3. Tavunâd	139	9	Bhâgamandala.
4. Benganâd	42	11	Kolagadâla.
5. Kuyinkéri 1/A	39	13	Pâlur.
III. Yedenâlknâd-taluq	*210*	*49*	*Virâjendrpet.*
1. Yedenâlknâd	92	22	Virâjendrpet.
2. Beppunâd	41	8	Arméri.
3. Ammatnâd	77	19	Cólepét.
IV. Kiggatnâd-taluq	*400*	*63*	*Hudikéri.*
1. Anjikérinâd	89	15	Hudikéri.
2. Thavalakérinâd	110	15	Thavalakéri.
3. Hattugatnâd	113	13	Ponnappet.
4. Betiednâd	89	20	Kontagrâma.
V. Nanjarâjpatna 2/A	*262*	*114*	*Frasrpet.*
1. Surlabi-Gadinâd	113	21	Mâdapur (Mahâdévapur).
2. Yedavanâd	94	37	Sómawârpet.
3. Nanjarâjpatna-Hobli	55	26	Frasrpét.
4. Râmaswâmi-kanavó-Hobli		30	Kampur. 3/A
VI. Yélusâvirashime-taluq.	*91*	*168*	*Saniwârsante.*
1. Kodli-Hobli	27	55	Kodlipet.
2. Bilhâda-Hobli	18	40	Saniwârsante.
3. Nidhada-Hobli	46	73	Gundhalli.
Grand Total	*1585*	*508*	

2, 2, 3
A, A, 1 [Errata: These names should read "Kuyinkéri-nad, Nanjarâjpatna-taluq and Rampur" respectively. See corrigenda, col 116, p. 479. Ed.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán". 635 634 565

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

632 361 [131] [175]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálknád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131]

The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vérájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol, which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bissly-ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Frasérpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganápati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

[131] *Sómawárpet* in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[362] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[162] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[241] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[437] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91 Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their
material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[236] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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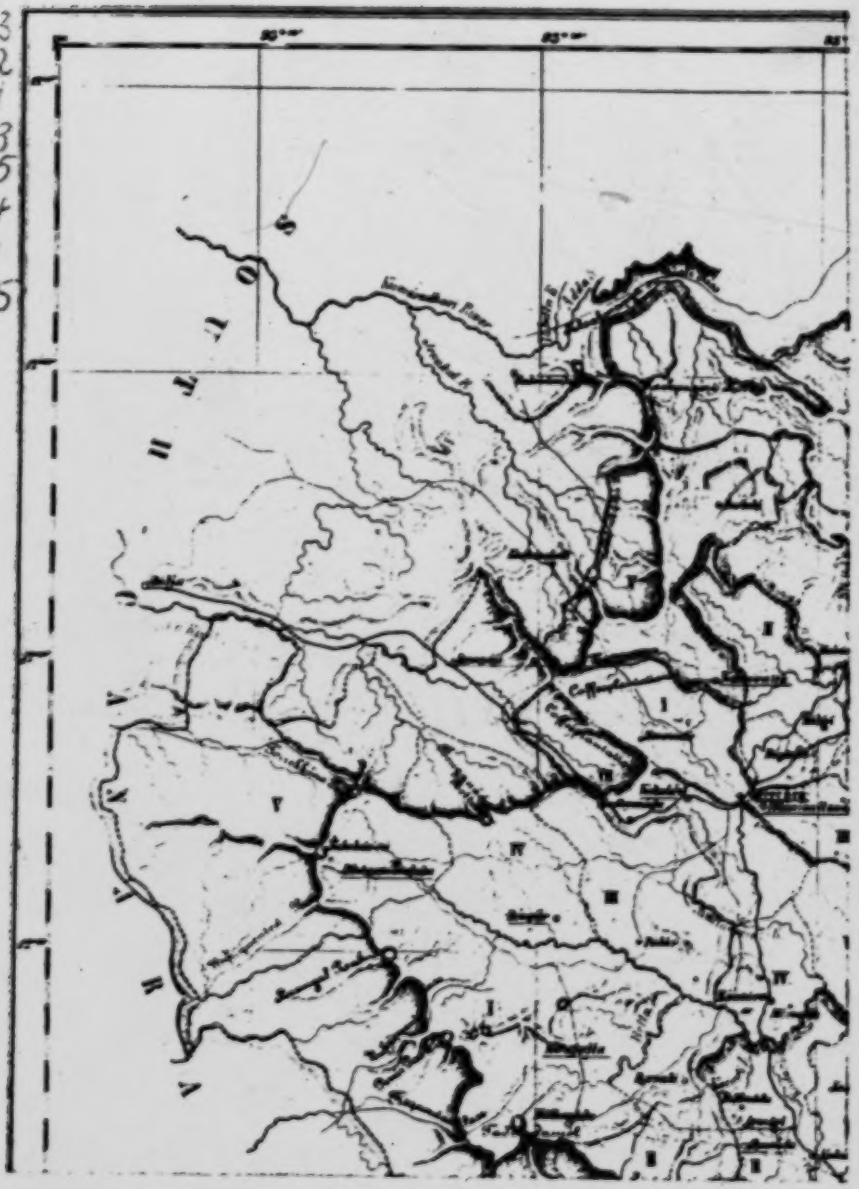

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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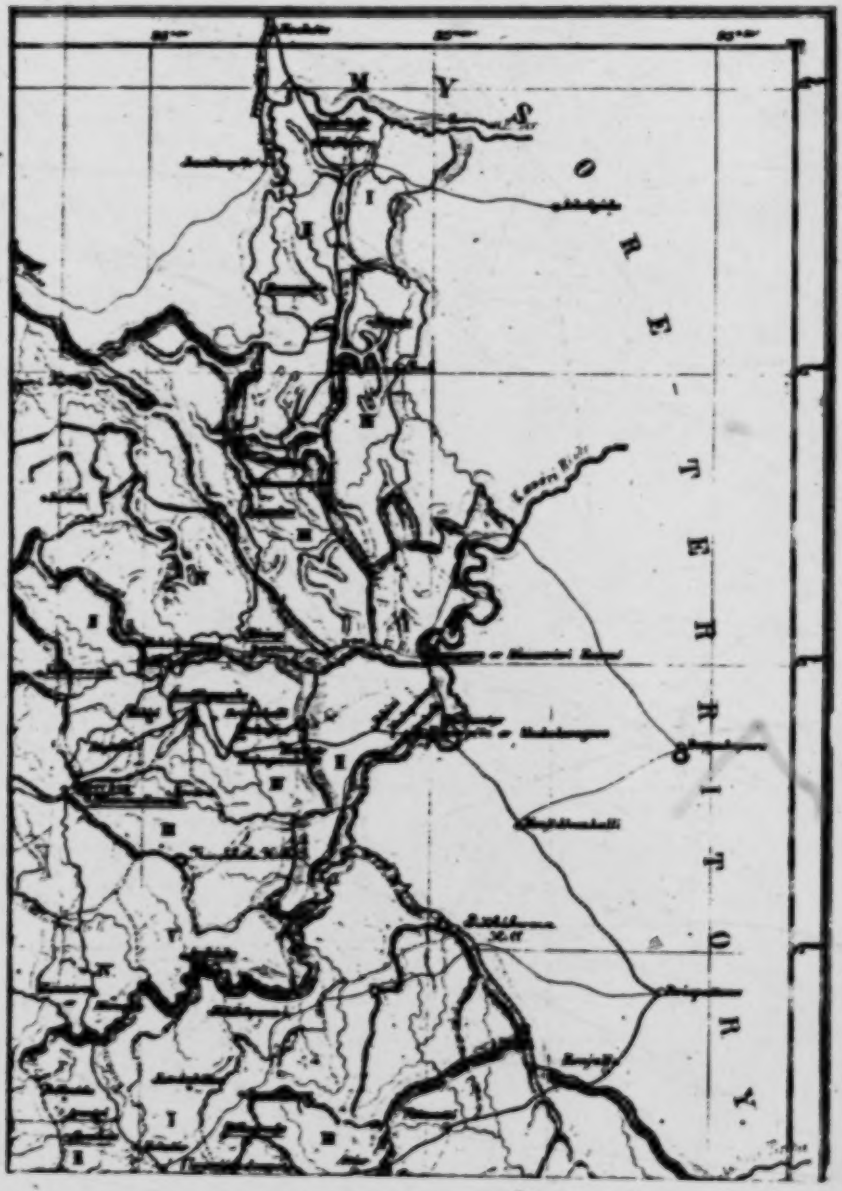

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (c)]

[The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercára Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

131, 101 Coorg AW5

[Information on the regional divisions of the Indian sub-continent will be found in Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with an average elevation of 3,500 feet. The plateau extends as far 131
east as Somwārpēṭ, and then slopes towards the River Kāvēri 133
which marks the eastern frontier of Coorg for some distance.

In the extreme north, the Ēḷusāvira hills run from Koḍlipēṭ to the Kāvēri a few miles north of Fraserpēṭ.

Richter gives a good, short description of the general appearance 133
of Coorg, which is worth reproducing here:

> The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Somwārpēṭ, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpēṭ the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Vīrarājpēṭ, especially in Beppunāḍ, Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy downs rise from extensive rice valleys.
>
> The eastern frontier between the Kāvēri and Lakshmaṇatīrtha rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest . . .[1]

The Kāvēri springs from the Brahmagiri mountain, three miles to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla. Both the source of the Kāvēri (called Tala Kāvēri or 'Head of the Kāvēri') and Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins the Kāvēri, are important centres of pilgrimage to Coorgs and other Hindus. The Kāvēri flows first of all east by south to Siddāpur, where it turns north by east and flows for twenty-five miles along the eastern frontier of Coorg to Sirangāla where it diverges into Mysore. A number of tributaries springing from the various mountains of Coorg join the Kāvēri at several points on its course in Coorg. The River Lakshmaṇatīrtha which rises in the Brahmagiri hills to the extreme south of Coorg is an important tributary of the Kāvēri, but joins it in Mysore.

The rivers are generally in full flood during June, July, and 132
August, when the south-west monsoon is at its height. But they fall 133
rapidly afterwards, and in summer they are usually fordable on foot. They are not navigable, and are little used for irrigation, which is rendered unnecessary by the copious rainfall and the multitude of small rivulets rising in the wooded ravines.

The south-west monsoon, lasting from June till September, 132

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, Mangalore, 1870, p. 5.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 brings very heavy rainfall to the Western Ghats generally, and Coorg is no exception to the rule. The monsoon is most severe in July, and thereafter it gradually diminishes till it finally comes to a stop towards the end of September.

The north-east monsoon, lasting from November till January, does not compare with the south-west monsoon in the amount of rain it brings, nor does it affect all parts of Coorg uniformly. Only the eastern and south-eastern parts are markedly affected by it.

Coorg, for its size, shows enormous variation in the amount of rainfall received in different parts, some parts like Voṭékolli receiving as much as 250 inches annually, while others like Fraserpēṭ receive only 41 inches annually. Mercara and Vīrarājpēṭ receive annually 131 and 110 inches respectively. Mercara is the normal seat of the government, but during the monsoon it is replaced by Fraserpēṭ.

The year is divided into three seasons, cold, hot, and rainy. The cold season lasts from December to the beginning of March, the hot from March to the beginning of June, and the rainy from June till the middle of December. September marks the end of the severe south-western monsoon, and November the beginning of the north-eastern monsoon, and in between the two there is an uncertain respite from rain.

The climate of Coorg shows regional variation, the eastern and northern parts resembling the climate of Mysore, while Coorg Proper[1] is damper and cooler than Mysore. In Mercara the average temperature for the year is 66·6°. In the monsoon the daily mean temperature is 65° with a daily variation of 15°, while in winter the same daily mean temperature has a greater range of daily variation with 24°, and in the hot season the daily mean temperature of 70° has a variation of 25°. The lowest temperature in winter is 50°, while the maximum reached in summer is 82°. Mercara, however, is a little cooler than the rest of Coorg owing to its comparatively high elevation (3,809 feet).

137 The flora of Coorg does not vary much from the flora of the rest of south India. Very dense forests, containing useful timbers, clothe the sides of the mountains everywhere. In the east the more level tracts are covered with clumps of bamboo interspersed with other trees, some of them timbers. The precious sandalwood tree also grows in this area.

[1] See p. 7 for the meaning of 'Coorg Proper'.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiĕ), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

136 Since 1902 systematic arrangements have been made by Government for their capture in pits as in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Bisons frequent the densest forests and highest hills, especially in Marenad and Hormalnad. Bears generally abound in the north-west. Tigers and leopards are also found. Sambur, spotted deer, and barking deer are general in the woods. The most important bird is the hornbill, but there are peacocks, water fowl and jungle-cock, over and above the most ordinary and common Indian birds. Snakes are plentiful and cobra haunt the bamboo forests. There is a large variety of fish. The best fish in size and quality is the plantain fish.

Meteorology and Climate

132 Coorg is a small country, and yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence its atmospheric conditions. Still the dry eastern district may present as steady a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. The hot, rainy and cold seasons have to be distinguished. Throughout the year the atmosphere is humid, and humidity is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In November the north-east winds carry heavy clouds from the eastern coast which discharge themselves chiefly in the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightfully clear and fresh. The annual rainfall at Mercara is 133 inches. On the whole, the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 60° F. is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year.

Prehistory

172 Our knowledge of the prehistory of Coorg is very scanty. Prehistoric dolmens or burial cairns are found in Coorg as in other parts of South India. The first discovery of them in large numbers was made by Lieut. Mackenzie in 1868 on Bane near Virajpet. Captain Cole followed it up with great enthusiasm and his excavations yielded interesting results. All the cairns found are either level with the ground, or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber 7 ft. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. composed of four upright granite slabs, 7 or 8 inches thick, and a capstone which projects over the uprights. The flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 ft. in diameter broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a compartment may be two-chambered. These cairns are either

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In vain, however, the eye searches for towns and villages, churches and castles or other indications of civilized life. Only here and there in nooks and corners, ensconced amongst groves and clusters of cultivated trees and betrayed by a wreath of smoke, can one discover the thatched houses of the Coorgs, who love a solitary abode near their fields. 361

The want of permanent sheets of water, such as extensive tanks or prominent rivers somewhat detracts from the picturesqueness of the landscape, but during a heavy mist or in the monsoon fancy may easily transform the whole country into innumerable islands emerging from a vast agitated sea. 133 132

The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Sómwárapet, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpet the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Virajpet, especially in Beppunád, Katiednád, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy doures[2] rise from extensive rice valleys. 133

The eastern frontier between the Kávéri and the Lakshmana-tírtha river exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest, inhabited in January, February and March by Kurumbers and Lumbánies and other wandering tribes.

Mountains and their Formation.—The most prominent ridge of mountains in Coorg as to height and extent, is that which culminates in the summits of the Ghats. It stretches in its main outline from Subramanya to the furthest point of the Brahmagiris over or upwards of 60 miles. Seen from the Western Coast near Cannanore the abrupt ascent with the

[2] [Errata: This should read "downs", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The constant action
[132] of the stormy monsoon rains, however, followed by scorching east winds and a burning sun, has greatly affected the surface of the mountains, and a perpetual process of disintegration of the uppermost portions has imparted to them a somewhat rounded appearance, which does not occur, where the atmospheric influences are less severe, and the alternation of temperature less sudden.

The several members of the metamorphic class of rocks of which the Coorg mountains consist may be found in almost every mountain torrent. They are: granular and foliated or stratified granite (gneiss), which consists of quartz, felspar and mica; syenite, a rock of the appearance of ordinary granite, in which however hornblende is substituted for mica, and mica-schist, a slaty rock chiefly composed of mica and
133 quartz sometimes with imbedded garnets. Near Mercara may
135 be found clay-slate or argillaceous schist of coarse variety. This consists of silica and alumina, combined with a little iron, magnesia potash and carbon; crystalline limestone is present in the neighbourhood of Bellur near Fraserpet and supplies nearly all the requirements for building purposes in Coorg. Among this limestone, which is dug out from the ground in small earthy lumps like the kunkur in the N. W. Provinces and which is perhaps more properly termed magnesian limestone, nodules of magnesite are occasionally met with.

A ferruginous laterite, composed of silicate of alumina and oxyde of iron, appears sporadically in almost every part of Coorg.

135 The ingredients of all these rocks, which are subject to
134 an unceasing process of decomposition, constitute the nature of the soil all over the country and, as a matter of course, on the predominance of the one or other or several of their constituing parts combined with other conditions depends as elsewhere the fertility or sterility of the ground.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The minor streams vary only in size, which depends upon the length of their course, their general characteristics being the same. They swell with the freshes in the early part of June and flow with violent and boisterous rapidity till October, when they gradually subside in their normal dimensions.

[132] The south-westerly monsoon floods the uplands of Coorg against which it partially breaks, with such a torrent of rain, that during its prevalence small rills, out of which a thirsty herd does not care to drink, are suddenly transformed into streams that are impassable for many days.

133 103 Of the rivers that flow to the westward the *Barapole* (bare *Can.* empty, bare; pole or hole *Can.* river) is the most considerable. It rises with the *Lakshmana-tírta* and *Pápanáshe* on the same plateau of the Brahmagiri hills in Kiggatnád and flows for several miles in almost a straight line through a deep mountain gorge, where it is joined by a tributary that falls over a perpendicular rock of great height and forms a beautiful cascade near the Kudiál coffee estate. Near the Malayalam frontier the Barapole leaps into a chasm upwards of 200 feet deep, and forms a waterfall that, with the wild gloomy forest scenery around, is remarkably picturesque. Then for two miles this river runs along the Coorg frontier up to the point where the *Kallahole* (kallu *Can.* stone) descending through the Heggala-pass unites with it, when the combined streams enter Malabar and debouch near Chiracal [487] into the sea. The Barapole receives the rainfall of 192 square miles, and is navigable from the sea to within 16 miles off the foot of the Ghats. Near Chávachári on the road to Cannanore it is spanned by a wooden bridge, resting on high stone pillars.

The next stream of importance is the *Nigikal* which drains the Sampáji valley, and follows the main road as far as Sulya, when it turns to the west, receives a tributary that originates on the western slopes of the Todicána-pass and Tala-Kávéri,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

him, should they unobserved gain access to any bare part of his feet; they will bleed him unmercifully till he feels the blood trickling down. The wounds produce with some constitutions festering sores. A simple means for keeping them off is a little salt-bag round the ankle. The medicinal leech (*Can.* atte) is also found in tanks and made use of in the Hospital. 136* [757]

3. Meteorological and climatic conditions of Coorg. 132 ●

Though Coorg is but a small country, yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence the atmospheric conditions of the locality. Still the dry eastern or Kanawé district may in the mean present as constant a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. We have to distinguish the hot, the rainy and the cold season, though throughout the year the atmosphere is not without humidity which is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. From the end of December to the end of March, rain, indeed, is scarce, but in the mornings and evenings the valleys are seldom free from fogs or dews. During these months the dry east wind prevails, which has long ceased to carry remains of north-east monsoon clouds to the Western Ghats. Towards the end of March the clouds begin to collect towards the south-west and the cooling sea breeze blows with more regularity over the Ghats. In April and May the sun increases in power, banks of massive clouds extend along the western horizon, and occasional thunderstorms and showers, indicating the approach of the monsoon, cool the atmosphere which is warm and moist. The thunderstorms during this season are even more impressive than in the low country. Mountains of clouds, in double and treble ranges, float against each other with the order of armies. The sound as of heavy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

● 132 cannon is heard from a distance; solitary discharges of the electric fluid shoot through the gloom. Now whole batteries seem to be in action; peals of thunder are heard at brief intervals, and the eye shuts involuntarily against the dazzling brilliancy of the lightning. Then the conflict seems to subside, the roar of thunder is heard at greater intervals, the flashes of lightning lose their intense and fearful glare and the rain pours down in torrents.

Towards the end of May the clouds take up a firm position in the western sky and grow in massiveness. In June the rapport between the western sea and the atmosphere of Coorg is fully established. Rain prevails, descending at times softly, but more frequently with great violence and heavy gusts of wind. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The clouds seem to be inexhaustible, the blasts of the wind irresistible! As much as 74 inches of rain have been registered within this month, and for several days in succession 5, 6 and 7 inches within 24 hours! The sun is often not seen for weeks, and existence in the province would be as dull and gloomy as the clouds overhead, did not the inhabitants adapt themselves to circumstances and learn to make light of the incessant downpour. But it is pardonable if one is sometimes tempted to envy those favoured few, who may bask all the while in the mild sunshine of pleasant Fraserpet, the monsoon-head-quarters of the Superintendent, 20 miles to the east of Mercara, where the roaring Kávéri river and an occasional shower from the fringe of the monsoon clouds are the only signs of the rainy season in the highlands. In August the rain is considerably less and a few days break with an open sunny sky, atones for all the past discomforts. The ancient Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In October the north-east

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wind strong and cold, gains the ascendency and clears the sky; in November, however, it often carries heavy clouds from the eastern coast, which discharge themselves chiefly upon the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightful, clear and fresh, the thermometer falling to a minimum of 50°. 132

The meteorological observations in Coorg are almost confined to Mercara, the principal station. From the tables in the appendix which are based upon my observations for 7 years, the following facts may be deduced for the meteorological condition of Mercara, near the Central School. The mercurial barometer shows its maximum height during the hot weather months and reaches 26° 60′ and its minimum during the monsoon, when it falls to 26° 15′. The thermometer indicates a moderate temperature, owing not to the latitude, but only to the elevation of the country. During the cold months, from October to January inclusive, the daily average variation ranges over 24° Fahrenheit between the extremes, giving a daily mean of 65°; during the hot weather months, February to May inclusive, the daily mean temperature is 70°, deduced from the average extremes 57° and 82° which show a daily variation of 25°; during the monsoon, from June to September, the temperature is most equable, moving between the extremes 60° and 75° which leave only a daily variation of 15° and a daily mean of temperature of 65° for these months. [654]

The prevailing winds are: west wind just before and during the monsoon; north-east wind directly after the monsoon; and east to south-east wind during the remaining season.

The percentage of humidity, as exhibited by Dr. Bidie in his "Report on the Ravages of the Borer", varies between 48 and 87, the minimum occurring in December and the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 maximum at the end of September; very gradually and steadily rising 10 cents from January until May, when with a bound it increases 10 cents in May, 5 cents in June, 5 cents in July, and after a decrease of 5 cents in August it reaches the maximum of 87 cents in September, falls 10 cents in October, 10 in November and 22 in December, when it attains its minimum.

The mean annual rainfall for the past 7 years amounts to 123·80 inches of which at a monthly average 1·90 inches fell during the hot, 26·43 inches during the monsoon and 2·64 inches during the cold season. According to the scientific theory of the south-west monsoon, the rainfall in Coorg would seem to be entirely dependent on the geographical position and geological configuration of the country, but practical experience attests the fact, which is also corroborated by the annexed pluvimetrical table, that the rainfall has for the last four years been steadily decreasing and the cause is attributed to the extensive denudation of forest-clad hills for coffee cultivation, contemporaneously with the natural decay of all the bamboos in Coorg. The same amount of vapours as in former years may be carried from the sea over the Ghats, but the local power of attracting the rain clouds has diminished with the disappearance of the forests. No one who has attentively watched the sailing of clouds over partially wooded hill-tops can have failed to observe their lingering hovering-over and descent upon the forests, whereas over the bare hills the clouds sweep past with unimpeded velocity. The rains are neither as heavy, regular or continuous, as they used to be, and since there is less rain sinking into the ground and the retaining qualities of the soil have been reduced by the extensive clearing of forests and jungles, there are fewer springs and shallower streams and the country in general has become drier. Were it not for the incidental droughts, injurious to coffee planting, and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the increasing difficulty of rice cultivation in some parts of the country, the change might be hailed as a most welcome improvement in the Coorg climate, which for the sake of human health might be still less loaded with moisture. 132

On the whole the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 66° 6′ is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year and Europeans are able to take exercise in the open air at all hours. European children in particular enjoy excellent health and their fat rosy cheeks form a striking contrast to the thin pale faces of those in the low country.

The rarified, often cold and damp air of Mercara with the usually prevailing high winds, necessarily does not agree with asthmatic and bronchial affections, chronic disorders of the liver and dysenteric complaints, but Frasrpet, which is 1,000 feet lower than Mercara, affords a salutary change during the rainy season.

The native troops, especially new arrivals from the low country, suffer much from the cold and damp and are, during their first year of acclimatization, subject to fever and bowel complaints, but in time even they enjoy the bracing climate of Mercara. [701] [164]

The climate of the valleys, particularly during the hot months preceding the monsoon, when, as the natives say, the old and new waters are mixed, is far from being healthy. Fevers, agues and bowel complaints are then very frequent and protracted. For the rest of the year the natives of the country pronounce the climate to be excellent especially after the monsoon. Besides the dreaded Coorg fever, which appears in its worst form, especially to Europeans, in the vicinity of Atur in south-east Coorg and about Sampáji on the western boundary, small-pox has laid a fearful hold upon the natives though vaccination is much in vogue. Cholera but seldom makes its appearance; and yields readily to treat- 132 164 [751]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

●132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate
[167] their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

198 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,916, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

Appendix IV.

MERCURIAL BAROMETER-OBSERVATIONS AT MERCARA

REGISTERED BY REV. G. RICHTER WITH BLAND AND LONG'S INSTRUMENT.

Months.	1866.			1867.			1868.			1869.			1870.			Average.		
	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.
January . .	26·44	26·56	26·50	26·43	26·55	26·48	26·40	26·59	26·50	26·49	26·55	26·51	26·34	26·50	26·43	26·42	26·55	26·48
February . .	– 42	– 58	– 50	– 43	– 55	– 48	– 40	– 60	– 49	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 40	– 52	– 45	– 53	– 57	– 48
March . . .	– 44	– 57	– 50	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 40	– 55	– 50	– 45	– 60	– 50	– 41	– 53	– 49	– 43	– 57	– 49
April . . .	– 42	– 54	– 48	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 40	– 60	– 46	– 44	– 55	– 49	– 37	– 50	– 43	– 40	– 54	– 46
May . . .	– 32	– 52	– 42	– 26	– 48	– 38	– 34	– 55	– 47	– 35	– 55	– 44	– 32	– 45	– 39	– 32	– 51	– 42
June . . .	– 22	– 45	– 34	– 25	– 40	– 37	– 15	– 47	– 35	– 30	– 47	– 35	– 29	– 40	– 35	– 24	– 42	– 35
July . . .	– 30	– 42	– 36	– 30	– 45	– 36	– 29	– 40	– 35	– 30	– 45	– 36	– 28	– 38	– 31	– 29	– 42	– 35
August . .	– 27	– 44	– 36	– 29	– 45	– 34	– 25	– 45	– 36	– 29	– 40	– 34	– 30	– 40	– 34	– 25	– 43	– 35
September .	– 30	– 42	– 36	– 28	– 50	– 39	– 33	– 45	– 39	– 25	– 45	– 37	– 31	– 40	– 35	– 29	– 44	– 33
October . .	– 15	– 50	– 39	– 35	– 47	– 41	– 35	– 48	– 44	– 35	– 42	– 39	– 20	– 40	– 34	– 25	– 45	– 39
November .	– 41	– 54	– 47	– 40	– 59	– 49	– 35	– 50	– 47	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 30	– 52	– 42	– 37	– 53	– 46
December .	– 40	– 58	– 49	– 50	– 58	– 51	– 47	– 52	– 50	– 40	– 50	– 45	– 42	– 59	– 50	– 44	– 55	– 49

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

●132

Appendix V.

THERMOMETER-OBSERVATIONS AT MERCARA

TAKEN BY REV. G. RICHTER, WITH PASTORELLI & CO.'S AND NEWMAN & SON'S INSTRUMENTS.

Months.	1866.			1867.			1868.			1869.			1870.			Average.		
	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.
January . . .	52°	75°	63°	51°	79°	64°	51°	80°	67°	56°	76°	67°	50°	76°	63°	52°	77°	65°
February . . .	54	84	70	58	85	70	52	85	67	52	81	69	54	79	66	54	83	67
March . . .	54	85	70	55	85	71	54	85	70	54	84	70	56	82	69	54	84	70
April	59	82	70	61	79	70	60	84	73	54	86	72	56	85	71	58	83	71
May	67	76	72	64	78	71	62	83	72	61	84	72	59	81	71	62	80	72
June	61	80	68	63	77	67	61	81	66	60	75	66	59	79	68	61	78	67
July	61	70	64	61	75	66	60	77	65	61	75	65	58	67	63	60	73	65
August . . .	62	70	66	62	71	68	60	73	65	59	78	67	58	75	67	60	73	66
September . .	61	76	66	58	75	65	60	78	66	60	70	65	58	74	67	59	74	66
October . . .	59	76	64	62	77	68	57	78	68	58	74	66	55	75	66	58	76	66
November. . .	51	77	66	51	81	66	50	75	64	50	74	64	53	74	66	51	76	65
December. . .	52	77	65	53	80	65	53	76	65	53	75	63	51	75	63	52	76	64

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Appendix VI.

RAINFALL AT MERCARA IN INCHES AND CENTS,

REGISTERED BY REV. G. RICHTER WITH MURRAY AND HEATH'S PLUVIOMETER.

Year.	Jan.	Febr.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total.
1863	0	0	0·45	1·25	2·30	4·78	41·74	39·46	22·95	10·08	10·98	1·40	134·99
1864	0	0	0	1·52	4.72	24·79	74·40	19·00	11·22	3·35	0·98	1·40	141·38
1865	0	0	1·23	2·50	9·33	21·17	64·82	36·91	9·08	2·84	2·28	0	150·16
1866	0	0	0	1·63	2·41	38·59	23·52	17·66	9·14	14·68	0·13	2·28	110·04
1867	0	0	3·70	1·46	8·56	19·89	37·47	19·80	14·02	6·07	0·03	0	111·00
1868	1·33	0	1·39	1·92	3·49	30·98	19·80	25·92	4·55	4·35	1·52	0	95·25
1869	0	0	1·22	2·12	2·05	26·24	44·18	14·14	11·75	9·86	1·90	0·20	113·66
1870	0·38	0	3·54	0·10	2·24	30·21	32·29	19·66	11·68	6·64	1·82	0	108·56
Average	0·21	0	1·44	1·56	4·39	24·58	42·27	24·07	11·79	7·23	2·45	0·66	120·65

Note: The difference in the average total, stated here and on p. 84, is explained by the additional year 1870 being taken into account.

132

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Appendix VII.

GENERAL METEREOLOGICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE THREE SEASONS

DEDUCED FROM THE PRECEDING TABLES.

SEASONS.	Mercurial Barometer.			Thermometer.			Rainfall.		WIND.
	6 A.M.	3 P.M.	Mean.	Min.	Max.	Mean.	Inches.	Cents.	
Cold Season, October—January	26·29	26·51	26·45	54°	76°	65°	10	55	N. E. and E.
Hot Season, February—May	26·33	26·44	26·37	57°	82°	70°	7	39	E. and S. W.
Wet Season, June—September	26·21	26·34	26·27	60°	74°	66°	102	71	W.
Average for the year	26·28	26·43	26·36	57°	77°	67°	120	65	

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16

K
C
133

[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

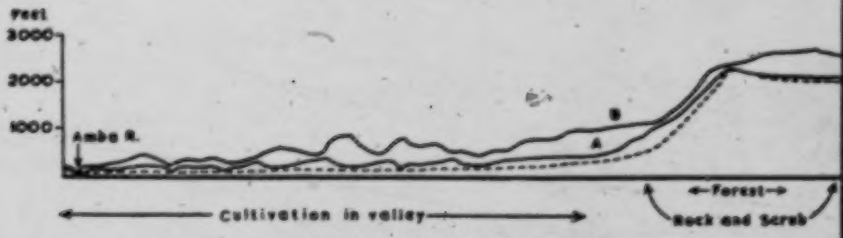

FIG. 125.—SECTION ACROSS THE GHATS. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, B interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggen 2·1.

000
K
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132

station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

K
C
133
[132]
132
311
K
C
161
563

Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[9] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

T

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

[9] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JGI* XXII (1947), 157–225).

● 132, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a description of climate regions of the Indian sub-continent and its general effects on agriculture and health, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 40-62.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

I

[p. 1]

INTRODUCTORY

I

COORG is a tiny, mountainous province in south India, 101
bounded on the north and east by Mysore State, and on 131
the west and south by the South Canara and Malabar Districts of Madras Presidency. Its greatest length, north to south, is sixty miles, and its greatest breadth, east to west, is forty miles. The total area is 1,593 square miles, of which 519 square miles constitute 'reserve forest'.

The Western Ghat mountains which run along the west coast of 131
India from Gujerat to Cape Comorin pass through Coorg. They 133
generally make a precipitous descent to the west while they slope more gradually to the east. The plateau of peninsular India generally slopes to the east, and most of the bigger south Indian rivers flow from west to east.

The main range of the Western Ghats skirts the southern and western frontier of Coorg. Starting from Brahmagiri Peak (5,276 feet) in the extreme south it runs in a north-westerly direction till Tala Kāvēri, where it turns east for a few miles before it turns north-west again. It proceeds in this direction for some distance and then runs due north till Pushpagiri Peak (5,260 feet).

Spurs strike out in all directions from the main range of the Western Ghats. In the south they form either a ramification of narrow-ridged hills, or subside into undulating slopes enclosing innumerable broad valleys in which rice is grown.

That part of the main range of the Western Ghats which runs east from Tala Kāvēri is called Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa, and a high spur proceeds eastwards from it at the point it turns abruptly north-west. At Mercara this spur forks, the southern fork ending in the peak of Nūrokkal Beṭṭa, while the northern fork zigzags towards Fraserpēṭ in the east. The Nūrokkal spur continuing the Bēngunāḍ Beṭṭa is important, as, together with the Western Ghats running south-east from Tala Kāvēri, it constitutes the watershed of the upper basin of the Kāvēri river.

The western half of Coorg to the north of Mercara is a plateau

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with an average elevation of 3,500 feet. The plateau extends as far 131
east as Somwārpēṭ, and then slopes towards the River Kāvēri 133
which marks the eastern frontier of Coorg for some distance.

In the extreme north, the Ēḷusāvira hills run from Koḍlipēṭ to the Kāvēri a few miles north of Fraserpēṭ.

Richter gives a good, short description of the general appearance 133
of Coorg, which is worth reproducing here:

> The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Somwārpēṭ, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpēṭ the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Vīrarājpēṭ, especially in Beppunāḍ, Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy downs rise from extensive rice valleys.
>
> The eastern frontier between the Kāvēri and Lakshmaṇatīrtha rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest . . .[1]

The Kāvēri springs from the Brahmagiri mountain, three miles to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla. Both the source of the Kāvēri (called Tala Kāvēri or 'Head of the Kāvēri') and Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins the Kāvēri, are important centres of pilgrimage to Coorgs and other Hindus. The Kāvēri flows first of all east by south to Siddāpur, where it turns north by east and flows for twenty-five miles along the eastern frontier of Coorg to Sirangāla where it diverges into Mysore. A number of tributaries springing from the various mountains of Coorg join the Kāvēri at several points on its course in Coorg. The River Lakshmaṇatīrtha which rises in the Brahmagiri hills to the extreme south of Coorg is an important tributary of the Kāvēri, but joins it in Mysore.

The rivers are generally in full flood during June, July, and 132
August, when the south-west monsoon is at its height. But they fall 133
rapidly afterwards, and in summer they are usually fordable on foot. They are not navigable, and are little used for irrigation, which is rendered unnecessary by the copious rainfall and the multitude of small rivulets rising in the wooded ravines.

The south-west monsoon, lasting from June till September, 132

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, Mangalore, 1870, p. 5.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

[81]

COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

COORG is a small British Province perched on the slopes of the Western Ghats. It has an area of about 1,593 square miles of which the reserved forests occupy about 519 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hassan and Mysore districts; and on the south and west by the Malabar and South Canara districts of the Madras Presidency. It is an extremely hilly country and is situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats. Its maximum length is about 60 miles from north to south, and maximum breadth about 60 miles east to west. The name of Coorg is an anglicized corruption of the word *Kodagu*. It is said to be derived from the Canarese term *Kodagu* meaning 'steep' or 'hilly'. The people are called *Kodagas*. In the Coorg language, the country is Kodagu and the people Kodavas. 131 [133] 101

Natural Features—Mountains and Their Formations

The main range of the Western Ghats extends from Subramania in the north-west to the western point of the Brahmagiri in the south for a distance of over 60 miles. From this backbone several long and elongated ridges branch off from east to west. The grand mountain mass of Subramania runs to a height of 5,625 feet above sea level. Among the many 133

A View of Talai Cauvery

The junction of the Kanika and the Cauvery at Bhagamandala

[facing p.2]

ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Benganad Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmagiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemala, Igguttappa, Devarabetta, Tadiandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamala. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmagiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyalemale. Many spurs from the Brahmagiris branch off over the whole of Kiggatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittangala, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg. The Benganad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara. One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kellurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanagalu hill.

Coorg was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorg (South) impenetrable evergreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmagiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kuderemukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilgiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Pilgrims at Bagamandala

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516

Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bagamandala

[facing p. 3]

INTRODUCTION

the steep precipices of the Ghats are the coast line of Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers, and beyond, the dark blue Indian Ocean, dotted with sailing craft. The eastern frontier between the Cauvery and Lakshmana rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted jungle inhabited by the Kurumbar, Lambani, and other wandering tribes. 133

River Systems

Coorg is well favoured with rivers and streamlets which give it an abundant and perennial water supply throughout the year except South Coorg where there is a dearth of it. Though perennial, they are not remarkable for their breadth. Of the rivers that flow eastward, the most important are the following :—

The Barapole, rising in the Brahmagiris with its tributary the Kallhole descending from the Hebbale pass; the Udormbi, the Yeramakuth, the Cadiamale, and the Mundrotu rivers from the Padinalkanad Range. The Yertakarti and Nujikal rivers descend from the Pattighat, and the Maringundi river from the Pushpagiri Range.

Rivers of the eastern watershed consist of the Cauvery and its tributaries. The Cauvery has its source at Talai Cauvery near Bagamandala and is the largest and most important river in Coorg. Its tributaries are the Ramathirtha and the Lakshmanathirtha, both of which rise in South Coorg and join the Cauvery in the Mysore Province. The Kakkabe, Kadanur, Muttamudi, and Chickle rivers, all of which assume considerable dimensions during the monsoon, rise in Padinalkanad and Mercara taluks, while the Hatti, Nadapur and Choran rivers from the Harangai river, and powerful tributaries rise in Nanjarajapatna taluk.

Flora

The flora of Coorg is typical of the prevailing vegetation throughout the Western Ghats. According to Conner, every species of vegetation attains a high degree of luxuriance, if not rankness, quite foreign in the neighbouring countries. Both flowers and blossoms have a brilliancy and variety unknown in the plains, and many of the wild plants possess a share of aromatic qualities both as to odour and flavour. The all-prevailing forest is distinguished by the people as Male-kadu (evergreen mountain forest), and the Kanave-kadu (deciduous growth at the lower levels of the passes). Arborescent growth at higher elevations varying from 3,500 feet is mostly represented by Veteria indica, Canarium strictum, Calophyllum tomentosum, Michelia champaka, Polyalthia coffeoides and others. 137

Fauna

Elephants range throughout all parts of Coorg. They frequent the forests towards the eastern frontier. They are not so numerous as before. 136

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A View of a Coorg House and its sylvan environment

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A Front View of a Coorg House

[facing p. 40]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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View of Mercara (from the East.)

Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr

[frontispiece]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 3]

The Coorg Country.

I. Geographical Features.

The Coorg country is formed by the summits and eastern declivities of the Western Ghats, which separate it on the south and west from the woody tracts of North Malabar (Wynád) and South Canara (Tulu); in the north and east it merges into the table-land of Mysore with the only partially, natural boundary of the rivers Kumáradhári, Hémávati and Kávéri. Its greatest length from north to south, from the river Hémávati to the Brahmagiris, extends over 60 and its greatest width from west to east, from Sampáji to Fraserpet, about 40 English miles. Geographically speaking, the whole country lies between north latitude 11° 55′ and 12° 50′, and east longitude 75° 25′ and 76° 14′. Its area comprises 1,585 square miles. Before the annexation of Coorg by the English, the limits of this little kingdom extended over a larger tract and included the two taluqs of Canara, Amra Sulya and Puttúr, comprising an area of about 580 square miles, which at the request of the inhabitants were separated from Coorg and added to the Collectorate of South Canara.

133 ● 131 [648]

The present shape of Coorg, as represented on a map, is not unlike a baby's sock, a little contracted at the instep and with a loop at the top, by which it is suspended. In this situation the heel points north-west and the toe south-east, whilst the sole, heel and back seam are formed by the Ghats

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 and the whole length of the instep by the Mysore boundary. Compared with the gigantic extent of the Indian Peninsula, Coorg is but of baby's size, however large it may appear to its inhabitants.

[103] As the Badaga people on the Nilagiris have been named Burghers, so is "Coorg" angliciscd from Kodagu or Kodumale, a name which it has borne from the remotest ages and which in its meaning—"Steep mountains" graphically depicts the character of this remarkable alpine land.

2. General description of Coorg,

its mountains and their formation, its rivers and their course, its forests and their general flora and fauna.

Aspect of Coorg. Standing on a bright November morning on the summit of the Brahmagiri near Tala-Káveri, (tale *Kg.* head) the observer is filled with delight and admiration of the grand and picturesque view, that opens out before him. As far as the eye can reach to the north-west and south-east it beholds ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills, now gently sloping down in gentle wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, raising their steep summits into the clear, blue air. Kudurcmukha-betta, the far seen landmark of the mariner, bursts into view from Canara; the Bettadapur and Chámundi hill in Mysore, the Wynád mountains of Malabar and Dodda-betta of the distant Nilagiris are clearly visible, and in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below the steep precipices of the Ghats the coast-line of North Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers and the dark-blue Indian Ocean with its sailing craft fascinate the spectator.

[137] Coorg itself is covered by forest, save here and there where the clearing of a coffee plantation or ragi patch or the park-like open glades (Báné) with their beautiful green sward and varied foliage afford a charming variety to the landscape.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In vain, however, the eye searches for towns and villages, churches and castles or other indications of civilized life. Only here and there in nooks and corners, ensconced amongst groves and clusters of cultivated trees and betrayed by a wreath of smoke, can one discover the thatched houses of the Coorgs, who love a solitary abode near their fields. 361

The want of permanent sheets of water, such as extensive tanks or prominent rivers somewhat detracts from the picturesqueness of the landscape, but during a heavy mist or in the monsoon fancy may easily transform the whole country into innumerable islands emerging from a vast agitated sea. 133 132

The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Sómwárapet, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpet the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Virajpet, especially in Beppunád, Katiednád, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy doures[1] rise from extensive rice valleys. 133

The eastern frontier between the Kávéri and the Lakshmana-tírtha river exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest, inhabited in January, February and March by Kurumbers and Lumbánies and other wandering tribes.

Mountains and their Formation.—The most prominent ridge of mountains in Coorg as to height and extent, is that which culminates in the summits of the Ghats. It stretches in its main outline from Subramanya to the furthest point of the Brahmagiris over or upwards of 60 miles. Seen from the Western Coast near Cannanore the abrupt ascent with the

[1] [Errata: This should read "downs", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 great height and varied configuration of the Ghats present a most grand and imposing spectacle.

The most conspicuous subdivisions of the Ghats are, in the south, the Brahmagiris or Marenád hills, which constitute a formidable natural barrier between Coorg and Wynád. Their height averages some 4,500 feet above the level of the sea. The highest peak of the Brahmagiris is the Brahmagiri hill-station, which towers several hundred feet above a beautiful table-land called Huyále-male (huyále *Kg.* swing) and overlooks the temple of Pemmeya at Tiranelli in Malabar in the deep valley of the Papanashe river and beyond it the extensive coffee plantations and high mountains of North Wynád. Further on, to the west, rise the Hanumán-betta, the Kadanga-male and the Perumále-male. The many spurs that branch off in all directions from the Brahmagiris over the whole of Kigatnád (kiri or ki *Kg.* low) (district of the lower Ghats) and on to the eastern elbow of the river Kávéri produce a ramification of narrow ridged hills, now ascending to almost solitary grandeur, like the Ambate-betta (ambate *Kg.* a kind of mango) near Virájpet, the Bittangala, the Hátur hill or Kundada-betta (kundu *Kg.* height) the Sidéshwara hill and Mankal-betta (man *Can.* mango, kalloo *Can.* stone) now subsiding into the undulating slopes of the most eastern elevations, and enclosing innumerable paddy-fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg.

From the Perambádi-pass near Virájpet to the Todikána-pass, (todia *Kg.* plantain, kána *Kg.* forest) near the source of the Kávéri, the main chain of the Western Ghats extends in a north-westerly direction in almost a straight line of 30 miles in length. Towards the west it falls with great abruptness, the descent from the summit to the foot being generally from 3 to 5 miles, the first part of which is particularly steep. Behind Nalknád palace, the highest mountain of this range, Tadiandamól ("broad-based-hill", tadi *Kg.* broad, molu *Kg.*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

hill) raises its gracefully shaped head over its majestic neighbours. Its height is 5,682 feet above the level of the sea, and as it has a central position in the whole range, the panorama commanded by such an elevation is grand beyond description. The ascent is easy, two-thirds of it may be achieved on horseback, and though the topmost portion is rather difficult the persevering climber is richly rewarded for his exertion when in the cool bracing air he stands on the narrow ledge of the giddy summit and gazes over the gloriously diversified highlands and lowlands at his feet. 133

About 6 miles to the south-east of Tadiandamól rises the Jómamale (jóma *Kg.* ox, male *Kg.* forest), the highest mountain in Katiednád. It is sacred to Malctambiran (Tambiran, a Malayalam god) and overlooks the Kodantora-pass. Two miles to the north-east of Tadiandamól there is another mountain giant, the Iggudappa-kundu (Iggu, a Malayalam god; appa, father; kundu, hill) near the Paditora (Padi, name of a village; tora, pass) and three miles further on the Pérur point and 4 miles still further the Srimangala point. The last notable mountain in the same range is the Brahmagiri in Tavunád (tavu *Kg.* descent, sunset, west) with the source of the river Kávéri.

At an acute angle upon this line the main chain of the Ghats is continued in a due easterly direction as the Benganád range (bengu, to stop) till, nearing Mercara, it makes a sudden turn to the north-west and forms with the latter the Sampáji valley which leads by a gradual slope into the low country of Canara. At the head of the valley and supported by a high ridge with steep abutments on its southern front the Mercara table-land is situated. This ridge branches off in two directions, one towards the south-eastern elbow of the Kávéri, culminating in the pointed peak of Nárokal-betta (nára *Can.* hundred, kallu *Can.* stone, betta hill) and the other, the Horur branch, (hora, outside; uru, town) due east in

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

C
133 a zigzag line towards Frasarpet with several rugged hills, the most remarkable of which is Kalluru-betta clothed with teak forest. The Nárokal and Benganád range make up with the Western Ghats the watershed of the upper basin of the Kávéri, a valley, which between Mercara and Nalknád is 15 English miles broad.

From the main chain of the Ghats and the Benganád range, innumerable ridges jut out on either side. These are diminutive when compared with the parent stock; and they decrease in height as they recede, but have almost everywhere narrow summits and steep declivities.

The table-land of Mercara maintains throughout an average altitude of 3500 feet above the sea, and may be said to extend as far as Somawárpet, a distance of 20 miles, but on the east it slopes down towards the Kávéri which near Frasarpet is still at an elevation of 2720 feet above the sea. This plateau, crossed in all directions by minor hills and ridges, is bounded on the west by the continuation of the Ghats which culminate near the Bisly-pass[1] in the Subrahmanya or Pushpagiri hill, 5548 feet above the sea level. This is a remarkable two-pointed hill of precipitous height and peculiar shape, and resembles, as seen from Mercara, a gigantic bullock hump. The ascent, which, on account of the precipices of the southern and western face of the hill, can only be effected by a circuitous route, is more difficult than that of Tadiandamél. Starting from Bhagati, at the base of the Pushpagiri, it is about 6 miles walking, the ascent taking a good walker 2 hours 40 minutes and the descent to the Hiridigadde of the village Bidehalli 2 hours. A dense jungle, dear to wild elephants, has to be penetrated, and the ascent is severe; but the summit commands an extensive prospect over Coorg, Canara and Mysore. There are on this hill numerous Hindu memorials in the shape of stone mounds. Within an enclosure there are

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[1] [Errata: This should read "Bisilu-pass." see corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 493 - Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1866-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW.1

C 133 I [118] [211]

two rude stone structures, with the customary imprint of two feet (páda) of celestial origin!

Amongst the many ridges that branch off from the Subramanyá range of the Ghats the most remarkable is that, which attains its greatest height in Kóto-betta, about 9 miles north of Mercara. Its elevation is over 5000 feet, and its base covers a very large extent of country. Its summit, which is divided into two peaks, one rather pointed – the Harangal-betta—and the other broad, forms a comparatively flat table-land, while its sides are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses. Close to the apex there are two reservoirs of water, one for the use of the Brahmins and one for the Coorgs, which all the year round retain a constant supply. Close to the summit on a spacious platform is a small temple of rough granite slabs dedicated to Shiva. This hill as well as the Nárokal-betta offer, on account of their height and central position, the finest general view of Coorg, and even to the lover of nature, familiar with mountain glories in Scotland, Switzerland or Italy, no more delightful excursion could be recommended than that to these hills.

C [312]

From Kóte-betta to the north is another ridge running parallel with it, the Shánthalli hills, and beyond them is a bluff hill with almost a precipitous declivity on its western face—the Múkri-betta (móku, nose) with a fine coffee plantation at its base.

C [245]

The last remarkable range, that extends from the northern frontier of Coorg down to the Kávéri almost due south, is the Yélusávira hills with the Málimbi and Kanangala peak. The former is distinguished by its beautifully conical shape which strikes the eye in every part of Coorg.

The Geological formation of the Coorg mountains is indicated by the sharply defined outline of the Western Ghats, a feature characteristic of granitic rocks. The constant action

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 [132] The constant action of the stormy monsoon rains, however, followed by scorching east winds and a burning sun, has greatly affected the surface of the mountains, and a perpetual process of disintegration of the uppermost portions has imparted to them a somewhat rounded appearance, which does not occur, where the atmospheric influences are less severe, and the alternation of temperature less sudden.

The several members of the metamorphic class of rocks of which the Coorg mountains consist may be found in almost every mountain torrent. They are: granular and foliated or stratified granite (gneiss), which consists of quartz, felspar and mica; syenite, a rock of the appearance of ordinary granite, in which however hornblende is substituted for mica, and mica-schist, a slaty rock chiefly composed of mica and quartz sometimes with imbedded garnets. Near Mercara may be found clay-slate or argillaceous schist of coarse variety. This consists of silica and alumina, combined with a little iron, magnesia potash and carbon; crystalline limestone is present in the neighbourhood of Bellur near Fraserpet and supplies nearly all the requirements for building purposes in Coorg. Among this limestone, which is dug out from the ground in small earthy lumps like the kunkur in the N. W. Provinces and which is perhaps more properly termed magnesian limestone, nodules of magnesite are occasionally met with.

133 135

A ferruginous laterite, composed of silicate of alumina and oxyde of iron, appears sporadically in almost every part of Coorg.

The ingredients of all these rocks, which are subject to an unceasing process of decomposition, constitute the nature of the soil all over the country and, as a matter of course, on the predominance of the one or other or several of their constituing parts combined with other conditions depends as elsewhere the fertility or sterility of the ground.

135 134

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystallic form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region. 135 134 [137]

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz. 316 [135]

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean. 133

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution. [312] [487]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The minor streams vary only in size, which depends upon the length of their course, their general characteristics being the same. They swell with the freshes in the early part of June and flow with violent and boisterous rapidity till October, when they gradually subside in their normal dimensions.

[132] The south-westerly monsoon floods the uplands of Coorg against which it partially breaks, with such a torrent of rain, that during its prevalence small rills, out of which a thirsty herd does not care to drink, are suddenly transformed into streams that are impassable for many days.

133 103 Of the rivers that flow to the westward the *Barapole* (bare *Can.* empty, bare; pole or hole *Cán.* river) is the most considerable. It rises with the *Lakshmana-tírta* and *Pápanásha* on the same plateau of the Brahmagiri hills in Kiggatnád and flows for several miles in almost a straight line through a deep mountain gorge, where it is joined by a tributary that falls over a perpendicular rock of great height and forms a beautiful cascade near the Kudiál coffee estate. Near the Malayalam frontier the Barapole leaps into a chasm upwards of 200 feet deep, and forms a waterfall that, with the wild gloomy forest scenery around, is remarkably picturesque. Then for two miles this river runs along the Coorg frontier up to the point where the *Kallahole* (kallu *Can.* stone) descending through the Heggala-pass unites with it, when the combined streams enter Malabar and debouch near Chiracal [487] into the sea. The Barapole receives the rainfall of 192 square miles, and is navigable from the sea to within 16 miles off the foot of the Ghats. Near Chávachári on the road to Cannanore it is spanned by a wooden bridge, resting on high stone pillars.

The next stream of importance is the *Nujikal* which drains the Sampáji valley, and follows the main road as far as Sulya, when it turns to the west, receives a tributary that originates on the western slopes of the Todicána-pass and Tala-Kávéri,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW)

and falls, under the name of Basavani river, near Kasergóde, into the sea.

C 133 103

The *Kumáradhári* (Kumára *Sans.* son, god of war, the son of Shiva: dhára *Sans.* edge, stream) rises near the Subramanya hill and carries off but little of the Coorg waters. For some distance it forms the northern boundary along the Bisilu-pass (bisilu *Can.* heat). A number of tributaries from north and south swell its waters, the largest of them being the *Nétrávati* (nétra *Sans.* eye) which joins it near the village Uppinangadi (uppu *Can.* salt, angadi mart) and thenceforth gives its own name to the rest of the course of this fine river, which near Mangalore meets the sea. The Nétrávati, though useless for purposes of irrigation, is of considerable commercial value. Boats of large size are safely carried from Mangalore as far as Bantwal or Pánemangalur and smaller craft proceed even beyond Uppinangadi.

E [487]

The chief of the Coorg rivers, both as to size and importance, is the *Kávéri*; considering the volume of water it gathers during a course of nearly 400 miles through Mysore, along Salem and Coimbatore through Trichinopoly to Tanjore, where it is almost lost in that garden of India; the Kávéri may well be included amongst the principal rivers of the Peninsula. It rises on the Brahmagiri at a place called Tala-Kávéri (tale *Can.* head) on the very verge of the Western Ghats, where they form a sharp angle with the Benganád range. Another stream, the Kánake, starts close by and after a short run joins the Kávéri at the foot of the hill near the village Bhágamandala (bhágia *Sans.* wealth, felicity; mandala, region). At both places on the top and at the foot of the hill there are temples of great repute for sanctity among the Hindus, which are yearly resorted to by thousands of pilgrims from the adjoining countries. The Kávéri is, according to Brahminical legend, the holiest river in India. Even the holy goddess Ganga resorts underground to the all purifying floods of the

I [778] [788] [823] [805]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW

C 133 103 I [178] [323] [505] C [134] C [491]

Kávéri once a year in Tulámása (tulá *Sans.* the sign of Libra; mása, lunar month) i. e. October, November, to wash away the pollution, contracted from the crowds of sinners, who have bathed in her own waters.

The course of this fine river through Coorg is very tortuous, but below Bhágamándala its current with the exception of a few localities, where it traverses beds of granite rock, is generally tranquil. Its banks which are high and steep are usually formed of rich clay or mould and covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. The bed over which it flows differs in various places, being alternately sandy, pebbly or rocky, but the latter feature is predominant. In the dry season it is fordable at almost all points, but there is always a good body of water, considering the vicinity of its source.

During the monsoon it rises to an impetuous torrent whose mud-stained waters roll with thundering velocity through its wide channel, floating down shrubs and trees from its crumbling banks and overflowing for a few days the adjoining country. During these freshes the river rises near Fraserpet, where it is spanned by a magnificent stone bridge 516 feet in length, to a height of 20 to 30 feet.

Descending through the great valley between Mercara and Nálkanád, the Kávéri makes a sudden turn near Siddhapur (Siddha *Sans.* a divine person) to the north and flows for 25 miles along the eastern frontier, being swollen in its course by several large tributaries. From the Tadiandamól it receives the Kakabe river which separates for some distance Padinálkanád from Katiednád. In Beppunád it is joined by the Kadanur river; and in Yeddenalkanád by the Kummahole.

The Muttáremutta collects the waters of the southern slope of the Mercara ridge, and the Chikkahole those of the valley of Horárnárokalnád. The *Háringi* or Suvarnavati (Suvarna *Sans.* gold) with the Kakehole from Sómawarpet, the Chóvanhole from Shantballi, the Mattapur and Hattehole

[Errata: This should read "Choran-hole". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Ananyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts.

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarúbád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps.

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans. Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone terraces scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-púJáris.

At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Káveri, but the interest in the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brahmins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatîrtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatîrtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asógo-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya. 539 177

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
● [133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Marattics, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Nádu surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bissly-ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Fraserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedavanád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their material interests, the town-people have little desire for or perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar-routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.) 632 [171] [443]

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have lately been found. [485] [133] [245] [172]

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northernmost part of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-nduvé (village-jungles) 635 [131] [162] [648] [133]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwárante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingsites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

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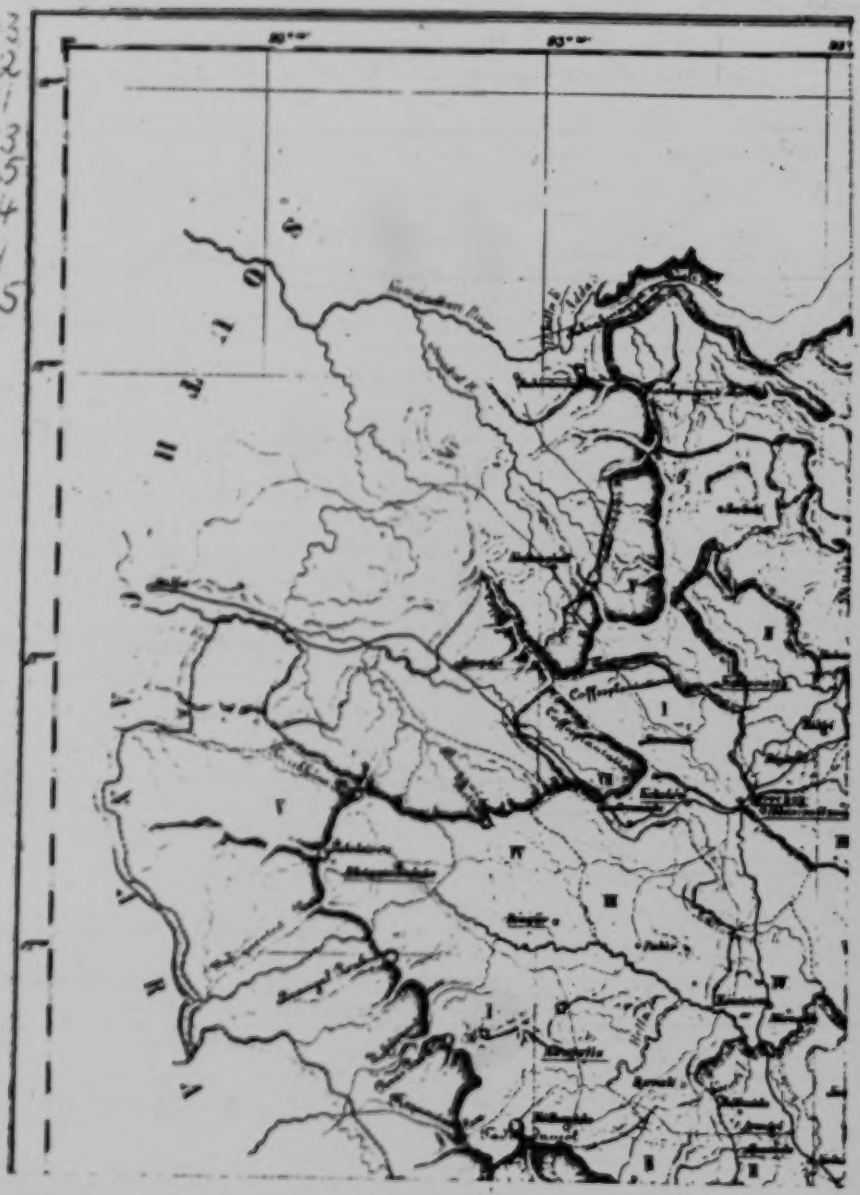

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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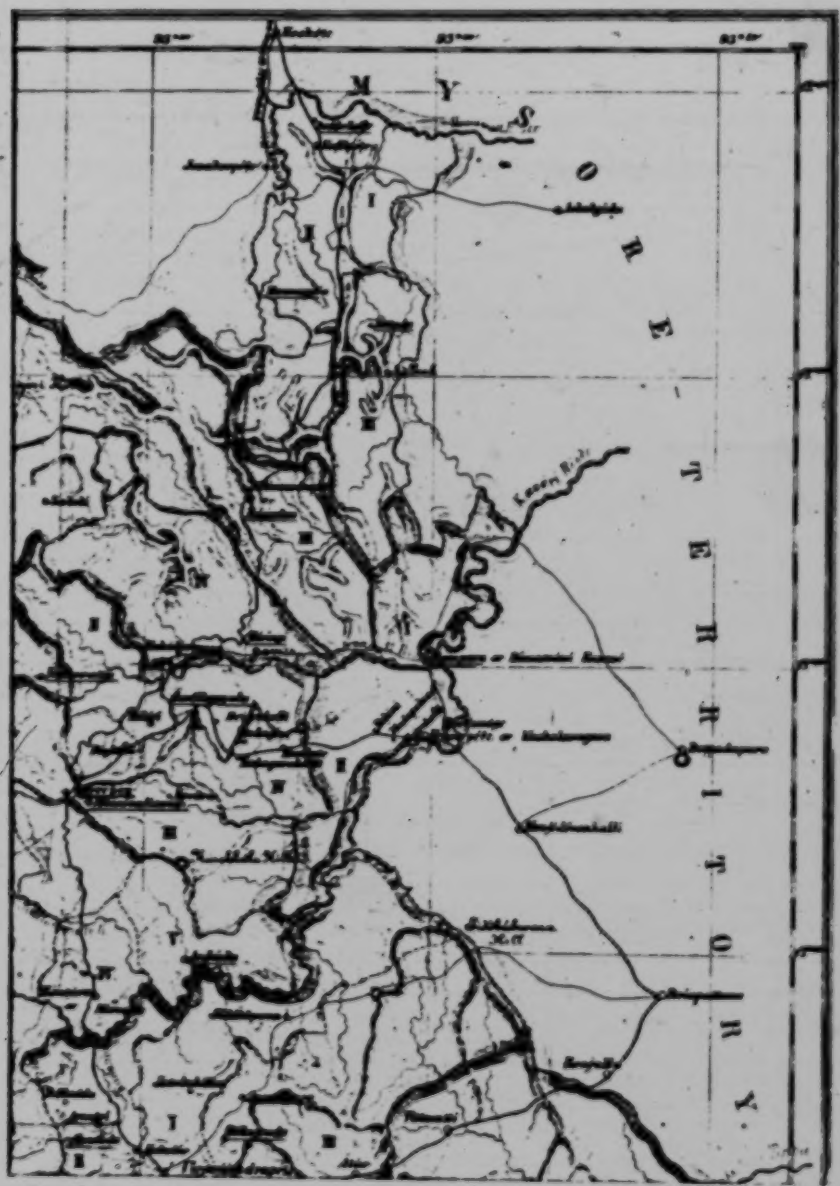

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (c)]

[The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India AW1
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5

and trade have been N/S, or between the interior and the nearest accessible coast, not across the root of the Peninsula.

Structure has been described in Ch. I. We may note briefly the extraordinary maturity of the Peninsular rivers, graded almost to their heads in the Wn Ghats, but cutting through the En Hills or descending precipitously from the high Mysorean plateaus in gorges. The major relief features are usually no more than the flanks of plateaus or of fault-troughs, or residual crests on the heights of land between the main river-basins; but there is a good deal of local diversity, the mesas and buttes of the Deccan Lavas, the fantastic tors and gnarled ridges of the Archaeans.

Climatically the entire area, except for the En Hills, the Wn Ghats, and the rain-shadow of the latter, could be described as Tropical Savannah with monsoonal modification. There is a broad distinction between the NE, with 40 ins. plus and considerable humidity, and the drier (20–40 ins.) and more variable W and S, which in the lee of the Ghats receives less than 20 ins. in places.[1] The boundary between these is a line running roughly along the lower Godavari and produced to the NW. Temperatures practically everywhere range from means of 65–75° F. in January to 85–95° in May; except, of course, where modified by high altitude.

The Western Ghats and Coorg

The astonishing contrast between the scarp and the plateau faces of the Ghats is brought out by Fig. 125: on the one side deep ravines and canyons, on the other flat-topped spurs intersected by mature valleys. The spurs lose height to the E fairly rapidly, becoming mere flat-topped relic ridges on the watersheds, with outlying mesas and buttes; the actual dissected belt, the Ghats proper, is only a few miles wide as a rule; generally 2500–3000 ft high, it reaches 4500 or more in the culminations whence spring the transverse spurs, such as the Tryambak massif at the root of the Balaghat Hills. It is a negative area: in some places, as the Peint forests and the Dangs (S of the Tapti) and behind Ratnagiri and Goa, a tangle of dense jungle, including teak on terraces and valley-floors; elsewhere it carries more open forest with not a little bare rock on the flanks of the more massive lava flows. On spurs E and W are the great hill forts, bases whence the 'mountain rat' Sivaji gradually extended his power over the Konkan and the more open Maharashtra country. Except in the Kanara sub-region already discussed (pp. 617–26), there is little economic activity apart from jungle agriculture, forestry, and the increasingly important hydro-electric development around the Bhor Ghat and Gersoppa. The only places of much importance are the little gap towns and sanatoria behind Bombay (Igatpuri, Lonavla, Khandala; above, 616–17) and Mahabaleshwar (5000), a hill-

[1] For a more detailed analysis see E. Simkins, *The Agricultural Geography of the Deccan Plateau of India* (n.d., ?1926), 13–22.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16

[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

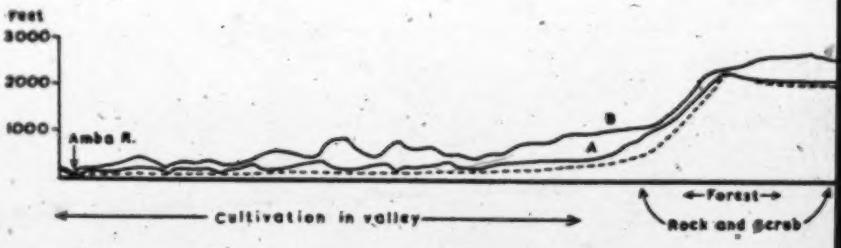


Fig. 125.—SECTION ACROSS THE GHATS. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, 8 interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggtn 2·1.

station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[2] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

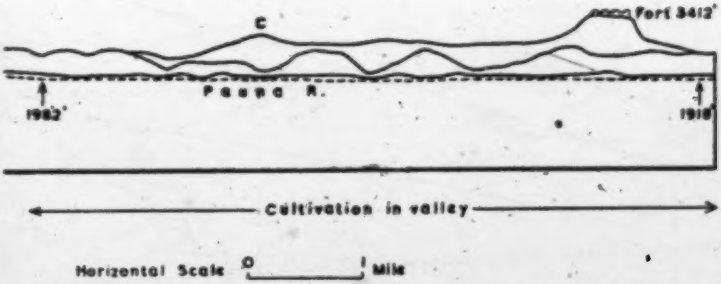
[2] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JGJ* XXII (1947), 157–225).

Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16
641

THE PENINSULAR INTERIOR

WEST OF POONA [Fig. 125 (b)]

133



mls S of Bhor Ghat. Broken lines, thalwegs; A, general line along valley flanks; B, along is graded almost to its head; base level at Poona (Mula confluence) only 1820 ft. Drawn

group to the S. According to Wadia these are great horsts, corresponding to similar structures in Ceylon: "one cannot but ascribe such extraordinarily abrupt inequality of the ground in an ancient Archaean terrain to mechanical dislocation and recent block uplift." [3] But there are difficulties in accepting this view. T 133

These are the great plantation areas of the Peninsula, and the power from their rejuvenated streams is a main factor in the modern industrial development of Tamilnad. T 311 376

(a) *The Nilgiris*

The Nilgiris ('Blue Mountains'; Fig. 126) form a compact plateau of about 1000 sq mls, with a summit level of 6000–8000 ft, rising with extreme abruptness on all sides: on the En slopes there is a fall of 6000 ft in 1½–2 miles, the face to the Coimbatore Plateau is hardly less steep, and on the N the Nilgiris are cut off from the 3000–4000-ft Mysore plateaus by the deep straight gash of the Moyar (the 'Mysore ditch'), the narrow floor of which lies at 1000–2000 ft. The massif is as it were islanded between the Moyar and the Bhavani to the S; the headwaters of these rivers have obviously been captured by the shorter Malabar streams. T 133

With a rainfall of 60–160 in., according to aspect, and temperatures of 38–68° F. in the cold weather, 55–75° in the hot, the Nilgiris form a little botanic realm of their own, with affinities to the Assam flora. Half the area is under forests containing teak and sandalwood; but much consists of open, boldly rolling downland interspersed with woods (*sholas*) presenting a parkland aspect. Quick-growing eucalypts have been introduced from Australia to supply fuel to the hill-stations, and there are Government T [132] 139

[3] D. N. Wadia, "The Making of India" (Presidential Address, 29th ISC; Calcutta, 1942), 17.

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Marathi AW12
Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10
Tulu AW18
● Coorg AW5
Kerala AW11

[For a map of the structural elements of South India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, p. 694.]

• 133, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a description and discussion of the structure and relief of the entire Indian sub-continent, see 6: Spate, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 3-36.]

● 133, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a regional division of the Indian sub-continent see Chapter XIII, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

• 133, 113

Coorg AW5

[For general information on the distribution of various types of flora and its relation to climate and soil, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 63-92.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names: Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayyappa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The constant action
[132] of the stormy monsoon rains, however, followed by scorching east winds and a burning sun, has greatly affected the surface of the mountains, and a perpetual process of disintegration of the uppermost portions has imparted to them a somewhat rounded appearance, which does not occur, where the atmospheric influences are less severe, and the alternation of temperature less sudden.

The several members of the metamorphic class of rocks of which the Coorg mountains consist may be found in almost every mountain torrent. They are: granular and foliated or stratified granite (gneiss), which consists of quartz, felspar and mica; syenite, a rock of the appearance of ordinary granite, in which however hornblende is substituted for mica, and mica-schist, a slaty rock chiefly composed of mica and
133 quartz sometimes with imbedded garnets. Near Mercara may
135 be found clay-slate or argillaceous schist of coarse variety. This consists of silica and alumina, combined with a little iron, magnesia potash and carbon; crystalline limestone is present in the neighbourhood of Bellur near Fraserpet and supplies nearly all the requirements for building purposes in Coorg. Among this limestone, which is dug out from the ground in small earthy lumps like the kunkur in the N. W. Provinces and which is perhaps more properly termed magnesian limestone, nodules of magnesite are occasionally met with.

A ferruginous laterite, composed of silicate of alumina and oxyde of iron, appears sporadically in almost every part of Coorg.

135 The ingredients of all these rocks, which are subject to
134 an unceasing process of decomposition, constitute the nature of the soil all over the country and, as a matter of course, on the predominance of the one or other or several of their constituing parts combined with other conditions depends as elsewhere the fertility or sterility of the ground.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region. 135 134 [137]

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz. 316 [135]

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean. 133

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution. [312] [487]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW

C 133 103 I [178] [323] [805] Kávéri once a year in Tulámása (tulá *Sans.* the sign of Libra; mása, lunar month) i. e. October, November, to wash away the pollution, contracted from the crowds of sinners, who have bathed in her own waters.

The course of this fine river through Coorg is very tortuous, but below Bhágamandala its current with the exception of a few localities, where it traverses beds of granite rock, is C [134] generally tranquil. Its banks which are high and steep are usually formed of rich clay or mould and covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. The bed over which it flows differs in various places, being alternately sandy, pebbly or rocky, but the latter feature is predominant. In the dry season it is fordable at almost all points, but there is always a good body of water, considering the vicinity of its source.

During the monsoon it rises to an impetuous torrent whose mud-stained waters roll with thundering velocity through its wide channel, floating down shrubs and trees from its crumbling banks and overflowing for a few days the adjoining country. During these freshes the river rises C [491] near Fraserpet, where it is spanned by a magnificent stone bridge 516 feet in length, to a height of 20 to 30 feet.

Descending through the great valley between Mercara and Nálkanád, the Kávéri makes a sudden turn near Siddhapur (Siddha *Sans.* a divine person) to the north and flows for 25 miles along the eastern frontier, being swollen in its course by several large tributaries. From the Tadiandamól it receives the Kakabe river which separates for some distance Padinálkanád from Katiednád. In Beppunád it is joined by the Kadanur river; and in Yeddenalkanád by the Kummahole.

The Muttáremutta collects the waters of the southern slope of the Mercara ridge, and the Chikkahole those of the valley of Horúrnúrokalnád. The *Háringi* or Suvarnavati (Suvarna *Sans.* gold) with the Kakehole from Sómawarpet, the Chóvanhole[1] from Shanthalli, the Mattapur and Hattehole

[1] [Errata: This should read "Choran-hole". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg 133
and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost 163
every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts.

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarábád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this [134] ●
river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps.

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not 312
a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád 703
only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 and the Brambles: Rubus Lasiocarpus or country raspberry, R. Rugosus a scandent, prickly shrub and R. Waliichiana
[245] which yields a delicious fruit. The Conocephalus nivens appears here in great abundance, and proves a troublesome
[314] weed on some coffee plantations. Its stem yields a beautiful fibre much resembling that of the Rheea or China grass plant.

The forests in the Ghat region are so dense and tangled by thorny underwood and creepers, that they can only be penetrated by beaten paths and under the guidance of one familiar with their formidable mazes. The many densely shaded mountain rills and torrents are generally lined with a great variety of ferns, prominent amongst which is the stately *Tree fern.* In other places delicate reeds (Wotte) stud the more humid banks of streams. Stout ratans with terrible spines and slender flagelli lashing the air to keep, as it were, intruders at a distance, climb in all directions and surmount with their feathery leaves the highest trees. Favored by the constantly moist atmosphere the stems of many of the trees are speckled with lichens or covered with rare orchids, mosses, and other parasites especially the Mandali-parasite with its large glossy leaves, irregularly cut on one half of the limb. Festoons of wild pepper and gigantic creepers, which again support the more slender herbaceous vines of Convolvulus, Thimbergia,[1] Ipomoea, &c. stretch from tree to tree in the most fantastic interlacings and gorgeously decorate the grand timber trees verdant with their foliage and many hued flowers.

[134] The soil, almost everywhere covered with a humid rich stratum of vegetable mould, highly favors the growth of moisture-loving plants, such as the Indian Arrowroot (Curcuma angustifolia), the long rooted Turmeric (Curcuma longa), the Wild Ginger (Zingiber cassumunar) and especially the highly valued Cardamom.

Wherever the hills are denuded of forest, they are clothed

[1] [Errata. This should read "Thunbergia". See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 ~ Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee. 245 137

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market. 245 [407]

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[1] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality. 245 134 241

[1] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

• 134, 113 Coorg AW5

[For general information on the distribution of soil types in India see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 80-92.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *vōṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

484

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

the steep precipices of the Ghats are the coast line of Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers, and beyond, the dark blue Indian Ocean, dotted with sailing craft. The eastern frontier between the Cauvery and Lakshmana rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted jungle inhabited by the Kurumbar, Lambani, and other wandering tribes. 133

River Systems

Coorg is well favoured with rivers and streamlets which give it an abundant and perennial water supply throughout the year except South Coorg where there is a dearth of it. Though perennial, they are not remarkable for their breadth. Of the rivers that flow eastward, the most important are the following :—

The Barapole, rising in the Brahmagiris with its tributary the Kallhole descending from the Heggala pass; the Udormbi, the Yeramakuth, the Cadiamale, and the Mundrotu rivers from the Padinalkanad Range. The Yertakarti and Nujikal rivers descend from the Pattighat, and the Maringundi river from the Pushpagiri Range.

Rivers of the eastern watershed consist of the Cauvery and its tributaries. The Cauvery has its source at Talai Cauvery near Bagamandala and is the largest and most important river in Coorg. Its tributaries are the Ramathirtha and the Lakshmanathirtha, both of which rise in South Coorg and join the Cauvery in the Mysore Province. The Kakkabe, Kadanur, Muttermudi, and Chickle rivers, all of which assume considerable dimensions during the monsoon, rise in Padinalkanad and Mercara taluks, while the Hatti, Nadapur and Choran rivers from the Harangai river, and powerful tributaries rise in Nanjarajapatna taluk.

Flora

The flora of Coorg is typical of the prevailing vegetation throughout the Western Ghats. According to Conner, every species of vegetation attains a high degree of luxuriance, if not rankness, quite foreign in the neighbouring countries. Both flowers and blossoms have a brilliancy and variety unknown in the plains, and many of the wild plants possess a share of aromatic qualities both as to odour and flavour. The all-prevailing forest is distinguished by the people as Male-kadu (evergreen mountain forest), and the Kanave-kadu (deciduous growth at the lower levels of the passes). Arborescent growth at higher elevations varying from 3,500 feet is mostly represented by Vateria indica, Canarium strictum, Calophyllum tomentosum, Michelia champaka, Polyalthia coffeoides and others. 137

Fauna

Elephants range throughout all parts of Coorg. They frequent the forests towards the eastern frontier. They are not so numerous as before. 136

136 Since 1902 systematic arrangements have been made by Government for their capture in pits as in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Bisons frequent the densest forests and highest hills, especially in Marenad and Hormalnad. Bears generally abound in the north-west. Tigers and leopards are also found. Sambur, spotted deer, and barking deer are general in the woods. The most important bird is the hornbill, but there are peacocks, water fowl and jungle-cock, over and above the most ordinary and common Indian birds. Snakes are plentiful and cobra haunt the bamboo forests. There is a large variety of fish. The best fish in size and quality is the plantain fish.

Meteorology and Climate

132 Coorg is a small country, and yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence its atmospheric conditions. Still the dry eastern district may present as steady a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. The hot, rainy and cold seasons have to be distinguished. Throughout the year the atmosphere is humid, and humidity is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In November the north-east winds carry heavy clouds from the eastern coast which discharge themselves chiefly in the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightfully clear and fresh. The annual rainfall at Mercara is 133 inches. On the whole, the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 60° F. is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year.

Prehistory

172 Our knowledge of the prehistory of Coorg is very scanty. Prehistoric dolmens or burial cairns are found in Coorg as in other parts of South India. The first discovery of them in large numbers was made by Lieut. Mackenzie in 1868 on Bane near Virajpet. Captain Cole followed it up with great enthusiasm and his excavations yielded interesting results. All the cairns found are either level with the ground, or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber 7 ft. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. composed of four upright granite slabs, 7 or 8 inches thick, and a capstone which projects over the uprights. The flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 ft. in diameter broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a compartment may be two-chambered. These cairns are either

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

+175 +643 +648 The sequel may as well be anticipated here, to connect the whole in one. A few months after, when in my own house at Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearance of Mahomed Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I have saved his life, that the Rájah had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me, in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of every thing at the last barrier; but that he never would return. I saw him in a good place, shortly afterwards, well and happy. The Rájah, Lingrájender Wodeer died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the Musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I have heard of no cruelties committed by the present Mahá Swámi, who is described as a mild, inoffensive young man. [491] The English have had, however, little or no intercourse with that country, since 1811, a road being opened through Wynád to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own pioneers. [224] I have omitted to mention, that as this country abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they [136] should be hunted every season, and the former Rájah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger, after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers."

*175 *643 The above extracts give a tolerably correct idea of Lingarájah's character and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vírarájendra to the deposition of the present ex-rájah in 1834. Vírarájendra was impelled to deeds of blood by a naturally savage temperament, hardened by habits of internecine warfare in which he was engaged almost throughout life, and inflamed towards the end of his career by paroxysms of the darkest suspicions, and a melancholy ever hovering on the brink of insanity. His brother, Lingarája, had none of his redeeming qualities. His cruelty was without excuse. He

4: Richter AW5 Coorg AW5

● 136

/For information on the general fauna of Coorg, see category 116, pp. 36-81./

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 brings very heavy rainfall to the Western Ghats generally, and Coorg is no exception to the rule. The monsoon is most severe in July, and thereafter it gradually diminishes till it finally comes to a stop towards the end of September.

The north-east monsoon, lasting from November till January, does not compare with the south-west monsoon in the amount of rain it brings, nor does it affect all parts of Coorg uniformly. Only the eastern and south-eastern parts are markedly affected by it.

Coorg, for its size, shows enormous variation in the amount of rainfall received in different parts, some parts like Voṭékolli receiving as much as 250 inches annually, while others like Fraserpēṭ receive only 41 inches annually. Mercara and Vīrarājpēṭ receive annually 131 and 110 inches respectively. Mercara is the normal seat of the government, but during the monsoon it is replaced by Fraserpēṭ.

The year is divided into three seasons, cold, hot, and rainy. The cold season lasts from December to the beginning of March, the hot from March to the beginning of June, and the rainy from June till the middle of December. September marks the end of the severe south-western monsoon, and November the beginning of the north-eastern monsoon, and in between the two there is an uncertain respite from rain.

The climate of Coorg shows regional variation, the eastern and northern parts resembling the climate of Mysore, while Coorg Proper[1] is damper and cooler than Mysore. In Mercara the average temperature for the year is 66·6°. In the monsoon the daily mean temperature is 65° with a daily variation of 15°, while in winter the same daily mean temperature has a greater range of daily variation with 24°, and in the hot season the daily mean temperature of 70° has a variation of 25°. The lowest temperature in winter is 50°, while the maximum reached in summer is 82°. Mercara, however, is a little cooler than the rest of Coorg owing to its comparatively high elevation (3,809 feet).

137 The flora of Coorg does not vary much from the flora of the rest of south India. Very dense forests, containing useful timbers, clothe the sides of the mountains everywhere. In the east the more level tracts are covered with clumps of bamboo interspersed with other trees, some of them timbers. The precious sandalwood tree also grows in this area.

[1] See p. 7 for the meaning of 'Coorg Proper'.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *võṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

484

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

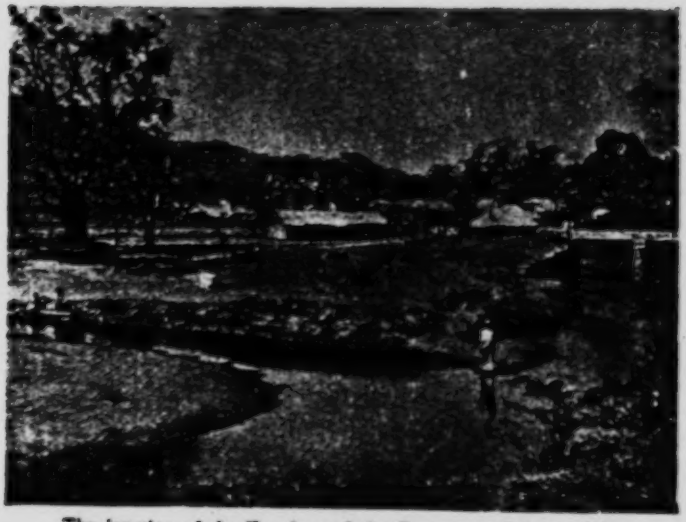
184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

A View of Talai Cauvery



The junction of the Kanaka and the Cauvery at Bhagamandala

[facing p. 2]

133 ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Bengunad [491] Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmagiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemala, Igguttappa, Devarabetta, Tediandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamala. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmagiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyalemale. Many spurs from the Brahmagiris branch off over the whole of Kiggatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittangala, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg. The Bengunad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara. One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kallurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanagalu hill.

137 Coorg was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one [245] has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorg (South) impenetrable evergreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree 133 is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November [137] morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmagiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kudaremukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilgiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below

the steep precipices of the Ghats are the coast line of Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers, and beyond, the dark blue Indian Ocean, dotted with sailing craft. The eastern frontier between the Cauvery and Lakshmana rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted jungle inhabited by the Kurumbar, Lambani, and other wandering tribes. 133

River Systems

Coorg is well favoured with rivers and streamlets which give it an abundant and perennial water supply throughout the year except South Coorg where there is a dearth of it. Though perennial, they are not remarkable for their breadth. Of the rivers that flow eastward, the most important are the following :—

The Barapole, rising in the Brahmagiris with its tributary the Kallhole descending from the Heggala pass; the Udormbi, the Yeramakuth, the Cadiamale, and the Mundrotu rivers from the Padinalkanad Range. The Yertakarti and Nujikal rivers descend from the Pattighat, and the Maringundi river from the Pushpagiri Range.

Rivers of the eastern watershed consist of the Cauvery and its tributaries. The Cauvery has its source at Talai Cauvery near Bagamandala and is the largest and most important river in Coorg. Its tributaries are the Ramathirtha and the Lakshmanathirtha, both of which rise in South Coorg and join the Cauvery in the Mysore Province. The Kakkabe, Kadanur, Muttarmudi, and Chickle rivers, all of which assume considerable dimensions during the monsoon, rise in Padinalkanad and Mercara taluks, while the Hatti, Nadapur and Choran rivers from the Harangai river, and powerful tributaries rise in Nanjarajapatna taluk.

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Fauna

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [232]

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A typical Coorg in his smart attire

Amma Coorg Male Group

342
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An Amma Coorg House

[facing p.65]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 and the whole length of the instep by the Mysore boundary. Compared with the gigantic extent of the Indian Peninsula, Coorg is but of baby's size, however large it may appear to its inhabitants.

[103] As the Badaga people on the Nilagiris have been named Burghers, so is "Coorg" anglicised from Kodagu or Kodumale, a name which it has borne from the remotest ages and which in its meaning—"Steep mountains" graphically depicts the character of this remarkable alpine land.

2. General description of Coorg,

its mountains and their formation, its rivers and their course, its forests and their general flora and fauna.

Aspect of Coorg. Standing on a bright November morning on the summit of the Brahmagiri near Tala-Kávéri, (tale *Kg.* head) the observer is filled with delight and admiration of the grand and picturesque view, that opens out before him. As far as the eye can reach to the north-west and south-east it beholds ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills, now gently sloping down in gentle wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, raising their steep summits into the clear, blue air. Kudurcmukha-betta, the far seen landmark of the mariner, bursts into view from Canara; the Bettadapur and Chámundi hill in Mysore, the Wynád mountains of Malabar and Dodda-betta of the distant Nilagiris are clearly visible, and in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below the steep precipices of the Ghats the coast-line of North Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers and the dark-blue Indian Ocean with its sailing craft fascinate the spectator.

[137] Coorg itself is covered by forest, save here and there where the clearing of a coffee plantation or ragi patch or the park-like open glades (Báné) with their beautiful green sward and varied foliage afford a charming variety to the landscape.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region. 135 134 [137]

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz. 316 [135]

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean. 133

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution. [312] [487]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

312 773 guna in the year Párthiva. This was written by Venkadasya Mallia Bomarsia at the time of Basawalinga Déva Rája Voden."

The legend is shortly this: "A merchant Malla Shetty of Yelusávirashíme vowed to build this tank. When it was [782] finished, there was no water forthcoming. Animal sacrifices were suggested by the tank diggers and offered, but in vain. In this distress the goddess Ganga appeared and demanded the little finger of the Shetti. Unwilling to make this sacrifice, he offered the life of Akkony, his daughter-in-law instead, whose husband was away on a journey. Akkony agreed, took an affectionate leave of her child and parents, who were ignorant of her intentions, and amidst great solemnities she stepped into the tank, when Ganga made her appearance in rushing water. Akkony's parents, hearing of the impending sacrifice, hastened to rescue their daughter, but she refused to leave the tank, uttered a curse upon her father and mother-in-law and disappeared in the rising water. She then appeared in a dream to her husband, who speedily returned home, and, on hearing what had happened, killed his parents, and with his child in his arms rushed to the tank and in despair threw himself into it, when both were graciously received by Ganga."

312 Besides the small public tanks, there are only private wells, that yield, if dug deep enough, everywhere sweet and clear water; but it appears, that the natives of Coorg do not bestow enough attention on the great blessing of wholesome water, and are often satisfied with the muddy contents of a hole, carelessly dug by the side of their paddy-fields, though from their own experience they assert, that most of their diseases are owing to the bad quality of their drinking water.

● 137 *Forests and their general flora and fauna.*—In Coorg extensive forests clothe every mountain range almost up to the summit and bamboo jungles, cover the more level eastern districts,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

interspersed with such trees, as are peculiar to these localities. 137
The flora of Coorg is almost identical with that of Southern India. It is of course beyond the scope of this Gazetteer and equally beyond the knowledge of the compiler, to attempt anything like a full description of the Coorg flora; we can only glance at its distinguishing features and enumerate a few species, that are of practical value, reserving those which fall under the care of the agri-horticulturist for a special consideration.

The first collection of Coorg plants appears to have been 114
made by Captains Munroe and Gough, who probably placed 137
their collections at the disposal of the famous botanist Dr. Wight. Mr. Metz, a German missionary on the Nilagiris, also collected a good many plants about Mercara, which were afterwards distributed in Germany by Hohenacker and named by Miguel. In Major Heber Drury's book on "Useful Plants" and Dr. Bidie's "Timber Trees of India" (1862) much information is given about the principal timber trees in Coorg.

Looking upon Coorg with the eye of the forester, rather 137
than that of the general botanist, the most superficial survey will not fail to discover invaluable treasures of timber trees and their produce, scattered all over the province. Small as the country is, there are nevertheless distinct tracts with trees peculiar to them. The two prominent zones are by the Coorgs called Male-kádu or Hill-forests and Kanive-kádu or Hillock-jungles (Kanive, a ridge between paddy-fields, hillock). Botanically they may perhaps be determined as evergreen and deciduous forests, the former clothing the Ghats, the latter the eastern hill-tracts.

All along the slopes of the Ghats the Poon spar—"Calophyllum augustifolium"—rules as king of the forest. When 396
full grown, it is often upwards of 100 feet in height, its wood 824
is clean, tough and elastic and there is perhaps no other tree so well suited in every respect for making ship's spars and masts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 masts. By its side may be seen the black Dammer tree or
137 (*Can.*) Dúppa-mara (Canarium strictum) which attains a great
314 height and may be recognised at a distance by the peculiar red colour of its foliage. The resin obtained from this tree has a brilliant black lustre, when adhering to the ash colored bark, but when held up to the light, it is of a rich brownish yellow tint.

Another resin producing tree is the white Dammer tree (Vateria indica). When an incision is made into the bark of this tree and fire applied to it, the charred trunk yields an increased quantity of the fluid resin.

The Calophyllum inophyllum or Alexandrian Laurel supplies a fragrant resin, and from the seeds is extracted by pressure the Pinnay oil of commerce.

The beautiful order *Guttifera* is also frequently represented by at least 2 species. The *Garcinia pictoria* yields a very superior kind of gamboge, and the other species an inferior sort. The gamboge is obtained from the fruit of the tree by pressure and maceration. A very common tree of the dense forest is the wild cinnamon (Cinnamomum iners) the bark of the branches of which is supposed to form part of the Cassia bark of commerce.

137 The following trees are noted for the excellence of their
313 timber or other useful qualities: The Sampige—(Champak) Mi-
314 chelia champaca—with its beautiful and sweet scented flowers; the perfection of beauty in the poetical fancy of the Coorg bard, the Ebony—(Diospyros ebenaster) *Can.* Kari-mara, the Wood-oil tree (Dipterocarpus laevis), the Kanagala tree (Dillenia pentagyna), the Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolius—*Can.* Halasina-mara). The Iron wood (mesua ferrea) with large white fragrant flowers and very hard wood; the Indian Mahogany or White Cedar (Cedrela toona—*Can.* Bellandi-mara), the Red Cedar or Chittagong wood (Chickrassia tabularis), the timber of both trees is little inferior to Mahogany; the wild

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia).

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[137] and the Brambles: Rubus Lasiocarpus or country raspberry, R. Rugosus a scandent, prickly shrub and R. Wallichiana [245] which yields a delicious fruit. The Conocephalus nivens appears here in great abundance, and proves a troublesome [314] weed on some coffee plantations. Its stem yields a beautiful fibre much resembling that of the Rheea or China grass plant.

The forests in the Ghat region are so dense and tangled by thorny underwood and creepers, that they can only be penetrated by beaten paths and under the guidance of one familiar with their formidable mazes. The many densely shaded mountain rills and torrents are generally lined with a great variety of ferns, prominent amongst which is the stately *Tree fern*. In other places delicate reeds (Wotte) stud the more humid banks of streams. Stout ratans with terrible spines and slender flagelli lashing the air to keep, as it were, intruders at a distance, climb in all directions and surmount with their feathery leaves the highest trees. Favored by the constantly moist atmosphere the stems of many of the trees are speckled with lichens or covered with rare orchids, mosses, and other parasites especially the Mandali-parasite with its large glossy leaves, irregularly cut on one half of the limb. Festoons of wild pepper and gigantic creepers, which again support the more slender herbaceous vines of Convolvulus, Thimbergia,[1] Ipomoea, &c. stretch from tree to tree in the most fantastic interlacings and gorgeously decorate the grand timber trees verdant with their foliage and many hued flowers.

[134] The soil, almost everywhere covered with a humid rich stratum of vegetable mould, highly favors the growth of moisture-loving plants, such as the Indian Arrowroot (Curcuma angustifolia), the long rooted Turmeric (Curcuma longa), the Wild Ginger (Zingiber cassumunar) and especially the highly valued Cardamom.

Wherever the hills are denuded of forest, they are clothed

[1] [Errata. This should read "Thunbergia". See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a dense coarse grass, which at times greatly impedes their ascent. As the western forests are left and the eastern districts approached, many of the trees just enumerated are still met with, but added thereto others more characteristic of a drier climate. On entering into the more open country, there are found upon the grassy glades (Báné) smaller trees and shrubs, disposed with an artless grace, that the landscape gardener in vain seeks to imitate. Here spring and summer, in sweet embrace, hold perpetual sway, and the very air, so cool and fresh, seems imbued with life and health. 139

The aromatic Jasmine with its pure white flowers, the Coorg Rose in its rustic simplicity, the Gloriosa superba with its flaming corolla, the Melastoma malabathricum with its strange looking ribbed leaves and splendid mauve coloured flowers, the Coorg Lilac (Callicarpa Wallichiana) with its small red cymes of flowers, and the Adisia humilis with translucent rose coloured flowers, that look as if they had been cut out of a rare cornelian; these and many other flowering shrubs and herbs greet the eye here.

As we approach the Coorg houses, we come upon groves of Orange, Lime, Guava (Psidium pyriferum), Rose-apple (Jambosa vulgaris), Pomegranate, and clumps of Plantain trees, all of which thrive remarkably well. The Bastard Sago is much esteemed for its toddy and the Areca palm occasionally keeps its company, and their foliage, blended with the dense crown of the stately mango or jack tree, forms a beautiful back ground to the large paddy flats below. [245] [273]

We enter now upon the eastern or bamboo district of Coorg called Kanawé-kádu. The character of this district is indicated by the prevalence of large clumps of bamboo, interspersed with Blackwood, Matti, Hony, Teak, Sandal and other trees. Whoever had the good luck of seeing a Coorg bamboo jungle a few years ago when in its full vigour of growth, cannot have failed to be struck with the elegance and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 beauty of its general appearance. Captain Basil Hall, who in 1813 entered Coorg from Mysore by way of Siddhapur and Virájpet, thus vividly describes his first impression of a pure bamboo jungle. "It seemed as if I were travelling among the clustered columns of some enormous and enchanted Gothic cathedral. . . . . The ground extended on all sides as smooth and flat and clear of underwood as if the whole had been paved with grave stones. From this level surface rose on every hand and, as far as the eye could penetrate into the forest, immense symmetrical clusters of bamboo, varying in diameter at their base from six feet to twenty or thirty, as I ascertained by actual measurement. For about 8 or 10 feet from the ground each of these clusters or columns preserved a form nearly cylindrical, after which they began gradually to swell outwards, each bamboo assuming for itself a graceful curve and rising to the height some of 60, some of 80 and some even of 100 feet in the air, the extreme end being at times horizontal or even drooping gently over, like the tips of the feathers in the Prince of Wales' plume. These gorgeous clusters stood at a distance of 15 or 20 yards from one another and, being totally free from the interruption of brushwood, could be distinguished at a great distance—more than a mile certainly, in every direction, forming under the influence of an active imagination naves and transepts, aisles and choirs, such as none but a Gothic architect ever dared to conceive . . . . . ."

A view so grand would now, however, be sought for in vain. The whole of the Coorg bamboo jungles are in a state of decay after the periodical seeding during the last few years. This is a remarkable phenomenon, asserted by the natives, to take place once every 50 or 60 years, though not every where at the same time. In the north-east of Coorg the general seeding took place in 1860, and in the south-west in 1866 and 67, so that there is hardly a green bamboo left

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in these jungles, but it is said, that on the western slopes of the Ghats the bamboos are still alive and in vigorous health. 137 •

The Coorgs have a Canarese proverb: [539]

"Arvattu warushake ondu katte,
Yeppattu warushake ondu yette."

which means:

"Once in 60 years the bamboos will decay,
Once in 70 years a famine may hold sway."

Lieutenant Connor in his "Coorg Survey" states it as a curious fact, that in 1817 in the whole of the district of Wynád there was scarcely a bamboo clump to be seen, that was not dead, dying or in blossom. Clumps of all ages growing contiguous to or far apart from each other were in the same condition. The same thing happened again there, as well as in Coorg, during the last few years, which occurrence would prove conclusively, that the bamboos, growing from seed and multiplying their reeds from the roots like the grasses, live for a period of about 50 years, when the whole clump with old and young reeds produces flowers and seeds and dies off the same year. From the seed a new progeny springs up, which grows very fast, but not, as has been supposed, to its whole length in one season. This is only true of such shoots as spring up from the main clump, after it has nearly reached maturity, which requires a growth of 12 years. These shoots, being armed at their extremity by a sharp, smooth hornlike cone, and without any lateral branches, force their way through the intricate mass of the parent reeds and contribute to the density, stability and stateliness of the whole clump, which may contain from 50 to 200 reeds. The several reeds are from 5 to 8 inches in diameter, jointed at every 12 or 15 inches, and hollow between the joints where thorny tripartite branches are alternately attached, of which the middle ones are strongest and make good walking sticks. The branches are repeatedly subdivided and present with their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and ap-
C [262] [735] [823] pearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above
Y 313 the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 313 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of a crocodile. Under the knotty swellings of the bark of the Matti tree small quantities of water are hidden, which the lynx-eyed Kuruba readily discovers in his jungle-wanderings during the hot season and from which providential fountains he draws a thirst-quenching draft. ‡ The *Ilony* or Kino tree (Pterocarpus marsupium) yields an excellent yellowish timber fit for exposure and a valuable brownish gum, the kino, which oozes out from the wounded stem. Chunam brought in contact with it turns bright yellow. 137 313 [312]

Teak or Tectonia grandis occupies a distinct girdle along the eastern boundary of Coorg, within the basin of the Lakshmanatirtha and in Nanjarájpatna and Yélusávirashíme taluq; but, with the exception of the Amali-topu in Kiggatnád, the teak forests in Coorg are neither so dense, nor so stately as those in Burmah, where trees of enormous size and height are found. The large and strongly nerved leaves, rough above, whitish and downy beneath, and the numerous white flowers in terminal branches on the high and many branched trunk, mark the beauty and strength of the tree. Both for house and ship building teak is the best of woods, easily worked and almost indestructible by climate or insects owing to its oily nature. Coorg teak is of most excellent quality, oily and free of heart-shake. It is a Government monopoly and sold from wood-yards at the rate of 12 Annas per cubic foot. [655]

In close proximity to teak and in an equally limited tract of dry and elevated slopes grows the *White Sandal-wood*, (Santalum album) scattered between other trees and on cultivated land. It is rather a small tree of a more or less crooked stem, but its spreading branches with tiny, light-green leaves and yellow or purple coloured small flowers give it an elegant appearance and a marked feature in the landscape. The wood is close-grained and hard, especially the duramen or heart-wood, which for these qualities and for its agreeable scent is highly prized and employed for ornamental boxes, [322]

‡ [Errata: This should read "draught." See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

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so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Hedde-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

137 ● 314 [313] [372] [386] [388] [386] [333] [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is Preserved in sugar.

[313] [245] [271] [251]

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137 314 [386] preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa), though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg Laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of [278] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia. 137 245 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. 137 314 The recognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Sponea Wightii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-máwina-mara*

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(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the 137 ●
former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered 314
with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend
a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange [262]
and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought
after and eaten by the natives.

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is 137
presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with
its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small
white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The
wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and [285]
water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pan- [293]
danus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for
making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the
east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farini-
fera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made [262]
into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous
substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms be-
fore the hot season in January presents the appearance of,
what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee
estate.

At Frasepet in the compound of the Coorg Superinten-
dent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-
divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small
umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading,
and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of
tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13
a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enter-
prise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful
trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open,
but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several repre-
sentatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus
Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

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137 Fraserpet to which the elegant lines of Southey so truly apply:—

"It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree.
For over the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swang.
Others of younger growth, unmoved, were hung
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor
And through the leaf-cope which bower'd it over
Came gleams of checkered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer."

(*The Curse of Kehama, Book* 13.)

The *Pippal* (Ficus religiosa) is likewise a large tree and found nearly in every temple in Coorg, but growing best in the drier districts. This tree proves most destructive to neglected buildings; when once rooted in crevices, nothing can with-
[262] stand its progress. More common than both preceding trees is the *Atti-mara* or "Ficus glomerata" with fruit much like the common fig and which is eaten by the natives. The *Indian Caoutchouc tree* "Ficus elastica" also occurs and is
[314] not only a useful but highly ornamental tree. The milky juice obtained from incisions into the bark is exposed to the air, when the *Caoutchouc* or elastic substance spontaneously separates, leaving a foetid whey-coloured liquid.

[655] Almost a stranger to Coorg and growing only in several places along the Kávéri between Fraserpet and Sómawarpet,

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is the *Tamaind tree* (Tamarindus Indica) which Government has reserved and partly made over without tax to certain Brahmins in Ramaswámy Kanawé, partly formed out on yearly rent. It is a stately tree and yields a dense shade, under which however, many plants do not grow and natives do not like to sleep. 137 [655] [513]

It would lead me too far to enter upon a description of the many shrubs, herbs and grasses of these jungles. Suffice it to say, that there are many and very beautiful ones, but most of them are annually swept away by the periodical fires, the purifying messengers of nature, that run through every jungle from February to April. These fires once established in the high coarse hill-grass rush madly in their onward career to the very tops of the mountains, and beautiful is the sight at night of these distant serpentine lines of flame extending over whole ranges of hills.

Coorg is rich in ferns and as these elegant plants will always attract the lover of nature, it may perhaps prove acceptable, if I append a list of such, as have been collected about Mercara and identified according to Major Beddon's work on Ferns by an enthusiastic admirer of these humble productions of nature:— [127]

Alphabetical list of Coorg ferns.

Names.	Where to be found.
Acrophorus immersus	On trees and at the foot of trees, near Ball-practice ground, Falls, etc. common.
Acrophorus pulcher	On trees and rocks; near Ball-practice ground; abundant almost anywhere.
Adiantum capillus veneris	In a well close to the Fort.
Do. candatum	Near Ramaswámy Kanawé.
Do. hispidulum	Near Ball-practice ground, 3rd milestone, Bantiappa Road.

[Errata: This should read "Tamarind", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

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●137

Names.	Where to be found.
Adiantum lunulatum	Common everywhere.
Alsophila glabra	Road to Falls.
Alsophila latebrosa	Road to Falls, (common tree fern.)
Angiopteris evecta	Road to Falls, common in all moist places.
Aspidium polymorphum	Road to Falls, abundant in a deep hadanga.
Aspidium contractum	Same place as former one, also in a lane near 3rd milestone, Suntiooppalu Road.
Asplenium contignum	On trees, between 1st and 2nd milestone, Mangalore Ghat.
Do. *falcatum*	On trees, Sapper Lines, Road to Falls.
Do. *formosum*	On trees, in a deep ditch near Race-course.
Do. *furcatum*	On trees, near Ball-practice ground; common.
Do. *heterocarpum*	In a hadanga on Road to Falls, in moist shady ravines.
Do. *planicaule*	Very common, on trees.
Do. *resectum*	Near 3rd milestone, Suntiooppalu Road in a ravine, also on Road to Falls.
Do. *trapeziforme*	Near 3rd milestone, Suntiooppalu Road, and in a ravine near Race-course.
Athyrium Hohenackerianum	Abundant on all banks during the monsoon.
Blechnum Orientale	Common everywhere.
Botrychium virginicum	On trees, at the foot of Prospect Point Hill on Road to Kadie-hádu.
Do. *Subcarnosum*	Road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore at London Valley Estate.
Ceratopteris thalictroides	In a swamp in Mustoom Sahib's Estate, Nalknadd Road, 3 miles from Mercara.
Cheilanthes farinosa	Very common (silver fern).
Do. *tenuifolia*	3 miles out on Nalknadd Road, also Rajah's seat, generally in dry places.
Davallia bullata	5 miles out on Nalknadd Road, on road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore Ghats, grows on trees, pretty common.
Do. *tenuifolia*	Common everywhere.
Diplazium dilatatum	On Road to Falls.
Do. *lasiopteris*	On Road to Falls; near Ball-practice ground.

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137

Names.	Where to be found.
Diplazium polypodioides	Between 1st and 2nd milestone Mangalore Ghat; quite a tree fern.
Do. sylvaticum	On Road to Falls.
Drymaria quercifolia	4 miles out on Nalkanâd Road on trees.
Gleichenia dichotoma	Very common.
Goniopteris prolifera	Fish river, Kadar-kâdu Estate.
Gymnogramma leptophylla	Near 1st milestone Mangalore Ghat. On a bank on Road passing Government School.
Gymnopteris Feei	Mucteom Sahib's Estate, Nalkanâd Road; on rocks, trees.
Hemionitis cordata	Very common on Suntiooppale Road.
Lastrea aristata	Common on Road to Falls.
Do. cochleata	One of the very commonest ferns.
Do. falciloba	Very common.
Do. hirtipes	Near Nalkanâd palace.
Do. membraniifolia	Mucteom Sahib's Estate, Nalkanâd Road.
Do. ochthodes	Very common.
Do. sparsa	Near Ball-practice ground; on Road to Falls.
Lygodium scandens	In a swamp 3 miles out on Nalkanâd Road; 4 miles down Cannanore Ghat.
Microlepia polypodioides	In a ravine near 3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat.
Nephrodium abruptum	Mucteom Sahib's Estate, Nalkanâd Road.
Do. molle	Very common.
Do. propinquum	Mucteom Sahib's Estate; also Annaiapur "Kumba Kolli" Estate.
Do. terminans	Abundant on Nalkanâd Road.
Do. unitum	Mucteom Sahib's Estate.
Nephrolepis exaltata	A common wayside fern, in moist places.
Do. tuberosa	Near Rajah's seat; common.
Niphobolus porosus	Nalkanâd Road on trees; rather common.
Oleandra neriiformis	On Nalkanâd Road; on Road connecting Cannanore and Mangalore Ghats; on trees.
Ophioglossum reticulatum	On Ball-practice ground and in the Fort.
Do. previpes	Near Kadeu-kâdu on banks of Fish river.
Osmunda regalis	Abundant on banks of Fish river.
Pleocnemia aristata	Two miles beyond Harand bungalow.
Pleopeltis irioides	On trees and in bamboo clumps, Nalkanâd Road.

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Names.	Where to be found.
• 137 *Pleopeltis membranacia*	3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat; abundant in moist, shady places, on trees.
Do. oxyloba	Abundant, on trees.
Do. phymatodes	On trees.
Do. wightiana	Very common.
Pacilopteris contaminans	Falls
Do. terminans	Falls.
Polybotrya appendiculata	In ravines near May-male Estate; also Somwarpet Road.
Do. asplenii/olia	Falls.
Polypodium ornatum	3rd milestone Mangalore Ghat; on Road to Falls.
Do. regulosum	Banks of stream near Post-Office; near Falls, etc, common.
Pteris aquilina	The commonest fern in Coorg.
Do. cretica	On Road to Falls, abundant.
Do. geranii/olia	Near 3rd milestone Santhoppala Road; also near Ball-practice ground.
Do. longi/olia	Abundant in and about the Fort.
Do. pellucens	Near Nalkanâd; also near May-male Estate, Bellamale Estate.
Do. pellucida	Common in all jungles about Mercara.
Do. quadriaurita	Very common.
Do. argentea and rubroneva	Varieties, both abundant especially the latter.
Sagenia coadunata	Very common.
Schizoloma ensi/olium	At the top of the Falls, very abundant and handsome.
Do. heterophyllum	On Road to Falls; near Sapper Lines.
Do. nitens	Mactoom Sahib's Estate; has not been met with anywhere else as yet.
Trichomanes filicula	On trees near 3rd milestone Santhoppala Ghât; Nalkanâd Road.
Do. rigidum	On the Bank of the stream that forms the Falls.
Vittaria elongata	On trees, Nalkanâd Road about 4 miles out on the right hand side.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter [361] very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately • 137 opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The 245
leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the 137
upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee.

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected 245
on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the [407]
parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market.

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of 245
nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the 134
shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is 241
generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[1] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality.

[1] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 ment plantations all over India are likely to supply every possible local want.

Of the many species of chinchona the most generally cultivated is the "Chinchona Succirubra" or "Genuine Red Bark," which grows to a lofty tree and is rich in Alkaloids; but Mr. Broughton, the Government Quinologist on the Nilagiris, has lately discovered a species, which yields more than 11 per cent Alkaloids, and of these 10 per cent Quinine, the largest amount ever obtained from the Peruvian bark.

245 *Tea cultivation* has received but little attention. To judge from the experiments already made by Mr. Mann, Dr. Macpherson and Mr. Roberts, there is however no doubt, that tea will grow in Coorg.

249 *The cultivation of Sugarcane* is a purely native enterprise and chiefly in the hands of settlers from Mysore, who sell it for raw consumption or use it for the manufacture of jagry, a kind of coarse sugar. It is propagated from cuttings put down in April and yields ripe canes the year after in September. It requires a moist rich soil, that can be brought under irrigation. Some coffee planters have begun to stock their swampy ravines with sugarcane; but, the produce not being large enough, it is doubtful, whether it answers as a pecuniary speculation.

248 *Cotton* of a fair description has long been under cultivation to a small extent by ryots in the north-eastern parts of Coorg, where the fibre is used for home-made fabrics and the seed [137] for oil. New species: the Sea-Island, New Orleans, Egyptian and Hybrid Cotton have lately been introduced as experiments and they thrive very well, but the sudden depression in the cotton market discourages any further pursuit of the speculation.

The seed is sown in May on a well broken up rich soil, that is raised in long ridges 3 or 4 feet apart. The seedlings are sufficiently strong to withstand the heavy monsoon rains

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
137 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

much divided roots, from which rise a number of straight, slender, slightly branching stems from the bark of which the fibre is extracted. The leaves resemble those of the nettle, are light green on the surface and silvery white below but are not stinging. The male and female flowers being separate and situated on different parts of the stem, the production of seed is uncertain. 248 137

From data, given in the December number of the Calcutta Review 1854, the "Rheea" is propagated either by dividing the roots or by cuttings. The plant is exceedingly hardy and thrives in almost any description of soil, but to have it grown to perfection, the land must be well manured and capable of irrigation. In planting a piece of ground, the roots or cuttings should be placed out in rows a foot or a foot and a half apart each way, so that the plants do not throw out too many lateral shoots which impairs the height of the stems. When once the roots have firmly struck, the plant grows vigorously, but more especially during the rainy season. The first principal shoots burst from the centre of the root, and are quickly followed by exterior ones. In two months generally may be expected, especially upon well manured land, the first cuttings, which must be taken off about one inch above the root. It is essential to mind, that the plant does not become covered with hard or woody bark, which is indicated by the former green coating turning brown, the discoloration commencing at the stem. A little browning strengthens the fibre, too much imposes additional costly labour. It requires a little experience to ascertain clearly the requisite time for cutting. There is another criterion by which the fitness of the plant for cutting may be known, by passing the hand down it from the top to the bottom; if the leaves break off crisply from where they are joined to the stem, it is a good indication that the plantation may be thinned out. If, on the contrary, the plant be not ready, the leaves, instead of breaking, tear off and strip 248

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ful tree, which requires a soil fit also for coffee, promises to prove a most welcome addition to Coorg exotics, as it produces fruit when 5 years old and requires but little care or labour. The plants are grown from seed, to be obtained in March, much in the same way as coffee seedlings, and after 15 months when they are about 18 inches high, they are transplanted in large pits about 12 feet apart and protected by shade. 245

The fact, that a wild species of Nutmeg grows plentifully in the Coorg forests induced me, to make an experiment with cultivating *the Nutmeg of commerce*, "Myristica officinalis," but the promised seed has not yet arrived. According to Dr. Bidie's instructions, the cultivation may be carried on on coffee-land and seems to offer no great difficulties. 137

Of *fruit trees* the *Coorg Oranges* are celebrated and as common as the plantain. There are several varieties, but the best is the sweet, luscious "Loose Jacket" so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. The Coorg Rajahs owned fine orange gardens in the most suitable localities of the country, but they have since been neglected. There are also varieties of Citrons and the Lime indispensable in Coorg etiquette is in abundance. 245

Apples and Pears do not succeed in Mercara, as the heavy monsoon does not favour their growth, but there is perhaps no reason, why they should not grow in warmer and more sheltered localities, as well as in Bangalore. Loquats, Peaches, Figs and Pomegranates thrive better and the Guava, which makes a most excellent jelly, would be the Coorg Pear, if it were not for the numerous hard little seeds and the peculiar flavor which is not always appreciated. Strawberries and Pine-apples grow to a large size. Grapes have been reared in sheltered places in Mercara, but the vine soon degenerates. The Brazil-cherry is very common, the fruit is the berry of a herbaceous plant and is made into excellent jam.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

244 *English Vegetables* are satisfactorily grown by Mercara
•137 residents and still more so by some planters on their estates. Potatoes and Cabbage thrive remarkably well; also Peas, Beans, Knoll kohl, Salad, Beets, Turnips and Carrots of excellent quality are produced. The natives do now only attempt to cultivate these vegetables, but the markets are unsupplied with them.

244 *Native Vegetables*, which are reared on patches of paddy-fields after harvest time, or in small gardens, in the villages about Fraserpet, include: French Beans, Radishes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Indian Corn, Brinjals, Chillies, Coriander, Amaranthus and others, but even these are not plentiful in the Mercara market, and what there is comes chiefly from Fraserpet.

243 *Dry grain*, such as Ragy, Avary, Tavary, Huruli and others are chiefly grown in the open country of the Nanjarájpatna taluq lying along the western banks of the Kávéri. It is there also, that Tobacco is cultivated for sale, whilst in most of the Coorg farms little reserved patches of the narcotic is grown for home-consumption; but the Coorg tobacco is of an indifferent description, no particular care being bestowed upon its cultivation. The introduction of a new seed would
[248] have a beneficial influence. A few Hemp plants are here and
[296] there grown near native houses, but more for the use of smoking the intoxicating leaves, than for the sake of the fibre.

241 Similar to other hilly parts of India, there prevails a
243 primitive mode of cultivation called "kumari," which is practised by the lowest classes of natives, the Kurumbas and Kudias, chiefly on the western slopes of the Ghats. They cut and burn a patch of jungle, and plant either the small reddish hill-rice, sown broadcast upon the slightly dug up land, or Ragy. The former yields a 10 fold, the latter a 200 to 300 fold return. Such fields are only once or twice cultivated, when they are abandoned in favour of a new piece

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments. 635 563 [177]

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.) [137] [243] [245] [273] [262] [222]

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site 632 [361] [485]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

And

such glorious forest trees of Poon, Sampige, Red Cedar Anjili, Hone, etc.! To see them and travel under their shade is worth a long journey. From Gunot to Cannanore or Tellicherry the road runs level and affords easy travelling. Near Ulil or Chávachári, 22 miles from Cannanore, a large wooden bridge resting on high stone pillars crosses the Gunot-river, but a public bangalow is only found at Shalot, 12¼ miles from Cannanore. 491 485 [137]

At the head of the Periambády Ghat a highroad branches off into Mysore by way of Bittangala 5 miles, Hattúr 3 miles, Tittimatti 9 miles, Anechaukur 4 miles, Panchally 6 miles, Honasur 11¼ miles, 4 miles from which place it meets the Mysore-Fraserpet road. Except between Anechaukur and Tittimatti the road is easy and generally in good condition, and since the Gonikoppa-bridge near Hattúr has been finished, at the sacrifice of the life of Mr. R. Hunter, a most promising Engineer Officer, there is no difficulty for wheeled carriages from Mysore to Cannanore, a distance of 113 miles. The public bangalows on this line are excellent in the Mysore country, but very indifferent in Coorg and Malabar.

To cut off two sides of a triangle a branch road, 3 miles long, has been constructed from Vírájpet to Bittangala for the Mysore cart-traffic. It is hoped, that the Mysore railway may yet extend to the eastern frontier of Coorg!

The *Northern highroad*, lately constructed by Mr. Stottard, connects Mercara with Manjerabad by way of Sómawárpet and Kodlipet, 44¼ miles to the latter town. The line having been laid out under stringent regulations in regard to gradient, and the trace receiving great attention by Capt. W. Campbell, the result is a road with uniformly the easiest gradients in the Province. Most of the roadway is 18 feet wide. The smaller streams are all bridged over; for the Choran-hole a three-arched masonry bridge of 65 feet is proposed; for the Mattapúr a single-arched, and for the Hatte-hole a three- 491

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India AW1
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5

I 133 487 and trade have been N/S, or between the interior and the nearest accessible coast, not across the root of the Peninsula.

I 133 Structure has been described in Ch. I. We may note briefly the extraordinary maturity of the Peninsular rivers, graded almost to their heads in the Wn Ghats, but cutting through the En Hills or descending precipitously from the high Mysorean plateaus in gorges. The major relief features are usually no more than the flanks of plateaus or of fault-troughs, or residual crests on the heights of land between the main river-basins; but there is a good deal of local diversity, the mesas and buttes of the Deccan Lavas, the fantastic tors and gnarled ridges of the Archaeans.

I 132 Climatically the entire area, except for the En Hills, the Wn Ghats, and the rain-shadow of the latter, could be described as Tropical Savannah with monsoonal modification. There is a broad distinction between the NE, with 40 ins. plus and considerable humidity, and the drier (20–40 ins.) and more variable W and S, which in the lee of the Ghats receives less than 20 ins. in places.[1] The boundary between these is a line running roughly along the lower Godavari and produced to the NW. Temperatures practically everywhere range from means of 65–75° F. in January to 85–95° in May; except, of course, where modified by high altitude.

The Western Ghats and Coorg

K C 133 The astonishing contrast between the scarp and the plateau faces of the Ghats is brought out by Fig. 125: on the one side deep ravines and canyons, on the other flat-topped spurs intersected by mature valleys. The spurs lose height to the E fairly rapidly, becoming mere flat-topped relic ridges on the watersheds, with outlying mesas and buttes; the actual dissected belt, the Ghats proper, is only a few miles wide as a rule; generally 2500–3000 ft K C high, it reaches 4500 or more in the culminations whence spring the transverse spurs, such as the Tryambak massif at the root of the Balaghat [137] Hills. It is a negative area: in some places, as the Peint forests and the Dangs (S of the Tapti) and behind Ratnagiri and Goa, a tangle of dense jungle, including teak on terraces and valley-floors; elsewhere it carries more open forest with not a little bare rock on the flanks of the more massive lava flows. On spurs E and W are the great hill forts, bases whence the 'mountain rat' Sivaji gradually extended his power over the Konkan and the more K C open Maharashtra country. Except in the Kanara sub-region already discussed (pp. 617–26), there is little economic activity apart from jungle [372] agriculture, forestry, and the increasingly important hydro-electric development around the Bhor Ghat and Gersoppa. The only places of much im- 369 portance are the little gap towns and sanatoria behind Bombay (Igatpuri, Lonavla, Khandala; above, 616–17) and Mahabaleshwar (5000), a hill-

STATION AT 4000-5000 ft, used by Bombay officials.

[1] For a more detailed analysis see E. Simkins, *The Agricultural Geography of the Deccan Plateau of India* (n.d., ?1926), 13–22.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kanada AW10
•Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16

K
C
133

[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

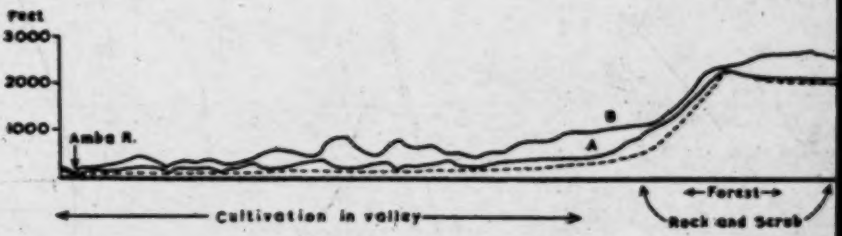

Fig. 125.—SECTION ACROSS THE GHATS. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, 8 interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggtn 2·1.

000
K
C
132

station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

K
C
133
[137]
132
311
K
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563

Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[2] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

T

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

[2] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JGJ* XXII (1947), 157–225).

[P. 38]

CHAPTER VII

COORG

101 174 COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

141 174 Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that " it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenja Daru period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

174 Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana, in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Pedinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 144 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. 141 The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below :

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. [177] [87] The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

19 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

16 18 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

1;Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

●142.

SOME COORG GIRLS

[frontispiece]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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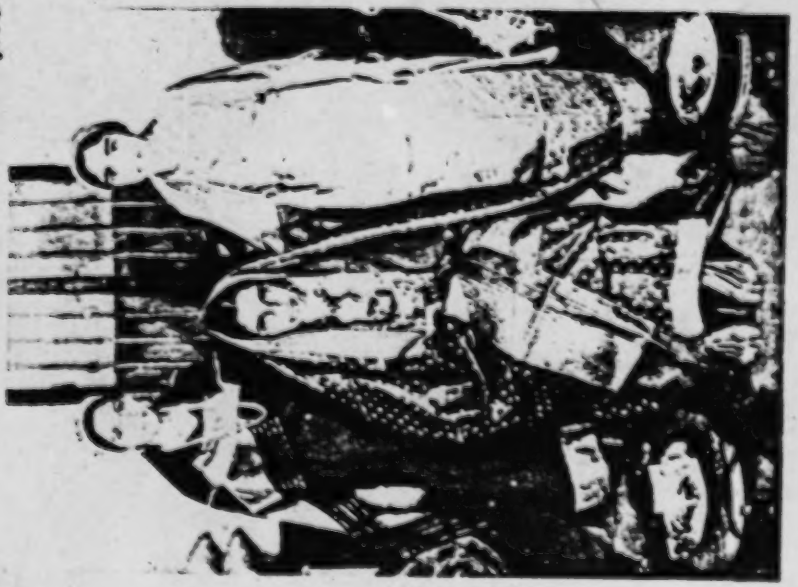
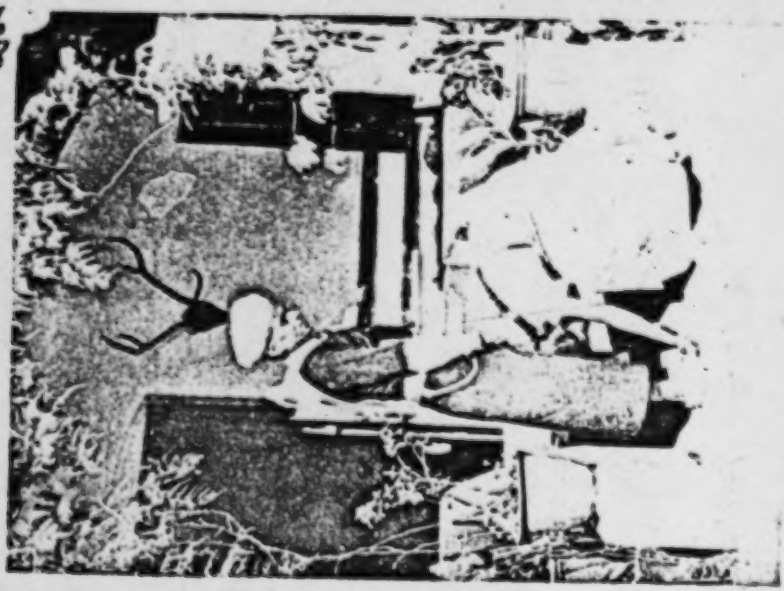


A BRIDE

576
888



A GIRL SALUTES HER FATHER

[Facing p. 48]

1: Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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142

THE RITE OF THE BRIDE CARRYING WATER INTO THE GROOM'S HOUSE

342

A COORG HOUSE, RECENTLY BUILT

[Facing p. 80]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

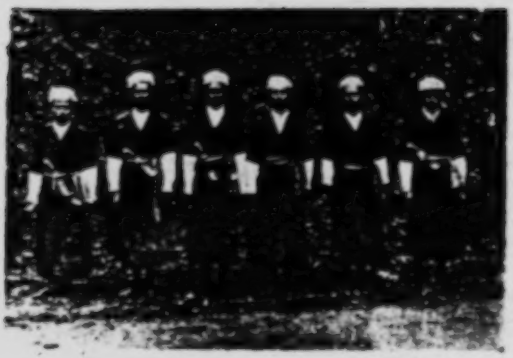
142
291

AN ELDER

142
292

A WIDOW

[Facing p. 208]



291

A Coorg Male Group

142
291
301

A Coorg Married Couple

[facing p. 41]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

142
291
302
411

Coorgs in National Costume

622
302
142
291

A Village Takka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, 144 a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas 141 belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151.2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. [177] The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable [87] improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

19 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

16 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males 18 and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

291
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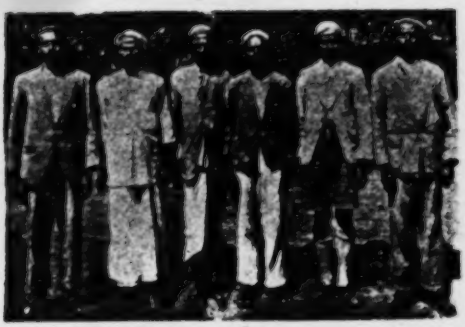
A typical Coorg in his smart attire



Amma Coorg Male Group

342
137

An Amma Coorg House

[facing p. 65]

764 783

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

241

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 771 42 262 582

The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563
357
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481
142
482

A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 112]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues. 101

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men 142 [302] [554]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[142] [302] [554] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life [186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

291 [411] The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist[1] and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light [301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. 714 411 His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the [147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand [527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 473 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
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than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
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ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
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the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
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A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
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folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

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142
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COORGS

grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by B. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

142
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411
302

A Coorgman armed.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 136]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shiváchárics. These are most [771]
numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwnnád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144] required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
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burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147 ●
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dreaded for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
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The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
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cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

his insignificance. Having passed the early part of his life in occupations but little removed from those of the ordinary husbandman, his abilities are not above mediocrity, nor does he possess docility to compensate for the absence of genius. Weak, frivolous, and puerile, he is naturally swayed by those around him, but overbearing, irascible and sometimes cruel, he is represented as being controlled by no compunctions of morality or conscience in quieting those apprehensions to which a jealous and distrustful disposition give birth; but a suspicion easy to be provoked and difficult to be appeased, suggests the belief, that he feels all those terrors which he inspires. Authority in Codagu would seem always to have been maintained by the sword, and though circumstances will not allow of a proof of what they indicate, they warrant the conclusion, that he is at least equal to any of his predecessors in the liberal use of it. He is said to be disliked by his subjects, many of whom have fallen victims to his caprices. Of his acquirements but little can be said; his means of observation have been too limited, to admit of an extended knowledge of other countries, indeed both his ideas and information are confined within the narrow limits of his own little territory.

175*
643*

*A courteous dissimulation disguises under a polite deportment, a temper naturally imperious and relentless, and a suspicious and vindictive disposition is concealed by a mild and specious address; to Europeans he is remarkable for a prepossessing affability and condescension; feeling only the servility of others, and in a situation where none can resist, few dissuade, our wonder should be more excited by the suavity of manners for which he is remarkable, than the severity of disposition that characterises him.

[157]

*The nature of his education has given him a propensity to active exercises, much of his time is occupied in field sports; they are on an extensive scale and embrace a wide circle of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of his court; the few troops that garrison his town are also his guards." 175* 643*

Dr. Moegling pithily characterises Lingarája thus: "He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg spirit. Greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dose of sensuality were united in his character." [157] [114]

In a Shásana-stone deposited in the Mercara Onkáreshvara dévastána, which was built by him, he is however, by his native admirer praised as:—"The illustrious Lingarája Wadeer, son of Lingarája and grandson of Appájirája, of the Lunar race, pure as the milky sea, worshipped with the fragrance of the Párijáta flower, of the family of Bháradwája, follower of the Ashwaláyana Sútra of Rig Véda, a zealous and learned worshipper of Shiva, sitting on the illustrious throne of Coorg in the centre of the milky city, adorned with precious jewels, of unequalled beauty and bravery, smiling like the sun in unparalleled glory, famous to the end of the world, generous and brave.—"

C. VÍRARÁJA.

1820—1834.

1. Vírarája's tyranny.

With the death of Lingarája affairs in Coorg did not improve. The unfortunate people had only changed masters. As soon as the young Vírarája, who was about 20 years old, had taken possession of his father's throne and treasure, he destroyed the people, who had displeased or thwarted him during the life of his father. Many members of the family of the Coorg Rájahs seem to have fallen at that time. One, Channa Víra, escaped with his family across the Mysore frontier. But to no purpose; his relative knew how to turn [648]*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873 At the request of Government, "Botany" has been added to the list of lessons of the first class. Singing is a general lesson for the musical boys and upwards of 60 Canarese and English songs are practised. The Gymnasium engages twice a week the whole School and the exercises are very popular. A library and some philosophical apparatus are aids for evening lectures for the further instruction of studious youths who left the School.

873 On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning
157 and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which generally distinguishes Brahmin youths. They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound common sense. In a competitive examination, the quick-witted Brahmin, though not half so well informed, will outstrip the Coorg lad; but give the latter time and he will maintain his place due to his real worth. Coorg
873 lads and others, trained in the Central School, are now found
464 in every office of the various departments of Government in Coorg and some fill important posts; but it is to be regretted, that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them. Some time ago the openings in the offices were so many, that the young men could not resist the temptation of well paid employments under Government and relinquished their studies. For the same reason none of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the Matriculation examination, though, in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, "if these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the Matriculation test of the Madras University." (vide his Report of 1869-70.)

873 Foreseeing the difficulty of permanently supporting the
658 boarding-houses without the aid of public charity or Government assistance, the general speculation in coffee in Coorg

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 669 in the palace yard. The Africans received orders to cut them down to a man. The Rájah himself took his post at a window and fired upon the terror stricken conspirators. They allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Vírarája himself boasted of having shot twenty-five of them. The rest fell without resistance, under the swords of the Siddis, who waded ankle deep in blood. An old Jemadar, who had been eyewitness of the dreadful scene, said, that the blood ran out of the palace yard as the rain in a heavy monsoon day. Three-hundred Coorgs, by his account, fell that morning in front of the palace. Coorg tradition says eight-hundred. Both accounts are probably correct, for Vírarája would, as a matter of course, destroy many of the families of the fallen conspirators, ordering the men to be killed and distributing the women among the slaves. Such was Coorg Rájah fashion. This massacre took place in the end of 1807 or early in 1808. The Rájah reported his suppression of a dangerous conspiracy to the Governor of Madras and the Governor General. The Rájah's account was not credited at Madras. It was rather thought, that he had acted on some sudden impulse of passion; for his cruelty and sanguinary temper were sufficiently known. *[648] Yet the Government did not consider it their duty to interfere, partly from regard to their faithful ally, partly from ignorance of the extent of the fearful slaughter.

*175 *643 *648 On the 7th October 1807 Vírarájendra addressed a long letter to the Governor General, Lord Minto. He informed him of the death of his principal Ráni, who had left him four daughters and of his will regarding the succession after his death, as already stated. Vírarájendra appears to have expected, perhaps longed for, his own death, after the loss of [669] his beloved wife. A deep melancholy settled upon him, from [58] which he was roused from time to time by rumours of conspiracies and dreams of rebellion among his treacherous subjects, when he would start like a lion from his lair and kill

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and tear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledew, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rájah, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related. Vírarájendra had long to wait for an answer from the Governor General to his petition of October 1807. He had requested, that the concurrence of the Governor General with his settlement of the succession might be registered in the books of the Supreme Government and a copy sent him of the registry, which he would wear about his body as an amulet.

During the year 1808 fits of madness seized the unfortunate Rájah. They rarely passed without some victims of his incontrollable fury, falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808 Vírarája was seized with forebodings of his own death and terrible fears for the safety of his daughters in case of his decease before the Governor General had concurred in his plan of securing to Dévammáji the throne of Coorg, and before his sanction insured her succession and, it might be, the preservation of her life. His melancholy warned him of his approaching death. And if he was carried off on a sudden, who would be the friend and guardian of his daughter? Appáji, his proud brother, who had never loved him, and who had long kept sullenly at a distance, or even the dull mean-spirited Lingarája might covet the wealth and power of the throne, murder the helpless children and seize the great prize. But no! He was yet alive and omnipotent in Coorg, he could yet defend his beloved Dévammáji and her sisters. The executioners are called. A party is despatched to Appagalla, a second party to Háleri, to bring the heads of the brothers, Appáji and Lingarája. They prostrate themselves and depart

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In the beginning of the year 1809 Mr. Cole, the Resident of Mysore, received a message from Mercara, that the Rájah was insane, and that the assistance of an English physician might be granted. Dr. Ingledew was despatched without a moment's delay. He found the Rájah in a dangerous state. His madness came upon him in fits, which were succeeded by the darkest melancholy. The presence of an English gentleman was a relief to him. There was one man now near him, whom he could trust. On the other hand he was distracted by fears, lest Dr. Ingledew might learn the true state of the country, and receive information of the atrocities he had committed, especially during the last year. If he reported the truth to the Company's Government, Vírarája dreaded loss of character, deposition and ignominy. He took all possible care to keep the Doctor in ignorance. But towards the end of February the black clouds again gathered around him; the evil spirit prevailed. His passion rose one day against four of his principal officers. He ordered them to be assassinated. The executioners went and cut them down. Next morning he sent for one of them. He was dead, it was reported. He called for another, and the third, and the fourth. His attendants trembling declared, that they had been killed according to the orders of the Rájah. Vírarája was seized with an agony of remorse and despair. He bit his arm, that the blood gushed out; and went into his chamber, where he shut himself up, refusing to see any one, or to taste food. He was not fit to live. He would die. His torments were increased by dreadful pains in his shoulder, which he had dislocated by a fall, sometime before the Doctor's arrival, and which had been unskilfully treated by a native quack.

The mind of the man was unhinged under circumstances such as these. Yet even now, the Coorg did not forget his cunning. The murder of the four chief officers could not be hid from Dr. Ingledew. He would surely report to Mr. Cole,

195* 643* 648* 158 ●

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Georg AW5

*175 and Mr. Cole would report to the Governor General, (Mr. Cole,
*643 indeed did report on the 4th of March) and he would be dis-
*648 graced for ever in the eyes of the Company. There was one
●158 way of escape. If it appeared undoubtedly, that his acts of atrocity had been committed in moments of insanity, if, on recovering his consciousness, he felt such utter despair, as to find life intolerable, the English authorities must hold him excused and feel inclined, rather to pity than to degrade him. As for his distress of mind and the stings of conscience, driving him almost to despair, he did not require to simulate. He felt as wretched as man could feel, but words would not satisfy the Company. Appearances of deepest grief might be suspected. He resolved, therefore, to make some attempt at suicide sufficient to convince Dr. Ingledew of the reality of his despair. Accordingly he cut his throat sufficiently deep, to inflict a serious wound, but not deep enough to endanger life. The Doctor was called in. He stayed the blood and bandaged the throat. On enquiring into the motives for such an act of despondency, he was informed by the Rájah, that he had no desire to live. The murder of his trusty servants, ordered in a fit of insanity and executed by slavish dependents, preyed upon his mind. He could not bear the thought of having disgraced himself for ever in the eyes of the Governor General and all his English friends. Dr. Ingledew tried to reassure him and to soothe his apprehensions, declaring, that acts committed in a state of insanity, and so much grieved for afterwards, would not be laid to his charge. But the Rájah would not be comforted. Shortly after, Doctor Ingledew was called again. The Rájah had swallowed a large dose of corrosive sublimate dissolved in water, which he had been advised to use as a lotion. He had called his eldest daughter, Dévammáji, and desired her to give him the deadly draught. The poor girl did not understand what she was doing. Doctor Ingledew instantly administered an emetic, but had no hope

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Rájah's recovery, though his medicine acted freely. However, to his astonishment he was soon enabled to report to Mr. Cole, with whom he was in daily communication, that Vírarája was in a convalescent state. The scheme was completely successful. Dr. Ingledew had not the slightest suspicion of Vírarája's acting a part before him. Mr. Cole, the Resident, on Dr. Ingledew's report, hastened in person to Mercara. He found the Rájah oppressed by the darkest melancholy, full of sad forebodings of the displeasure of the Governor General, but improving in health. He assured him of his own sympathy, and begged him to confide in the continuance of the friendship and regard of the British Government. Acts committed during a state of insanity would be considered as a misfortune worthy of commiseration, not as crimes deserving of blame or punishment. He would, on his own responsibility, promise the Rájah amnesty for all that had passed. These assurances had the desired effect. Vírarája recovered. Favorable letters arrived from the Governor of Madras, congratulating him on his recovery. A despatch from the Governor General, in answer to the Rájah's letter of 1807, concurred in the wishes of the Company's faithful ally, though not as perfectly as Vírarája had hoped. The bequest of the large legacy of money to his favorite daughter was sanctioned, and the Resident of Mysore was directed to take charge of the treasure, to be invested in the name of Dévammáji, Vírarájendra's daughter, in the Company's funds at Madras. As to the succession, the reply was couched in general terms and the Rájah was desired to confer with Mr. Cole, who had private instructions to make due investigation as to the consistency with Coorg law and custom of the succession in the female line, before he gave the sanction of the British Government to the arrangement proposed by Vírarája. Another letter from the Governor General soon followed full of kindness and regard. The Rájah was most affection-

175 * 643 * 648 * 158 ● 175 * 643 * 648 *

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

vested in the Company's funds as the property of Dévammáji, 175*
his eldest daughter. 643*

This was the state of affairs in April 1809. Mr. Cole 648*
had returned to Mysore. Dr. Ingledew soon followed. His place was supplied by Mr. Clarke, a physician recommended by Dr. Ingledew. The Rájah had passed through the worst dangers. The confidence of the British Government had been only more firmly re-established. He believed that the Governor General had sanctioned, and thereby guaranteed the succession to Dévammáji and her future son and heir. The Company had taken charge of her rich legacy, to which he had added with the sanction of the Supreme Government other three lacs of Rupees in the Bombay funds. His daughter had been, as it were, adopted by the Company. All his wishes were realized. He might now set his soul at rest. Alas, no. He had buried his very life in the grave of Mahádévaráni. The dead, the victims of his suspicious cruelty, troubled him. He knew himself to be hated by the living, and believed, that traitors had administered to him maddening drugs. Appáji his brother was slain, his most faithful servants were slain. Wherever he went some memorial of a dark deed of cruelty met him. His sleep was disturbed. The blood of thousands was upon him.

Under the 24th May 1809 Mr. Cole reported to the Chief 175*
Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, that the 643*
Rájah of Coorg was again labouring under insanity, and 648*
showed a most sanguinary disposition; that the people of 158 ●
Mercara were in constant terror; that Dr. Clarke also entertained fears for his own personal safety, and that he himself would probably find it difficult to deal with him, as his ancient jealousy and hatred of Mysore and every person connected with the Government had been reawakened. Dr. Ingledew, who possessed the confidence of Vírarája, was again sent to Mercara. In the mean time, Mr. Clarke was enjoined

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 to prevent, as far as it lay in his power, any re-enactment of
*643 former scenes of sanguinary violence. It was proposed that
*648 Captain Mahoney, the former Resident, should return, take
158 charge, if necessary, of the administration of affairs, and settle the question of the succession in case of the decease of the Rájah. Mr. Cole himself offered to proceed in person to Mercara. When Dr. Ingledew arrived, the end of Vírarája was at hand. It does not appear from the records, that Dr. Ingledew had an interview, or, if he had, that he was recognized by the dying Rájah. During his last days he seems to have been more favorably inclined, than formerly, towards the Sóde Rájah, who was appointed to transact business for him, and whom he desired, it was said, to act as Devan during the minority of Dévammáji. On the 9th June 1809 the unhappy prince called his beloved daughter to his bedside, gave his seal into her hands, and shortly afterwards breathed his last. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

*175 A sad spectacle! A noble vessel, after having gallantly
*643 weathered the storms of Mussulman domination and conquest, is torn from its moorings by the swell of wild grief and passion, and drifts into the breakers of sanguinary phrensy and suicidal despair, to perish there a miserable wreck, with many to look on, but none to help!

*175 And how awfully has the Righteous Ruler of the whole
*643 earth executed judgment upon the guilty prince and the ob-
644 jects of his love and hope! The forlorn Rájah lived ages of anguish from the day of the death of his beloved wife, 17th May 1807, to the date of his own decease, 9th June 1809. His idolized daughter was married and had four children, two sons and two daughters. She was deprived of the throne and of her father's legacy, and lived in obscurity. Before the end of 1833 her husband was murdered in the palace, she herself carried a prisoner to Mercara, her property seized by her

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Chátu, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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634

Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajenderpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161
648 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

[Errata: This should read "exiles." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 [161] people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South [131] India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring [564] the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of [114] the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations 121 of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen- [551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. 423 All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this 614 ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon 000 the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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114 [1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my 122 tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical 104 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə̄ is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

Physical and Mental Characters

The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151.2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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634

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues. 101

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men 142 [302] [554]

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16

K
C
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[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

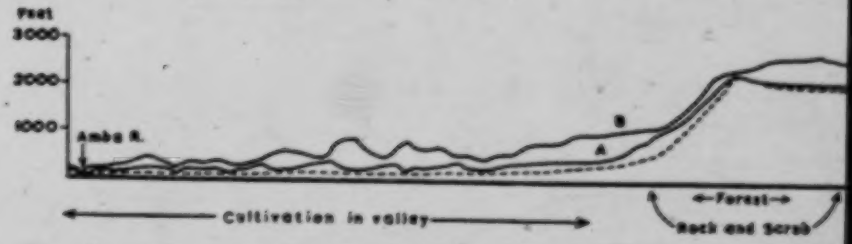

Fig. 125.—Section across the Ghats. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, 8 interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggtn 2·1.

000
K
C
132

station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

K
C
133
[137]
132
311
K
C
161
563

Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[1] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

T

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

[1] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JG*) XXII (1947), 157–225).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

162 Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

[361] There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

197 All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

[212] Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

however, very common. Kannaḍa was the court and official language of Coorg under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, and nowadays it is the medium of instruction in schools. Besides, every Coorg is able to speak it. 197

Educated Coorgs are usually trilingual, knowing Koḍagi, Kannaḍa, and English. Koḍagi is used in the home, Kannaḍa in talking to most non-Coorgs excepting Malayāḷis, and English in official matters, and occasionally in conversation with strangers. English is popular with Coorgs, and even women, especially those under thirty, have some acquaintance with it. 191

In 1931 there were 44,585 Koḍagi-speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. This discrepancy is due to the fact that several castes and tribes have taken over the language of Coorgs, who have throughout been the dominant group in Coorg. In fact, only a few castes have escaped the temptation to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manners. In the past some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gauḍas, and others did succeed in entering the Coorg fold. Even now some non-Coorgs aspire to be Coorgs. For instance, during the 1931 Census, a number of Kannaḍa Okkaligas and Tuḷu Gauḍas in north Coorg succeeded in getting themselves enumerated as Coorgs as they had been described as 'Jamma Koḍagas' in the title-deeds conferring on them the right to hold land under the concession tenure of *jamma* (see pp. 16–17). The enumerators, in spite of their strict instructions to check all doubtful cases thoroughly, had to enumerate such persons as Coorgs. It is presumed, however, that their number did not exceed a thousand.[1] 197 162

IV

Coorg enters history in the ninth century A.D., but the information we possess at present about the period between the ninth and seventeenth centuries is very little indeed. We do know, however, that ever since the period for which we have any information, the fortunes of the powerful south Indian Kingdoms in the east have had effects on Coorg. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Changāḷvas, who ruled some parts of Coorg, were feudatory to the Gangas of Talkāḍ in Mysore. The Changāḷvas (Kings of Changanāḍ) ruled certain areas to the west of Mysore city and the eastern 175

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 42.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinḥs of Jumcha and Coorḥ were of the same race. It is also observed that the aborigines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorḥ.

174
173

Population

The population of Coorḥ is composed of the following tribes and castes:—

62
564

1. Yerava
2. Kurube
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorḥ
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heḥḥade
9. Vokkaliḥ

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113

[p.p. 8-37 have not been processed]

[P 64]

CHAPTER XI

793
101

AMMA COORG

[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turning to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
[788] yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast
485 by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 110]

II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

101 [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centuries have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 **A.** Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Cháta, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajenderpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

• 162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161
648 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

[Errata: This should read "exiles," See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Masjids.—There are but 5 small Masjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Viráj pet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pija in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem

[582] [162] [464] [184] [793] [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóto-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[464] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

632 361 [362] [162] [764] [177] [364] [312] 632 443 438 439

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
● [162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti 2/1
Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a
2/1 [Errata: This should read "Periambádi;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

635 ***Kiggatnád-taluq*** extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
● [162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception
[55.] of the large and influential house of the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bisalyghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Frasepet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar-routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.) 632 [171] [443]

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have lately been found. [485] [133] [245] [172]

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-nduvé (village-jungles) 635 [131] [162] [648] [133]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwdrante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[236] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2½ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 872

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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795

accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

[C59]

In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

[162]
[165]

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, as

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Śhiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sārtāvu of Makki is referred to as Makki Sārtāvu, and so on. Frequently, the name by which a deity is popularly known gives no clue as to his Sanskritic affiliations: the deity Pālūrappa is said to be 'really' Vishṇu, but he is ordinarily referred to by the former name. Kuṭṭatammé means the 'Mother of Kuṭṭa' (a village in south Coorg), and this is the name by which the deity is popularly known. The deity's 'real' name is Karīn Kāḷi (Black Kāḷi), who is identified with one of the manifestations or forms of Parvati, wife of Shiva.

But it is not always that the popular name hides the Sanskritic affiliations of a deity: Bhadrakāḷi, Chāmuṇḍi, Povvedi (Bhagavati), Mādēva (Mahādēva), &c., have obvious Sanskritic affiliations, though such affiliations may not be known to all or even most of the devotees.

Nowhere in India are the village-deities regarded as gentle. This applies to Coorg too. The deity Madērappa settles down in the village Madé, and immediately flowers wither, sown seeds fail to sprout, and babies die in cradles. Another village-deity says that she will reward those who propitiate her and shoot an arrow at those who refuse to. In return for propitiation the deities keep away from the village and *nāḍ* epidemics such as plague, cholera, and smallpox, and grant children, good crops, and longevity. They also offer protection from ghosts and minor spirits who possess and harm human beings. The oracle of the deity acts as exorcist at the festival of the deity.

Sanskritic Hinduism, which is also All-India Hinduism, makes out village gods to be manifestations of Shiva, and village goddesses to be manifestations of Shiva's wife, Pārvati. The implications of such a systematization will be considered later.

III

The domestic and temple architecture of Coorgs seems to have been modelled on that of Malabar. This is only natural as most of the artisan castes in Coorg Proper are immigrants from Malabar.

While Coorg houses are extremely substantial structures, temples dedicated to village-deities are usually small and unimpressive buildings. But the well-known temples dedicated to Brahminical or Sanskritic deities are substantial, as formerly rich devotees liked building solid and massive temples for their patron-deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that [788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 164 782 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual importance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head. 622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of [631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of 829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are, [634] however, the headmen of *stmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka, and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the increasing difficulty of rice cultivation in some parts of 132
the country, the change might be hailed as a most welcome improvement in the Coorg climate, which for the sake of human health might be still less loaded with moisture.

On the whole the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 66° 6′ is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year and Europeans are able to take exercise in the open air at all hours. European children in particular enjoy excellent health and their fat rosy cheeks form a striking contrast to the thin pale faces of those in the low country.

The rarified, often cold and damp air of Mercara with the usually prevailing high winds, necessarily does not agree with asthmatic and bronchial affections, chronic disorders of the liver and dysenteric complaints, but Fraserpet, which is 1,000 feet lower than Mercara, affords a salutary change during the rainy season.

The native troops, especially new arrivals from the low [701] [164] country, suffer much from the cold and damp and are, during their first year of acclimatization, subject to fever and bowel complaints, but in time even they enjoy the bracing climate of Mercara.

The climate of the valleys, particularly during the hot 132 months preceding the monsoon, when, as the natives say, the 164 old and new waters are mixed, is far from being healthy. Fevers, agues and bowel complaints are then very frequent and protracted. For the rest of the year the natives of the country pronounce the climate to be excellent especially after the monsoon. Besides the dreaded Coorg fever, which appears in its worst form, especially to Europeans, in the [751] vicinity of Atur in south-east Coorg and about Sampáji on the western boundary, small-pox has laid a fearful hold upon the natives though vaccination is much in vogue. Cholera but seldom makes its appearance; and yields readily to treat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the
[167] thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,916, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dreaded for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, as

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite 634
number varying from one to seven.

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg [101]
Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are 634
indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended 184
to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg.

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg 634
Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs.

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the [623]
representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly.

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanḍa, [167]
who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 [164] ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western [727] [648] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the [167] thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 178 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 110]

II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

101 [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centuries have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 **A.** Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [177] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the 174 brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 167 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Zádu branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mléchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koda kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171] ●
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372
783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character. 776 372 171

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning. 783 846

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen. [312]

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother. [778]

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

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765 are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the
788 guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.
783 The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamaṇḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

[171] The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

602 606 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the form er's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

606 It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

[171]

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heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably', because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Liṅgāyaṭ priests.

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several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūda request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

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776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them. 171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explaining' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became [437] culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

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Sārtāvu of Makki is referred to as Makki Sārtāvu, and so on. 776 Frequently, the name by which a deity is popularly known gives no clue as to his Sanskritic affiliations: the deity Pālūrappa is said to be 'really' Vishṇu, but he is ordinarily referred to by the former name. Kuṭṭatammé means the 'Mother of Kuṭṭa' (a village in south Coorg), and this is the name by which the deity is popularly known. The deity's 'real' name is Karīn Kāḷi (Black Kāḷi), who is identified with one of the manifestations or forms of Parvati, wife of Shiva.

But it is not always that the popular name hides the Sanskritic affiliations of a deity: Bhadrakāḷi, Chāmuṇḍi, Povvedi (Bhagavati), Mādēva (Mahādēva), &c., have obvious Sanskritic affiliations, though such affiliations may not be known to all or even most of the devotees.

Nowhere in India are the village-deities regarded as gentle. 171 776 This applies to Coorg too. The deity Madērappa settles down in the village Madé, and immediately flowers wither, sown seeds fail to sprout, and babies die in cradles. Another village-deity says that she will reward those who propitiate her and shoot an arrow at those who refuse to. In return for propitiation the deities keep [164] away from the village and *nāḍ* epidemics such as plague, cholera, and smallpox, and grant children, good crops, and longevity. They also offer protection from ghosts and minor spirits who possess and harm human beings. The oracle of the deity acts as exorcist at the festival of the deity.

Sanskritic Hinduism, which is also All-India Hinduism, makes out village gods to be manifestations of Shiva, and village goddesses to be manifestations of Shiva's wife, Pārvati. The implications of such a systematization will be considered later.

III

The domestic and temple architecture of Coorgs seems to have 346 been modelled on that of Malabar. This is only natural as most of the artisan castes in Coorg Proper are immigrants from Malabar.

While Coorg houses are extremely substantial structures, temples dedicated to village-deities are usually small and unimpressive buildings. But the well-known temples dedicated to Brahminical or Sanskritic deities are substantial, as formerly rich devotees liked building solid and massive temples for their patron-deities.

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few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [513]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍināḷknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

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779 Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus
194 in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of
171 Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

776 The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names:
171 Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayy-
779 appa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

779 It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic
634 Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

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778 custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water
171 is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

773 On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamaṇḍla there is an
778 immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

778 While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is
788 mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially
171 Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

778 Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are
171 sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

171 Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171 over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is 302 entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is 776 broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101 Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779 customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara. The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779 Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184 and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country. The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773 and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776 Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women 291 pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779 which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 ties. The identification of Subramaṇya with cobras in Coorg, and
171 in the Tuḷu, Telugu, and Kannaḍa countries is a case in point. Subramaṇya or Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva, is a Sanskritic deity having an All-India spread. Cobras are reverenced throughout India by Hindus and their worship takes different forms in different parts of the country. But the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya is confined to certain areas in peninsular India, and such an identification marks them off from other areas. At the same time such an identification draws the Regional phenomenon into the All-India complex.

A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking. All the castes in such an area possess in common certain cultural and ritual forms. This type of 'spread' has been called 'vertical spread'.

The upper castes in every part of India have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common, and this has been called 'horizontal spread'. Thus a Brahmin in Coorg will have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common with a Brahmin in Kashmir.

Every caste in practically every linguistic area in India shares in both horizontal and vertical spreads. Generally speaking, the higher castes have more of the former than the lower, and the lower castes share more of the latter than the upper castes.

The systematic reconstruction of Indian history which has taken place in the last seventy years, the all-round improvement in communications, newspapers, radio, films, and books have all contributed to greater and greater Sanskritization of Hinduism. The various reformist movements in Hinduism, while conducting a propaganda for the removal of what they considered to be 'defects' in Hinduism, tended to stress the value of Sanskritic Hinduism. The greatness of Sanskrit literature and the vitality of Indian philosophical thought in Sanskrit have also contributed to the increasing importance of Sanskritic Hinduism.

III

564 The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste. The exact position which such a group occupies in the hierarchy might be a matter of dispute, but this is not important. Once the popular idea of caste as a rigid, five-fold hierarchy is given up and it is thought of as

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōksha*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many
171 more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper. 1

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people
582 than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's step-mother is called cikavvë, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyë, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa-
[115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in
[614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are
[613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter-
[115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144-145 -- Analyst]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [232]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

e. Wedding and married life.

582 The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious
[178] mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris. [171]

197 533 539 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1. *Kodagu.*	Nóḍi nóḍi kámbakkö
2. *Canarese.*	Nóḍi nóḍi káṇuvége
3. *English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1. *Kg.*	Bámikelloyandadö
2. *Can.*	Bhúmige yella unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1. *Kg.*	Mahammére parvata
2. *Can.*	Mahammére parvata
3. *Engl.*	Mahaméru mountain
1. *Kg.*	Pú marakkoyandadö
2. *Can.*	Húvu maragaḷige unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1. *Kg.*	Mánjappeya pámara
2. *Can.*	Mahá sampigea húvu mara
3. *Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1. *Kg.*	Déjakelloyandadö
2. *Can.*	Déshagaḷige, yella, unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1. *Kg.*	Pommále Koḍavápa
2. *Can.*	Honnu mále Koḍagu águtade
3. *Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *f*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

136 Since 1902 systematic arrangements have been made by Government for their capture in pits as in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Bisons frequent the densest forests and highest hills, especially in Marenad and Hormalnad. Bears generally abound in the north-west. Tigers and leopards are also found. Sambur, spotted deer, and barking deer are general in the woods. The most important bird is the hornbill, but there are peacocks, water fowl and jungle-cock, over and above the most ordinary and common Indian birds. Snakes are plentiful and cobra haunt the bamboo forests. There is a large variety of fish. The best fish in size and quality is the plantain fish.

Meteorology and Climate

132 Coorg is a small country, and yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence its atmospheric conditions. Still the dry eastern district may present as steady a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. The hot, rainy and cold seasons have to be distinguished. Throughout the year the atmosphere is humid, and humidity is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The Coorg hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In November the north-east winds carry heavy clouds from the eastern coast which discharge themselves chiefly in the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightfully clear and fresh. The annual rainfall at Mercara is 133 inches. On the whole, the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 60° F. is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year.

Prehistory

172 Our knowledge of the prehistory of Coorg is very scanty. Prehistoric dolmens or burial cairns are found in Coorg as in other parts of South India. The first discovery of them in large numbers was made by Lieut. Mackenzie in 1868 on Bane near Virajpet. Captain Cole followed it up with great enthusiasm and his excavations yielded interesting results. All the cairns found are either level with the ground, or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber 7 ft. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. composed of four upright granite slabs, 7 or 8 inches thick, and a capstone which projects over the uprights. The flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 ft. in diameter broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a compartment may be two-chambered. These cairns are either

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

solitary or in groups, in some cases forming regular rows. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in the earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear-heads and beads. The pottery consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a lead or black colour. They are smooth and shining and can hardly be said to be glazed. Bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of ragi have also been found inside the chambers. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery. The iron implements, spears, and arrow heads are very much corroded so that their shape is hardly distinguishable. These cairns apparently were the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races. The dolmens are also called pandu-kuzhies or dwellings of the Pandus by the Coorgs. 172

Traditional History

The early history of Coorg is based primarily on Puranic legends and surmises covering a period of over ten centuries. The three names, Brahmakshetra, Matsyadesa and Kroda-Dess are applied to Coorg. The Puranic account is found in the *Cauvery Mahatmya*. It describes the origin of the Cauvery, and the place from which it arises. 173

According to *Cauvery Mahatmya*, the Coorgs are Ugras by descent, that is the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Sudra mother. The Kshatriya was a Kadamba prince of the Matsya country and known as Chandravarma. He was very religious by nature, and after a long pilgrimage to holy shrines in the south he came to Brahmagiri and propitiated the goddess Parvati, who bestowed on him a kingdom there and provided him with a Sudra wife by whom he had eleven sons. She also promised to bless the country by appearing in it as the river Cauvery. The sons brought up as Kshatriyas in their turn obtained as wives the three hundred daughters born of Sudra mothers to the king of Viderba (Berar). Chandravarma having crowned his eldest son Devakanta as successor, took leave of him, predicting that Cauvery would soon appear as the river. These sons had more than a hundred sons each, and they spread themselves all over the country. This tearing up of the ground was like the work of boars, and the country was therefore called Kroda-Dess or boar-country from which arose the name Kodagu.

There is another popular legend which throws some light on the early history of the Coorgs. In former times there lived in Malabar six brothers and a sister. Five of them accompanied by their sister, Ponnan-galathamma, went to Coorg by the Peditoragbat. While they were on the road, four of them said, "How is it that our sister comes with us?

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

349 *Nanjunda Arasu*, who had ruled over Periapatam. Shortly before his death, whilst on a visit to his nephew, the Coorg Rajah Dodda-Vírappa Vodeya, the fortress fell through treachery into the hands of the Mysoreans with the loss of all his remaining family. In his affliction he addressed the Coorg Rajah thus: "As old age had come upon us, we intended with your permission to have placed our son in the Government of Periapatam and, renouncing the desire of this world, to have given ourselves to constant adoration of Siva. At such time of old age the great God has shown us a misery, we ought never to have looked upon. Do you take possession of the country which has passed from our hands? Build and give us a house to live in till our life come to a close, and a temple for Vírabhadra, our household god. Besides, it is our mind, to consecrate a Linga in our name. For this purpose let a temple be built on the banks of the Kávéri river, in it a Linga be consecrated in our name after the close of our life, our grave be made in front of that temple, a stone portico be built over it and a Basavéshvara consecrated in it." In compliance with this request Dodda-Vírappa had a palace built near the river on the spot chosen by him at Holesálhalli, surrounding it with a ditch, settled him there and gave it the name Nanjaráyapattana. For his bodyguard he appointed 700 Coorgmen. He built also Vírabhadra's temple, erected another stone temple over the Linga, called Nanjundéshvara, and after Nanjunda's death he laid him in a grave constructed according to his wishes and made a grant of some lands for the perpetual performance of a religious service.

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c. Antique Sepulchres or Cairns and Monumental Stones.

Cairns, those mysterious prehistoric tumuli, which are found all over the old world from Scandinavia to the far East and which puzzle alike the simple peasant and the astute

[Errata: This should read "hands." (Period), rather than "hands?". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

archæologist, have lately been discovered also in Coorg and upon further investigation, their structure and contents prove to be of a character similar to that of the Cairns so widely distributed over Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, Madura and other districts in Southern India. They are also remarkably like the ancient Allemanic tumuli, found in Southern Germany and Switzerland which contain similar pottery and implements. 172

The first discovery of them in Coorg in large numbers—for a solitary one had been opened at Almanda in Beppunád by Dr. H. Moegling in 1856—was made by Lieut. Mackenzie, Assistant Superintendent, in 1868 on Bánc[1] near Virájpet, but soon others were found and in better preservation near Fraserpet on the Mysore side of the Kávéri. The matter was taken up with great enthusiasm by Captain Cole the Superintendent of Coorg, and the excavations led to very satisfactory results. All of the Cairns found are either level with the ground or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber about 7 feet long, 4 feet wide and 4 feet high, composed of 4 upright granite slabs 7 or 8 inches thick and surmounted by a large slab that projects over the sides; the flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 feet in diameter, broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a large compartment is by a partition stone divided into two chambers. These Cairns are either solitary or in groups, in some instances forming regular rows, so as to give the appearance of streets. Others are surrounded by a single or double circle of stones from 2 to 3 feet high. Many seem to have been tampered with by the natives for the sake of the stone-slabs or in the expectation of finding treasure. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear heads and beads. The pottery

[1] [Errata: This should read "on a Báne" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473-- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

• 172 consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a red or black colour. Some resemble the ordinary native pots of various sizes; others are from 1 to 2 feet high narrow urns contracted towards the mouth and tapering towards the bottom, where 3 or 4 short legs give them support for standing upright. Some smaller ones shaped like Roman amphoras without handles, have no such supports. They are smooth and shining, but can hardly be said to be glazed. Ornaments there are none on the surface, except perhaps a line round the brim, but their forms are well proportioned and even elegant. Some of the vessels are in miniature like children's toys from 1¼ to 2¼ inches in diameter. The earth which fills the pots is the same as that within the chamber of the Cairn; bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of rági have also been found within the chambers, but it is likely, that some practical ryot or wandering Kuruba selected a Cairn for his granary, as it is the practice with natives to secure their grain in earth-holes. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape and longitudinally pierced and ornamented with straight or zigzag parallel lines, scratched into the stone and filled up with a white substance, are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery.

The iron implements, spears and arrowheads, are very much corroded, so that their shape is hardly distinguishable.

It would be vain, to enter into the question of who were the builders of these Cairns. The Coorgs call them Pándupare (dwellings of the Pándus), but whatever is beyond their historical knowledge, they ascribe to the Pándus. It is certain, that the construction of these Cairns is quite disconnected from the life, customs and history of the present inhabitants of Coorg, nor can they have been the abodes of a legendary pigmy race; but were most likely the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation, that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Monumental Stones of a more recent date are the Kollekallu (from kollu, to kill—and kallu, stone) tombstones in honour of warriors slain in battle. They are found along the eastern districts of Coorg. One I saw in Tavalagheri-gráma in Kiggatnád, some in Kottecád, 6 miles to the east of Mercara, and many in Fraserpet and near the Sómawarpet; the same kind of monuments occur also frequently in the Mysore country, especially in Nuggur and as far north as Belgaum. In all these localities the stones show a similar character. A large collection of them may be seen in the town of Mysore in an open place opposite the Grave-yard. The slabs are of granite, with rough facings, about 6 feet high, 4 feet broad and 9 inches thick, and frequently the lower half is buried in the ground. The front side is generally divided into three compartments, each containing some figures in relief, the background being chiselled out, so that the figures are level with the frame of the compartments. The objects represented in the top frame are one, two or three central figures seated in various postures on low stools such as the Hindus still use, and two female figures standing by their sides with fans. The central figures are evidently the heroes, they sit sword in hand with consequential dignity. The second compartment is filled with a string of 3, 5 or 7 figures alternately males and females, the latter preponderating and in most lively attitudes, the male figures extending their arms and resting their hands on the shoulders of the females who support their partners' arms near the elbows. The extreme figures who are always females hold fans (or guitars?) in their hands. The third frame encloses a battle scene in which warriors on foot and armed with bows and arrows, swords and shields are engaged in combat, one man lying dead on the ground. In the right corner there is a warrior on horseback with sword in hand making gestures of command or encouragement and in the left corner one or two bulls are represented. The

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Haliboed.

•172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 to A. D. 1006 and the charter concludes with the solemn de-
172 nunciation "whoever takes away this land which he or others have given, shall for sixty thousand years be born as a worm."

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d. The Coorg Cadangas and other remains of defensive works.

In the April number (1855) of the "Fortnightly Review" in the article: "Were the Ancient Britons Savages?" by W. Walker Wilkins, there occurs a passage which has a most appropriate bearing upon the Coorg Cadangas: "Probably "no country in the world possesses so many ancient earth-"works, certainly none upon such a stupendous scale as our "own.—They are extremely difficult of access from the steep-"ness of the mountain height on which they were formed. "This difficulty the primitive engineer greatly increased by "the most simple and natural means. He sunk one or more "deep trenches round the summit of the hill and raised lofty "banks with the excavated soil. Undoubtedly this is the "most ancient species of rampart known; it existed ages be-"fore the use of mural fortifications and originated in all pro-"bability with the nations in the East. But be that as it may, "the examples above indicated incontestably prove, that the "realization of vast works was as familiar to the mind of the "British regulus or chieftain, as to that of any oriental prince "his contemporary. The organization of labour necessary "for carrying them out evinces besides a condition of society "here in prehistoric times, utterly incompatible with the pre-"vailing notions on the subject."

The description here given literally applies to the Coorg breast-works called *Cadangas*, which are seen in almost every part of this country and which testify to the indefatigable perseverance with which these highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their Hills. They are of a very remote age, for in the time of Dodda Vîrappa Vodeya who ruled for 49

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172] ●
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [169] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man •173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves.

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1]

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades.

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 20–21.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

solitary or in groups, in some cases forming regular rows. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in the earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear-heads and beads. The pottery consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a lead or black colour. They are smooth and shining and can hardly be said to be glazed. Bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of ragi have also been found inside the chambers. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery. The iron implements, spears, and arrow heads are very much corroded so that their shape is hardly distinguishable. These cairns apparently were the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races. The dolmens are also called pandu-kuzhies or dwellings of the Pandus by the Coorgs. 172

Traditional History

The early history of Coorg is based primarily on Puranic legends and surmises covering a period of over ten centuries. The three names, Brahmakshetra, Matsyadesa and Kroda-Desa are applied to Coorg. The Puranic account is found in the *Cauvery Mahatmya*. It describes the origin of the Cauvery, and the place from which it arises. 173

According to *Cauvery Mahatmya*, the Coorgs are Ugras by descent, that is the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Sudra mother. The Kshatriya was a Kadamba prince of the Matsya country and known as Chandravarma. He was very religious by nature, and after a long pilgrimage to holy shrines in the south he came to Brahmagiri and propitiated the goddess Parvati, who bestowed on him a kingdom there and provided him with a Sudra wife by whom he had eleven sons. She also promised to bless the country by appearing in it as the river Cauvery. The sons brought up as Kshatriyas in their turn obtained as wives the three hundred daughters born of Sudra mothers to the king of Vidarba (Berar). Chandravarma having crowned his eldest son Devakanta as successor, took leave of him, predicting that Cauvery would soon appear as the river. These sons had more than a hundred sons each, and they spread themselves all over the country. This tearing up of the ground was like the work of boars, and the country was therefore called Kroda-Desa or boar-country from which arose the name Kodagu.

There is another popular legend which throws some light on the early history of the Coorgs. In former times there lived in Malabar six brothers and a sister. Five of them accompanied by their sister, Ponnan-galathamma, went to Coorg by the Peditoraghat. While they were on the road, four of them said, "How is it that our sister comes with us?

173 The people will say that she is our wife." One of them replied, "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to Chouripade hill near the Kakabi river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa asked her (the sister) to prepare some food. She replied that there was neither rice nor fire. Iguttappa said, "I will give you rice, but you must eat it without salt". The brothers agreed to this. Then she saw a cow, which belonged to the Paredandra house, and she milked her, allowing the milk to fall into an earthern pot full of rice. While her brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, she went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, when it began to boil. She then summoned her brothers to partake of the rice she had prepared. When they had partaken enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it into the air and exclaimed, "See how the hail is descending from this sky." The sister was incensed at this act. She took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow, and said, "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." The other brothers then laughed at this. While they were sitting together chewing betel, Paluruppa said, "Let us see whose betel is reddest." All spat out the betel in their hand, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. Deluded by this act, the sister threw the betel into her mouth and began to chew. They then declared that she had lost her caste. This decision was confirmed by their brother in Malabar to whom they appealed. Their sister felt very sorry and wept very bitterly. Iguttappa then threw an arrow from Iguttappabetta and directed his sister to follow the direction of the arrow and stay where it fell. Assuming the shape of a crane, she flew towards Ponnangala. Some Holeyas were working in paddy fields near Karathandra house. She flew upon one of them who became possessed with the devil and ran towards the tree to which the arrow had stuck. The brothers separated into different villages where they settled down. The whole family was afterwards worshipped as gods. Beyturappa had a temple at Beytur in Malabar. The third has one in Maletambira forest in Chomamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Palur in Kuyangarinad, and the sixth Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in Wynad. A temple was built for Ponnangalatamma round the tree where the arrow struck. At her annual feast in April, she weeps and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is seen sticking to the wild mango tree to this day.

174 The foregoing traditional accounts go to show that the Coorgs
173 belong to the Ugra race and are the descendants of prince Chandravarma. The first colonists are made out to have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom. Lewis Rice says that it is a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg, and with the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region. There are also other traditions which lead

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinḥs of Jumcha and Coorḥ were of the same race. It is also observed that the aboriginies as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorḥ. 174 173

Population

The population of Coorḥ is composed of the following tribes and castes:— 162 564

1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorḥ
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heḥḥade
9. Vokkaliḥa

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CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
● 173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 792 844 846 789 852 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg woman is rarely idle, her busy hands find always 592
some work to do, and no wonder, if we consider the life and 562
bustle of a Coorg house with its 40, 60, or 80 and more inmates. Two or three generations, grandfather and grandmother, their sons and daughters-in-law and the children of these families all live and mess together. The labourers also belong to the household and look up to the mistress for food and orders. The fattening of the pigs, the milking of the cows, the water supply for the house, these and many other cares are under the immediate supervision of the mistress. Where [578]
peace and harmony exist, a Coorg house presents a patriarchal life indeed, but the idyllic picture is too often marred by discord occasioned by the harsh régime of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heartburnings of married brothers, or the more material questions of family income and individual claims. The master or yejamána, who is always the senior male member of the house, has no easy position, especially in our days, when a tendency to break up these large houses clearly manifests itself. But Coorg women of a commanding spirit and superior character are often heard of who, like Abigail of old, with tact and wisdom subdue the unruly elements of this bustling human beehive and make the residents subservient to the common weal and honour of the family. Here is a story to the purpose:—"Six generations 592
ago, there was a woman called Doddi Auwa[1]—the great lady— 562
who lived at Almanda house, in the village of Arméri, which 173
belongs to Beppunádu. She was the mistress of the Almanda property, being the only child of rich parents. She was a woman of extraordinary size and strength of body. Nor was she less distinguished by qualities of mind and character. Throughout the country she was known as the wisest, the richest, the strongest of Coorg women. Independent owner of a Coorg estate, she was at liberty to choose a husband for herself. Her choice fell upon a man of the same clan. Utta-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodda-Auva," see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

592 562 173 cha, a son of the Mánanda house. He was a good sort of a husband, but much inferior every way to his great wife. Perhaps she had chosen him for this very reason. His place in the house was rather that of head-servant, than of husband and master. Every year the people of Arméri used to send a caravan to Irkúr, in the low country, near Cannanore, to fetch salt. At other times caravans, carrying rice to the coast, would start from Arméri during the dry season. On such occasions Doddi Auwa[2] would herself attend to every thing, put the cattle in readiness, prepare provisions, and at last accompay her husband and his oxen to the place of meeting, appointed for the whole train from the village. On parting, she would recommend her husband and his beasts to the kind offices of the best men in the caravan, and return home to her great house and her large business. Often, when husband or servants appeared too slow in loading the oxen, she would bid them step aside and taking the double sacks quietly with both hands, lay them softly and evenly upon the backs of the cattle. She was famed equally for wisdom and honesty.

Also Mudduráya who ruled Coorg in her time, respected and reverenced her, and often, on coming to Beppunádu, he stopped to have a talk with Doddi Auwa[2] of Almanda house. In the course of time Doddi Auwa[3] became mother of four daughters, but to her great grief no son was granted her, to succeed to the Almanda property. When the daughters came of age, she gave them in marriage to sons of neighbouring landholders. The eldest became the wife of a member of the Pálekanda family, the second married into the Pálanda house, the third was given to the Amnichanda family. The youngest, by a general agreement of the chiefs, was also given to the Pálekanda house, but, as heiress of the Almanda property, she had to give her sons, if she bore any, to her mother. This daughter, the youngest, bore 4 sons in succession. Of these, the two eldest were brought up by their grand-mother Doddi

1 2 3
A, A, A [Errata: This should read "Doddi-Auya". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nfradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Doddi-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 993 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Pancháyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases 754 787 648 reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. [683] By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

782 173 [776]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Gráma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nádu from all evil influences. In Kirindádu and Koninchéri-gráma in Katiednád, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pánikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (álu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, ádu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellúr in Távaligherri-múrnád of Kiggatnád-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the púJári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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III. PART.

The History of Coorg.

1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KĀVÉRI-PURĀṆA.

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The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kávéri-Purána which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kártikéya-Purána; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Parshuráma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwípa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwípa or India were either turned into Avatáras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódáveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri-Purána or Kávéri-Mahátmya (glorification of Kávéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 1864 by Srínivásayengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujyóti, joining the Kánaka and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823]
divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

2. POPULAR TRADITION.

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

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Five of them, accompanied by their sister, Ponnangálatamma, went to Coorg by the Páditorghát. While they were on the road, four of them said: "How is it that our sister comes with us; the people will say, that she is our wife?" One of them replied: "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to the Chouripadé-hill near the Kakabé river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa said to his sister: "Prepare us some food." She replied: "There is no fire nor rice." Iguttappa said: "I will give you rice, but you must boil it without fire." She replied: "I will boil it without fire, but you must eat it without salt." To this the brothers agreed. Then Ponnangálatamma, seeing a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house went and milked her, letting the milk fall into a chatty full of rice, and while the brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, where it began to boil. Then she called her brothers to eat the rice which she had prepared. When they had eaten enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it up into the air and exclaimed: "See how the hail is descending from the sky." Ponnangálatamma, angry at this, took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow on his back and said: "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." Then the brothers all laughed at him. Afterwards, while they were sitting together and chewing betel, Pálúrappa said: "Let us see whose betel is the reddest." Then they all spat out the betel into their hands, looked at it, and the brothers threw the betel behind their heads, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. The sister, deluded by this, threw the betel into her mouth again, and went on chewing. They now said that she had lost her caste. Their brother in Malabar too, to whom they appealed, confirmed their decision. Ponnangálatamma was excessively grieved, and wept bitterly. Iguttappa afterwards threw an arrow from the Iguttappabetta and ordered his sister to go

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Páldr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree. 173 539 [196]

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon. 173 631

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS. 174

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

* 175 643

his subjects. But the Rájendranáme is studiously silent on these subjects. The book was written for the use of his friends and patrons. For this purpose the English translation was made, at the request of Vírarája by Mr. Abercromby, and Hindustani translations distributed as remembrances among the higher officers in the Company's service. Vírarája was anxious, more anxious than appears to have been natural in a person of his situation, to bear a fair character in the eyes of the English Sirkar. He seems to have been conscious, that to his own people he was an object of terror, probably of hatred, and that he had no friend on earth, but the English Government, whose gratitude he had indeed fully deserved.

The English translation of the Rájendranáme being available for further particulars, a succinct summary may suffice our present purpose.

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A. PRINCES OF COLLATERAL LINES.

1633—1780.

a. Muddurája and his descendents.

The chronicle commences with the reign of Muddurája who is introduced as the son of Appájirája and the grandson of Vírarája. He reigned at Haléri in 1633, but subsequently established himself at Mercara, where he built the Fort and a Palace in 1681. He had three sons: Dodda-Vírappa, Appájirája and Nandarája. After a long reign of 54 years Muddurája died and his eldest son Dodda-Vírappa succeeded him. The second son was settled at Haléri and the third at Horamale.

Dodda-Vírappa, with the harelip, had a son Appájirája who married and had a son, whose name was Chikka-Vírappa Vodeya.

Appáji of Haléri had five sons of whom three died in early life. The eldest Muddaya had a son Appájirája; the second

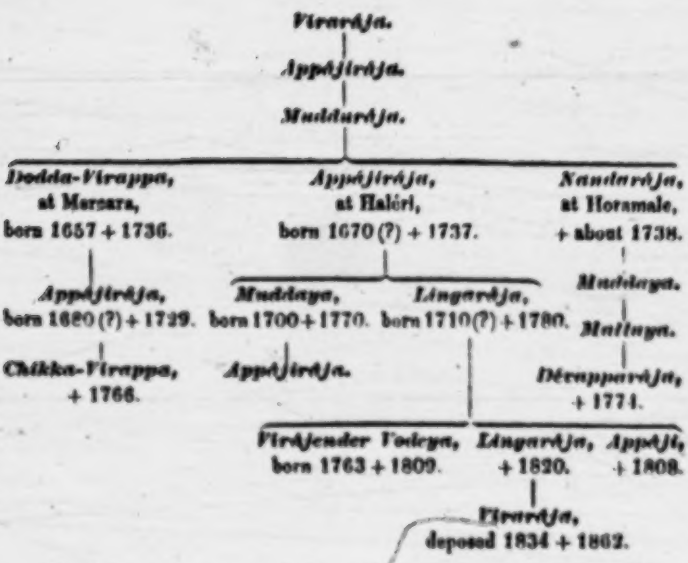
4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Lingarája married Dévambikegamma, who bore him a son at the full moon of June 1763, Vírarájendra Vodeya, the author and hero of the Rájendranáme. His two brothers were Lingarája and Appáji. 173 ● 643 *

Of the Horamale branch Nandarája had a son Muddaya whose son was Mallaya.

The relationship of the descendents of the different lines will appear more clearly from the annexed

Genealogical Tree.



Such was the state of things in Coorg, when Chikkadéva Vodeya of Mysore, Dodda Channamáji, the mother of Sómashékara Náyaka of Ikeri, Dodda-Sadáshivarája of Sóde, Venkatádri Náyaka of Bélur, Víravasurája of Chirakal lived and ruled their respective principalities. The country of Periapatna and of Coorg were then one. The frontier of 175* 643* 648*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves. 564 173

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1] 564 792

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades. 564 [178]

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were 564 174

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 20–21.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Coorgs and other Coorgs were not very frequent. Saṇṇa Coorgs looked down upon Boḍḍu Coorgs whose customs and manners were somewhat different from their own: differences between cognate groups as to minute points of custom and ritual frequently come to stand for the identity of each of them as against the others. This is a common feature of caste.

A point which needs stressing because it is not very typical of the caste system is the comparative ease with which Coorgs admitted into their fold non-Coorgs belonging to fairly high castes. Moegling wrote in 1855, 'strangers are received among them and naturalised without difficulty, and such as have been excommunicated are received without much ado'.[1] Richter, writing sixteen years later, says that 'even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggaṭnāḍ, who ten years ago were, by the Head Sheristedar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan [caste] by the rest of the people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time. . . .'[2] Formerly some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Tuḷu Gauḍas were received into the Coorg fold. The complete absorption of recruits from other castes naturally took some time, and till it was accomplished the conservative Coorg families did not freely intermarry with the new recruits. Even now one hears a Coorg elder saying, 'such-and-such a family are really Kannaḍa Okkaligas who called themselves Coorgs 50 or 60 years ago. Until recently Coorgs would think twice before inter-marrying with them.'

IV

There are more than forty main castes and tribes in Coorg, but Coorgs come into intimate contact with only a few of them. A very brief account of their relations with each of these castes will now be given. It is important to add that the duties mentioned against each caste might frequently be performed by similar castes of equivalent status: for instance, it might be either a Tuḷu Brahmin or Malabar Brahmin who performs the priestly duties at a village temple, and the Tuḷu Brahmin is again split up into Shivaḷḷi and

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 55. [2] *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 231–2.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time ●174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [014] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 178 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriage are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvë and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:|ia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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[1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

173 The people will say that she is our wife." One of them replied, "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to Chouripade hill near the Kakabi river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa asked her (the sister) to prepare some food. She replied that there was neither rice nor fire. Iguttappa said, "I will give you rice, but you must eat it without salt". The brothers agreed to this. Then she saw a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house, and she milked her, allowing the milk to fall into an earthern pot full of rice. While her brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, she went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, when it began to boil. She then summoned her brothers to partake of the rice she had prepared. When they had partaken enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it into the air and exclaimed, "See how the hail is descending from this sky." The sister was incensed at this act. She took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow, and said, "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." The other brothers then laughed at this. While they were sitting together chewing betel, Palurappa said, "Let us see whose betel is reddest." All spat out the betel in their hand, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. Deluded by this act, the sister threw the betel into her mouth and began to chew. They then declared that she had lost her caste. This decision was confirmed by their brother in Malabar to whom they appealed. Their sister felt very sorry and wept very bitterly. Iguttappa then threw an arrow from Iguttappabetta and directed his sister to follow the direction of the arrow and stay where it fell. Assuming the shape of a crane, she flew towards Ponnangala. Some Holeyas were working in paddy fields near Karathandra house. She flew upon one of them who became possessed with the devil and ran towards the tree to which the arrow had stuck. The brothers separated into different villages where they settled down. The whole family was afterwards worshipped as gods. Beyturappa had a temple at Beytur in Malabar. The third has one in Malatambira forest in Chomamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Palur in Kuyangarinad, and the sixth Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in Wynad. A temple was built for Ponnangalatamma round the tree where the arrow struck. At her annual feast in April, she weeps and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is seen sticking to the wild mango tree to this day.

174 The foregoing traditional accounts go to show that the Coorgs
173 belong to the Ugra race and are the descendants of prince Chandravarma. The first colonists are made out to have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom. Lewis Rice says that it is a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg, and with the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region. There are also other traditions which lead

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinḥs of Jumcha and Coorḥ were of the same race. It is also observed that the aboriḥines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorḥ. 174 173

Population

The population of Coorḥ is composed of the following tribes and castes:— 162 564

1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorḥ
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heḥḥade
9. Vokkaliḥa

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[P. 38]

CHAPTER VII

COORG

101 COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the
• 174 original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

141 Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without
174 any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that " it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenja Daru period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

174 Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana, in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and gusva trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[74 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of [783] pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

[P 64]

CHAPTER XI

793
101

AMMA COORG

[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their [776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the 173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed [778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turning to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is [788] yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast 485 by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs, ● 174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an 793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes- 793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the [796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[179] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Nádı or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Páldr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [177] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the 174 brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 167 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Záda branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mlénchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembán Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643 648 to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri government. 174 177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795] maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháriés. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144] required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 648 174 177 [578] [564] ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648] To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

[For historical sketches of cities, see category 369 or Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

however, very common. Kannaḍa was the court and official language of Coorg under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, and nowadays it is the medium of instruction in schools. Besides, every Coorg is able to speak it. 197

Educated Coorgs are usually trilingual, knowing Koḍagi, Kannaḍa, and English. Koḍagi is used in the home, Kannaḍa in talking to most non-Coorgs excepting Malayāḷīs, and English in official matters, and occasionally in conversation with strangers. English is popular with Coorgs, and even women, especially those under thirty, have some acquaintance with it. 191

In 1931 there were 44,585 Koḍagi-speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. This discrepancy is due to the fact that several castes and tribes have taken over the language of Coorgs, who have throughout been the dominant group in Coorg. In fact, only a few castes have escaped the temptation to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manners. In the past some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gauḍas, and others did succeed in entering the Coorg fold. Even now some non-Coorgs aspire to be Coorgs. For instance, during the 1931 Census, a number of Kannaḍa Okkaligas and Tuḷu Gauḍas in north Coorg succeeded in getting themselves enumerated as Coorgs as they had been described as 'Jamma Koḍagas' in the title-deeds conferring on them the right to hold land under the concession tenure of *jamma* (see pp. 16–17). The enumerators, in spite of their strict instructions to check all doubtful cases thoroughly, had to enumerate such persons as Coorgs. It is presumed, however, that their number did not exceed a thousand.[1] 197 162

IV

Coorg enters history in the ninth century A.D., but the information we possess at present about the period between the ninth and seventeenth centuries is very little indeed. We do know, however, that ever since the period for which we have any information, the fortunes of the powerful south Indian Kingdoms in the east have had effects on Coorg. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Changāḷvas, who ruled some parts of Coorg, were feudatory to the Gangas of Talkāḍ in Mysore. The Changāḷvas (Kings of Changanāḍ) ruled certain areas to the west of Mysore city and the eastern 175

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 42.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 and northern parts of Coorg excluding Ēḷusāvirashīmé Hōbḷi, at present called Shanivārasanté Hōbḷi. This latter area was part of the territory ruled by the Kongāḷva Kings in the eleventh century. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas were Jains by faith, and Changāḷva inscriptions have been found in Yeḍavanāḍ in the north and Beṭṭyetnāḍ in the south (see Map 3). It is probable that their territory included Tala Kāvēri as well.

The Chōḷas of the Tamil country defeated the Gangas in the beginning of the eleventh century, and they claim to have conquered Coorg as well. Both the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas now became feudatory to the Chōḷas.

The Hoysaḷas, a dynasty which rose to power in western Mysore after the fall of the Gangas, succeeded in the twelfth century in driving the Chōḷas out of Mysore. The Changāḷvas, who had accepted the overlordship of both the Gangas and Chōḷas, refused to accept the overlordship of the Hoysaḷas and claimed independence. Several battles took place between the two before the Hoysaḷas were able to establish their authority. These battles are important for us, for the first reference to Coorgs as a body occurs in an inscription referring to one of them. We find Coorgs fighting for their Changāḷva ruler against the invader from Mysore.

In 1145 the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha I slew the Changāḷva ruler in battle and captured his elephants, horses, gold, and jewels. Thereafter the Changāḷvas appear to have withdrawn into Coorg, for in 1174 Ballāḷa II sent his general Beṭṭarasa against them in Pālparé in Hattugaṭṭanāḍ in Kiggaṭnāḍ (see Map 3). Beṭṭarasa was victorious, and he built a town at Pālparé which he made his capital. But Pemma-Vīrappa, joined by Budigonḍéya Nandidēva, Udiyāditya of Kurchi (village), and others, 'the Koḍagas of all the *nāḍs*', marched against Pālparé and attacked Beṭṭarasa, who seems
[101] to have got the worst of it at first, but was finally victorious. This is the earliest reference to Coorgs by name.[1]

The defeated Changāḷvas seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. In 1252 the Hoysaḷa king Somēshwara visited them at Rāmanāthapura, when the Changāḷva capital was at Shrīrangapaṭṇa, south of the Kāvēri near Siddāpur. The Changāḷvas had now changed their faith from Jainism to Lingayāṭism, a popular sect devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva, which arose in the Kannaḍa country in the twelfth century A.D.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Oxford, 1908, vol. xi, p. 10.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

When the Vijayanagar kingdom replaced the Hoysaḷas in the fourteenth century the Changāḷvas became feudatory to them. The Vijayanagar kingdom, extending over a great part of south India, remained in power till 1565 when it was defeated by the Muslims at the Battle of Tāḷikoṭa.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Vijayanagar kings had bestowed on, or confirmed to, vassal chiefs bearing various titles, sundry tracts in Mysore, on the condition of paying tribute and rendering military service. Those in the north were controlled direct from the capital. The southern chiefs were under a viceroy, termed the Śrī Ranga Rāyal at Seringapaṭam. After the disaster of Tāḷikōṭa, although nominal allegiance continued to be paid to the viceroy, such of the chiefs as had the power gradually declared their independence.[1]

Among the chiefs who became independent were the Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr, the Changāḷvas who ruled over a good part of Coorg, and the Woḍéyars of Mysore. The last-mentioned of these rose to power after the fall of Vijayanagar, absorbing many of its former dependencies.

The authority of the viceroy seems to have been recognized in a shadowy way even after the fall of Vijayanagar until 1610 when Mysore captured Seringapaṭam, the seat of the viceroy's government. The Changāḷvas seem to have been friends with the viceroy who, in 1607, confirmed the Maḷalavāḍi country[2] to Piriyarāja (or Rudragaṇa), the Changāḷva king of the Nanjarājapaṭṇa branch.

A clear account of the history of the Changāḷva kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not yet available. It is known, however, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century Nanjarāja founded their capital of Nanjarājapaṭṇa. In 1589 Piriya Rāja (Rudragaṇa) rebuilt Singapaṭṇa and named it after himself, Piriyāpaṭṇa. A branch of the Changāḷvas seem to have ruled in Piriyāpaṭṇa in the seventeenth century. The exact date when this dynasty came to an end is not certain as, according to the existing account, the last Rāja was killed in 1644 while fighting Mysoreans. According to the same account Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II) was

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xviii, p. 176.

[2] He did this because the deity Annadāni Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadapura hill in Huṇsūr tālūk (or Maḷalavāḍi) was the family deity of the Changāḷvas of the Nanjarājapaṭṇa branch, and the viceroy wanted the worship of the deity to continue as long as this branch of the Changāḷvas continued to exist. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 11.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 reigning in Coorg at this time, but we know for certain that he did not ascend the throne till 1686, forty-two years after 1644.

Firishta, the historian of Akbar and Jahāngir, states that at the end of the sixteenth century Coorg Proper was ruled by its chiefs or Nāyakas, who acknowledged the supremacy of Vijayanagar, but constantly fought among themselves.[1] The chaotic situation was taken advantage of by a prince of the neighbouring Ikkēri or Bēḍnūr dynasty, who at first settled in Hālēri, north of Mercara, as a Jangama or Lingāyaṭ priest, and succeeded in gradually bringing the entire country under his control.

The Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr, the Rulers of Piriyāpaṭṇa, and the Rājas of Coorg were all related to each other. It is even possible that the Rājas of Coorg were thought of as in some way dependent upon the Nāyakas of Bēḍnūr: this would help to explain Haider Ali's regarding himself as liege lord of Coorg when he had conquered Bēḍnūr in 1763.

The prince of the Bēḍnūr dynasty who settled down as a *jangama* or Lingāyaṭ priest in Hālēri in north Coorg was an astute strategist. He was well aware of the fact that a *jangama* commanded a great deal of respect from Lingāyaṭs who predominated in north Coorg. He lived in a village council house (*chāvaḍi*), teaching children and preaching to adults. People voluntarily gave him uncleaned paddy (*dhūḷi bhatta*) at harvest. Later, when he was certain of his hold over the people, he changed the voluntary contribution to a compulsory levy of one and a half *bhaṭṭis* (*bhaṭṭi* = 80 *seers*) of rice, and a sum of nine annas and eight pies per house per annum. He also called upon his followers to guard his dwelling in turns. The watchmen were called *chāvaḍikāras* or 'men of the *chāvaḍi*', a name which was later used for the Rāja's troops. The priest-politician next declared himself ruler of Hālēri and surrounding *nāḍs*, and the chiefs ruling over small areas of Coorg Proper submitted to his authority on condition that he allowed them to keep to themselves three-quarters of the revenue collected by them from their subjects, and pay only a fourth to him as their overlord. The Rāja's authority continued to increase. The troublesome chiefs were gradually eliminated, and only those who did not constitute a threat to his authority were allowed to survive. But their capacity for mischief had not entirely been destroyed, as will be seen later.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 11. 'Nāyaka' in Kannaḍa means 'leader', and it seems to have been a title assumed by anybody with a following.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Muddu Rāja (1633–86), the grandson of the founder of the dynasty of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, moved the capital from Hālēri to Mercara in 1681, and this continues to be the capital today. It is not certain whether it was Muddu Rāja or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II) who reorganized the administration, altering the existing *nāḍ*[1] boundaries and creating a clear hierarchy of headmen (*takkas*), and four appellate courts (*paṭṭis*) for the settlement of disputes. 175

The consolidation of the authority of the Rājas which began with the founder was completed only during the time of his great grandson Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II). During the latter's reign we hear of the efforts of Uttu Nāyaka, a chieftain in Armēri in Beppunāḍ, to get the country invaded from the south by Kōṭangaḍi Vīra Varma while Vīra Rāja II was defending the country from the Mysoreans in the east. Vīra Rāja II was luckily able to beat off both the eastern and southern invaders.

The struggle between Mysore and Coorg which began during the time of the Hoysaḷas and continued till the end of the reign of Vīra Rāja II assumed a particularly severe form in the latter half of the eighteenth century, after the usurpation of the Mysore throne by Haider Ali. The severity reached its climax during the reign of Tippu Sultan, Haider's son, and only ended with his death in 1799. Coorgs fought repeatedly for their king and country against the invaders, paying a heavy price for their loyalty.

Haider conquered Bēḍnūr in 1763, and he seems to have thought that this entitled him to suzerainty over Coorg, a claim which he tried to assert by force as well as cunning. In the complicated struggle between him and the Rājas of Coorg, he does not seem to have made any considerable progress so long as the question of succession to the Coorg throne was clear and undisputed.

But the death in 1770 of Muddu Rāja II and Muddayya Rāja, who were both jointly ruling Coorg as representatives of the different segments of the dynasty of Lingāyaṭ Rājas, gave rise to succession disputes between Linga Rāja I, younger brother of Muddu Rāja II, and Dēvappa Rāja, son of Muddayya Rāja. Dēvappa Rāja was successful in the struggle, and the unsuccessful Linga Rāja I sought the help of Haider, who was eagerly waiting for such an opportunity. Haider helped Linga Rāja I to ascend the Mercara throne, and after the latter's death in 1780 he assumed

[1] Coorg was traditionally divided into thirty-five *nāḍs*, each *nāḍ* containing several villages. [63]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

●175 entire possession of Coorg, under the pretence of being guardian of the dead king's sons till they came of age. Meanwhile the sons were made to reside at the Gōrūr fort. A Muslim garrison was stationed at Mercara, the capital, and a former official of the Rāja was appointed governor.

These measures were extremely unpopular with Coorgs who rose in rebellion in 1782 and drove out the Muslim garrison at Mercara. They escaped Haider's retaliation as he was just then busy fighting the English in the south, and died soon after. In 1784 Tippu Sultan, Haider's son, marched through Coorg on his way from Mangalore to Seringapaṭam and threatened Coorgs that he would make an example of them if they rebelled again. Coorgs replied to this by open insurrection in 1785, and a force sent to put them down was driven back. Thereupon Tippu himself marched into Coorg with an army and,

> having lured most of the Coorgs to meet him at Tala Kāvēri, under the pretence of peaceable intentions and conciliatory measures, he suddenly seized them, and hunting out their families, drove them, altogether about 70,000 souls, like a herd of cattle to Seringapaṭam, where all the males were forcibly circumcised. Coorg itself was partitioned among Musalman Landlords, to whom the slaves of the country were made over, and additional labour provided from Ādoni in Beḷḷāry District. The only condition laid on the new owners was that they were to search out and slay all such Coorgs as might have escaped his vengeance, as he was resolved on their extermination. The country was held by garrisons in four forts, at Mercara (Jāffarābād), Fraserpēṭ (Kushālnagar), Bhāgamaṇḍla and Beppunāḍ; and on account of the accessions he had made to the faith Tippu now assumed the title of Bādshāh [king].[1]

The Coorg princes who had been removed from Gōrūr to Piriyāpaṭṇa by Tippu Sultan managed to escape to Coorg in 1788, after six years' confinement, and at once Coorgs rallied round their princes. Before long, Vīra Rāja IV, the eldest of the princes, occupied the entire country. Tippu sent a large force to reoccupy Coorg but this had to be diverted to the west coast at the eleventh hour to subdue a revolt in Malabar.

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. xi, p. 13. The slaves referred to above were the Poleya servants of Coorgs and other high-caste masters. The number of Coorgs who were driven out of Coorg into Seringapaṭam by Tippu is variously estimated. Lewis Rice, for instance, estimates it at 85,000 in *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, Bangalore, 1878, p. 111. Shri N. Chiṇṇappa estimates it at 110,000, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 45.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

●175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Malayāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark [533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the 178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and 423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations. 648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 "Rogues", are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree.

[224] Elephants in Coorg are caught in pits, covered over with a slight framework to conceal them and placed accross the paths which the animals frequent. It is however no easy matter to beguile the sagacious creatures into this kind of [231] trap. If caught young they are easily tamed, but when of maturer age, a year and sometimes two are necessary to bring them into subjection. There are now no tame elephants kept in Coorg, but the Rajahs used to maintain many. Wild elephants are now far less numerous and the periodical elephant hunts less productive, though the Coorgs like true highland-[656] ers are as eager for sport as ever. The indiscriminate slaughter of these useful beasts has however been forbidden by Government, and they are now only caught alive.

• 175 224 There is a granite slab in the Superintendent's Cutcherry in Mercara with an engraved record of a grand elephant hunt in the beginning of the reign of the late Rajah, which may well excite the jealous astonishment of modern Nimrods. The facts divested of oriental flourish are simply these: In 1822 the ryots complained of the great destruction of their fields and houses, caused by numerous herds of elephants, when the Rajah, "recollecting that it was the duty of a king to destroy the wicked and assist the helpless," resolved upon a wholesale destruction of the beasts and within 38 days he killed with his own hand 233 elephants and his soldiers caught 181 alive! Well may he exclaim in conclusion: "Is this not a great wonder, that men caught elephants alive, as if they were mice, and killed herds of them by using their seven weapons with the destructive force of roaring thunder?"

*136 The *Ornithologist* not less than the Botanist finds in Coorg a fruitful field for his researches, for birds of almost every tribe are plentiful throughout the country. The Mysore Museum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Zádu branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mlénchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 651 1712 627 211 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Nádu. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalnád Karanembúu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most [771]
numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalnád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as
648 Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by
174 the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute
177 will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic
[578] caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious
[564] Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes
186 could have been formed into an almost homogenous body,
175 I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible
[628] amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a com-
[648] paratively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still [787]
write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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most presumptuous hazard an opinion as to the propriety of his commands or actions; but fear alone produces this instantaneous compliance with his will, however capricious; and obedience is maintained by an exemplary severity that, however it may command submission, cannot create affection.

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"The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery; under so arbitrary a sway safety of person and permanency of property must depend on the precarious will of the ruler; political freedom forms no part of the elements of an Asiatic system of government, nor perhaps is it desirable it should; but the inhabitants of this little state are interdicted from almost any share of that practical liberty which their neighbours enjoy."

Col. Fraser, in his despatches to the Supreme Government dated 7th April 1834 states: "The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking, seem to be concentrated in the Rájah himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Rájah shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear."

Again under date 12th April 1834: "Their minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Rájah or they have not a motive for doing so."

Again in a letter dated 14th July 1834: "If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom, that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of government under which they were placed, an effect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India."

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4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RÁJAHS AS DELINEATED IN THE RÁJENDRANÁME AND FROM OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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The Rájendranáme (account of Rájendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virájendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rájahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rájah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rájah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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them in and about his capital. The Konkanis are noted for their industry and skill of adapting themselves to circumstances. Dodda-Vírájender eagerly welcomed them into his depopulated country, granted them land at Vírájpet, procured for them a Priest in the person of Father John de Costa, a native of Goa, assisted in building a chapel and allotted to its maintenance a stipend of 84 butties of paddy and a certain amount of oil and candles, which allowance his successors continued and which the English Government since 1835 commuted into a monthly grant of Rs. 20, "its continuance being dependant not only on the Priest's conduct, but that of his flock, in as far as he may justly be considered responsible for it." This stipend is now looked upon as the Priest's salary from Government and attempts have been made, to get it increased, but Sir Mark Cubbon declared: "that the amount, the Priest enjoyed, had no doubt been deemed proportioned to the ordinary duties of his office, but if called to the discharge of any extra duties by the requisition of the members of his congregation, the Commissioner conceived that the latter should contribute the means of enabling the Priest to meet such extra-official calls."

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Pastoral jurisdiction having been claimed by the Archbishop of Goa, the Rev. F. Bernardino De Sta. Agnes, Bishop-Coadjutor, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore addressed in 1846 the Superintendent of Coorg in the following letter:—

The Mission of Coorg, by a Firman passed by the Rájah in 1805, was founded to remain always under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, who has ultimately transferred it to me. No jurisdiction over it was ever or is now possessed by the Archbishop of Goa. The jurisdiction of His Grace does not extend beyond that Portuguese territory as shewn by various Bulls which have emanated from Rome regarding the same, but the Archbishop, actuated by certain national presumption, pretends to possess something like an omnipotence in the spiritual throughout the whole of India and therefore sends his emissaries to excite dissensions and disturbances among the Roman Catholics, subject to the Vicars Apostolic, and he has

4: Richter

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/For a cultural history of the Coorg, see category 116, pp. 235-365./

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed 593
mūrta to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and 585
finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that [176] this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual 589
and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste [301]
Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white [292]
sari, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband 593
as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in 589
a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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common to a number of castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy. For instance, the members of a village community, whatever their caste, have certain interests in common. Similarly, people speaking the same language have a certain solidarity. The Brahmin and the Untouchable speaking the same language have certain cultural forms in common, even though they belong to the extremes of the hierarchy. The structural situation everywhere in India is subject to the pulls exerted by these opposed types of solidarity.

In any large geographical area in India it is usual to find a minority of sub-castes who speak a language different from the one which is locally dominant. Sometimes two or three such minor languages are found in a single area. Migrations from one part of India to another have been extremely common in the past, and this has been specially so within each of the two major geographical areas of India, continental and peninsular India. The immigrant castes usually claim a higher place in the local caste structure than is conceded by the others.

The speakers of the same language, whatever their caste, possess certain cultural forms in common, and when, in the same geographical area, there are castes speaking different languages, each becomes aware of the cultural forms which mark it off from others.

It will be seen that any geographical area in India exhibits enormous structural and cultural complexity. In a tiny province like Coorg, speakers of every Dravidian language, and of Konkaṇi, Marāṭhi, and Hindusthāni, are found.

III

Coorgs constituted the aristocracy under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, holding important positions in the administration and very nearly monopolizing the army. All the other castes in Coorg, excluding the Brahmin, Kōmṭi (Telugu-speaking trading caste of south India), and Lingāyaṭ acknowledged their dominance by taking over their customs and manners, and in some cases even their speech. It has already been mentioned that high castes like Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaligas and Tuḷu-speaking Gauḍas, both peasants, in north Coorg tried to pass off for Coorgs. In the recent past a few of them, those with a little money, married Coorgs, and this is probably the reason why we find in the north one branch of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with [177] Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetarians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous [291] unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love.

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action.

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula.

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men.

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'.

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period. 796 777

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on. 796 777 805

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*. 787 [815] 805

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India. [77] [79]

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain 796 778 783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

302 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the
●177 shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved
589 periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had
881 undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I
304 learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual
[304] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult
[764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On
302 these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that
302 prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni maṇḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before 585
taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the [553]
women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might 606
say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband-wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: 606
this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned. [177]

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hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them.
171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explain-
533 ing' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt
[437] magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

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the pot at the top. His followers woke up before he had climbed down and demanded an explanation from him. Kētrappa (i.e. Ayyaṇṇa) replied that until then he was only receiving sandalwood paste and flowers,[1] but from then on he would receive instead 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'.

Deities have a tendency to adopt the customs of their devotees. It is natural then for the deity from Malabar to switch over to the Coorg's diet on reaching Bēngūr. But this diet is not the diet of the Brahmins. Coorgs explain the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they 'lost their caste': a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude, an attitude which presumably prevails towards their own diet. They like non-vegetarian food and liquor, but at the same time consider vegetarianism as more ethical.

[1] Brahmin priests in Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara use sandalwood paste and flowers, among other things, for the worship of deities.

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increases. Conversely, as the area increases, the common forms decrease.

'Spread' might vary for different castes in the same village or town: Brahmins everywhere have much Sanskritic ritual in common, and this we call 'horizontal spread'. A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking, and the Brahmins in any linguistic area share some cultural and ritual forms with all the castes, including the lowest, in that area. This type of spread, common to all the castes in an area, has been termed 'vertical spread'.

It is essential to distinguish here between the possession of common ritual and cultural forms, and of common deities and other objects of worship. The latter is more directly productive of solidarity than the former. The possession of common cultural and ritual forms is also a factor making for solidarity, but not as directly as the possession of common deities. It is possible to imagine situations in which the strength of the latter bond might result in a denial of the former. Members of two different religions living in the same area sharing the same language and other cultural and ritual forms might be involved in a mutually destructive conflict.

All-India Hinduism, as mentioned earlier, is chiefly Sanskritic and it spreads in two ways: by the extension of Sanskritic deities and ritual forms to an outlying group, as well as by the greater Sanskritization of the ritual and beliefs of groups inside Hinduism. Both these processes are at work, and the first results in Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India, while the second results in local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. The Vēdic deity Kshētrapāla becomes Kētrappa in Coorg, while the local cobra-deity becomes identified with Subramaṇya, the warrior-son of Shiva.

All-India Hinduism possesses certain features which make easy the absorption of local elements. The worship of the river Ganges which is one of the features of Sanskritic Hinduism makes easy the absorption of river-worship in every part of India, including the worship of the River Kāvēri which rises in, and flows through, Coorg. The Kāvēri is sacred to Hindus all along its course from the source to the estuary. Temples are built along its course, and especially where other rivers join it, and on islands formed by the river. Bathing in rivers is productive of spiritual merit (*puṇya*) and

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

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584 authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary,
773 plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

584 Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas.
186 In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

773 Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas*
773 which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are
177 also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

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the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CF. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

clear what is meant. The deity Kētrappa of Bēngūr is identified 776
by knowledgeable Coorgs and others with the Vēdic deity Kshētra- 177
pāla (protector of the field). Whether there are any justifiable grounds for identifying Kētrappa and Kshētrapāla is a minor matter. What is of importance is that the two deities are so identified. Such an identification of a local deity with an All-India, Sanskritic deity, is very common.

In the Vēdas, Kshētrapāla is a deity presiding over every field, and he is invoked to grant cattle and horses, and to fill heaven and earth and plants and waters with sweetness. People pray to him for prosperity and wish to have him as a neighbour. An ox is sacrificed to him.[1]

In the course of 2,500 years Kshētrapāla has travelled to every part of India, and he has different attributes in different parts of the country. In Bengal he even changes his sex: he becomes Kshētrādēvi, or the 'goddess presiding over fields', and is regarded as a manifestation of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu. As the goddess presiding over fields she ensures a good harvest.[2]

It is not necessary to give here an account of the transformations undergone by Kshētrapāla in the various parts of India. It is sufficient to note that in Coorg he loses all touch with the land. He is referred to as Kētrappa; '*appa*', which means 'father', being a common suffix to the names of gods all over south India, just as '*amma*' or 'mother' is a common suffix for goddesses. In Coorg, Kētrappa takes to a diet of 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'. People explain this by saying that he 'lost his caste' while travelling from Malabar to Coorg. The Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa temple does not act as a priest to a deity who has 'lost his caste'.

Ayyappa is a Sanskritic deity who is very popular with Coorgs and it is clear that his character has changed in the process of becoming acceptable to his worshippers. In Sanskritic mythology he is Shasta, the son of Shiva and Mōhini (feminine form temporarily assumed by Vishṇu). Shasta is also referred to as Hariharaputra, or the son of Shiva and Vishṇu, and he is a very popular deity all along the Malabar coast.

[1] Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 211; *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonnell, p. 138; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 227. The absolute prohibition on the killing of a cow or ox is a post-Vēdic development.

[2] C. Chakravarti, 'The Saivite Deity Ksetrapala', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. ix, 1933, p. 237.

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In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

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with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare. 177 799

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status. 793

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Armēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year). 779 795 177

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive 793 177

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793 offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-
177 Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

779 The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-
177 growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains,
564 and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots
776 everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly
779 and in a thoroughgoing manner.
177 The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

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The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main 779 body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat 177 and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering 182 balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty [792] years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartanḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

● 177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
569 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
583 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

589 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

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APPENDIX

THE KĀVĒRI MYTH

I

THE myth woven round the River Kāvēri forms part of the Skānda Purāṇa.[1] In 1864 the Kāvēri Myth, called *Kāvēri Māhātmya* or 'the greatness of Kāvēri', was translated into Kannaḍa from the original Sanskrit by one Śrīnivāsa Iyengār at the instance of an influential Coorg official, Nanjappa, of the Biddanḍa *okka*. The Myth has also been translated into Koḍagi, presumably from the Kannaḍa translation of the Sanskrit original. 538

The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* as it is found in the *Skānda Purāṇa* is an extremely complicated story, containing many stories within it after the manner of *purāṇic* tales. It is inconsistent in many places, but then a *purāṇa* is intended for the faithful laity who have no disbelief to suspend. Richter, exasperated by the inconsistencies of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya*, has written, 538 177

> 'the extraordinary anachronism of Pārvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlēchchas or Turks [Muslim invaders of India], who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a *purāṇa*; for the *purāṇa* belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis (or the sages) who were long extinct when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honours and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and admonitions of the Kāvēri book, and though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanskrit and Old Kannaḍa expressions, that few do understand it.'[2]

[1] '"The *Skānda Purāṇa* is that in which the six-faced deity (Skanda) has related the events of the Tatpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales. . . . It is said to contain 81,800 stanzas . . . ." "It is uniformly agreed," says Wilson, "that the *Skānda Purāṇa*, in a collective form, has no existence; and the fragments, in the shape of Sanhitas, Khanḍas, and Māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the *Purāṇa*, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number of which it is said to consist." ' J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, pp. 300–1.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 216–17.

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538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Urvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

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left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel 539
rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamaṇḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmaṇḍla, and to these 538
two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, 177
Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

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538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād).'[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Shānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudrē, a manifestation of Pārvati.

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In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes. 539

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for. [796]

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land. 538 177

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 423 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to everyCoorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

[P. 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barana*. 769 782 787

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthans

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [432] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombara. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago-palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gobi from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief golden hair ornaments, *ch uri gubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [551]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 144 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. 141 The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

19 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

6 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

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[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [891]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 129 [114]

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243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 [989] As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[197] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

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natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

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249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Nâds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

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177

now over fifty and the change already effected in the appearance of the country would surprise one who left Coorg 10 years ago. The capabilities of the province as a coffee-growing country have long been known to the natives, and it is a matter of surprise, that the European enterprise did not enter on the field till a much later date. It is conjectured that in the time of the Coorg Rajahs some Moplas, to whom they had given land near Nalknád, introduced the shrub from seed, which was brought from "Mocha" or perhaps second hand from Munzerabad. Its successful and profitable cultivation was at first concealed from the Coorgs, but these were shrewd enough to find out for themselves, that, whilst none of the fabled fatal consequences followed the cultivation of the shrub, there was a ready and lucrative sale for the produce. Through the exertions of the first British Superintendent, Captain Le Hardy, who took a deep interest in the material prosperity of the country, the coffee plant became almost universal, and now there is hardly a Coorg or any native house, that does not pride itself in a coffee-garden, comprising, it may be, a few trees or as many acres.

The native mode of cultivation was exceedingly simple. The plants, reared from seed in a nursery, were in the monsoon put out on a shady hill-slope, the underwood of which had been previously cleared away. An occasional weeding was all the attention bestowed upon the plants which in 3 or 4 years, according to the density of the covering shade, gave a promising crop, that was picked, dried and disposed of in the husk to the merchant, as they did with their cardamoms, the price of dry cherry coffee averaging from 7 to 10 rupees per batty of 80 seers measure.

When coffee cultivation was taken in hand by European skill and energy, the industry soon assumed greater importance. Mr. Fowler, the first European Planter, opened up the Mercara Estate in 1854, Mr. H. Mann became the pioneer on

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245 the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Peram-
177 badi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya found-
ed Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country! Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the
474 example of the European planter, and opened up large estates;
245 private and public companies were formed to embark in the
177 lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from
434 Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

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suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249]

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

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Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Doddi-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized. 796 793 [177]

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge. [346] [794] [754]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places
[782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Kárana, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The PúJáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

788 783 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to [177] [823] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the caldron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 793 798 177 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! 788 798 177 539 The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[1] [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. see corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu! 788 778 177 539

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift! 788 [793] [177] [782]

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth. 778 788 [842]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten butties of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or púJáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 177

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read 'Onkarésvara-dévastána'. See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Viráj pet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [582] [162] [464] [184] [793] [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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[648]
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
799 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
179 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamári (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

was built by Dodda-Virájender in 1794 and formed in those days an almost inaccessible small mountain-fortress, defended by strong barriers along the steep approaches. Now it is partly turned into the nád Cutcherry and the upper rooms are reserved for visiting Government Officials. In front of the palace near the right corner stands in tolerable preservation a handsome little pavilion (Dáremandappa), which was erected for the celebration of Dodda-Virájender's second marriage with Mahadévamma in February 1796. Under proper management the land belonging to the palace might be turned into fertile and profitable vegetable gardens or other plantations. The palace at Halerinád is built after the plan of other Coorg houses on a larger scale only and secured by breastworks and barriers. 344

The Palace in Mercara, thoroughly repaired during the last two years and an iron roof put on at an expense of 80,000 Rupees, is a conspicuous building of modern date. According to an inscription on a metal plate in one of the palace-rooms it was commenced on the first day of the new moon of the Bhádrapada month (15th August—15th September) in 1735 of the Sáliváhana era i. e. in 1812 and completed in 2 years and 1 month by Lingarájendra Vodeya, the younger brother of Dodda-Virájender. The inscription concludes: "The pious, who praise Almighty God, by whose grace this "magnificent palace was constructed after the removal of the "rugged hill-top, shall enjoy eternal happiness in this world "and in the world to come."

The ground plan of the palace is that of a Coorg house with a superstructure in European fashion. It forms a large square of 200 feet with an open space in the centre, is 2 stories high and presents a fine front. A range of arches runs nearly along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, the centre window projecting into a small [177]

[Errata: This should read "Kachéri." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

194 [197] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü;* Ex. Can. ḍḷu, Kg. ṭḍü = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ḍḷu, Kg. ṭḷö = seven; Can. peṭṭige, Kg. peṭṭi = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word avang instead of the Canarese avanu = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. unḍu for Can. uṇṭu = are, Kg. ikka for Can. iga = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. chandra Kg. chaṇṇurö = moon; Can. yentha Kg. yennatö. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. déśha, Kg. déja = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. sûrya, Kg. chûriyö. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ hiḍi, Kg. ಪಡಿ pöḍi = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunciation tortured into queer forms. [177] The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

[127] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

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The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Náds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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III. PART.

The History of Coorg.

1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KĀVÉRI-PURĀNA.

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The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kávéri-Purána which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kártikéya-Purána; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Parshuráma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwípa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwípa or India were either turned into Avatáras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódáveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri-Purána or Kávéri-Mahátmya (glorification of Kávéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 186[illegible] by Srínivásayengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujyóti, joining the Kánake and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823]
divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kavéra Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self; individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

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Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya. 539 177

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

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539 Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of
77 the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Króladésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

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Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shríranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Rámésh-vara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandra-varma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

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539 177 righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mléchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mléchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mléchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they ro-

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ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

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boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Kródadésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandravarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávêri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

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you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri. 539 177 [196]

2. POPULAR TRADITION. 173

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister. [177] 173 539

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174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [191] We have seen that the Coorg language and the ante-brahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [197] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the 174 brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 167 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174 177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795] maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144] required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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643 648 174 177 [578] [564] ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648] To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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tance resembles on old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájah's Subadar gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c. and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Kávéri, which we reached at seven A. M., and crossed in boats, the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree.....We found the fort of Mercara completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at a quarter-past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahá Swámi. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent off his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He shewed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then a gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith; and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him we took our leave; and when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes! In short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, Madeira, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

175* 648* [712] 175* 643* 648* [177]

"On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the Mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from

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B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashímo—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
131 and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which
632 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
103 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

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to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

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exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

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and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Frasérpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasérpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

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efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 [203]

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah. 692 177

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692 Governor General, the prerogative of the Rájah. On the
177 30th August 1834 he issued a set of "*Rules for the conduct*
691 *of the District functionaries in Coorg*" from which we cite the following paragraphs as they contain the principles and routine of the English administration until lately modified by new Acts.

"Civil Justice."

Para 55. "Whereas it is necessary for the due administration of justice in the Coorg country, to introduce regularity in the system which has prevailed, and to define the judicial power of the district functionaries, the following rules have been enacted and are published for general information and guidance.

56. The custom of adjusting differences by mutual composition of the parties being highly commendable, the Sirkar will be glad, when parties settle their disputes in this manner; or by the arbitration of a referee selected from among their neighbours. If an adjustment cannot be effected by this means, they shall then have recourse to the Sirkar functionaries.

57. The Patéls are empowered to hear, try and determine on their own responsibility upon oral evidence such suits as may be preferred to them for sums of money or other personal property the amount or the value of which shall not exceed five rupees.

58. If the parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Patéls, they may appeal to the Párapatiagárs. The jurisdiction of the Patéls is to extend to all civil suits to the amount above limited, which may arise between the parties residing within the villages.

59. The Párapatiagárs at the head of their Kacheri may hear the appeals against the decision of the Patéls. They shall try on their own responsibility causes not exceeding Rs. 50 upon recorded evidence, and all causes above that sum

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and not exceeding 100 Rs. shall be investigated through a Pancháyat which they shall convene for that purpose. The Párapatiagárs shall take cognizance of all civil suits arising within their respective nádu. Appeals against the decision of the Párapatiagárs lie to the Kacheri of the Subadár. 692 177 671

60. In hearing and determining civil suits the Párapatiagárs shall be assisted by the Shánabógas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Shánabógas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Párapatiagárs, each complaint being entered in the order in which it may be received and will forward them after being signed by the Párapatiagárs to the Subadár's Kacheri.

61. The Subadár shall try and settle causes to the amount of Rs. 100 on his own responsibility; but in cases, where the sum in litigation may be above that sum and not exceeding Rs. 200, he shall assemble a Pancháyat and settle them. The Subadárs shall take cognizance of all suits arising within their respective taluqs.

62. In trying and determining suits, the Subadár shall be assisted by the Sheristadars and the Gumastas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Sheristadars and the Gumastas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Taluq-Kacheri, entering each plaint in the order in which it may be received and forwarding them monthly to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

63. A Kacheri, denominated the Daryáft-Kacheri, and composed of one of the three Devána and the Karanika or any two of these, accordingly as they may be engaged or otherwise in their respective and more specific duties, has been established at the Huzur. It shall hear all appeals against the decision of the Subadárs and determine them. This Kacheri shall decide on its own authority causes from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000 upon recorded evidence.

64. All causes above Rs. 1000 and not exceeding Rs. 3,000 shall be inquired into and settled by a Pancháyat which

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692 will be convened by the Daryáft-Kacheri. The Daryáft-
671 Kacheri assisted by a Pancháyat shall make inquiry into
177 causes beyond Rs. 3,000 and submit the proceedings to the Huzur and carry its orders into effect.

693 65. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall be assisted by two Mut-
671 sudies of the Devân-Kacheri in writing the proceedings of
177 the inquiries they make. The Mutsudies are to keep registers of all suits decided by the Daryáft-Kacheri and preserve in regular order the records connected with that Kacheri, distinct from that of the Devâns. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall submit for the perusal of the Huzur these registers monthly.

66. The plaintiff and defendant in a cause shall be allowed to employ their relations or agents to plead before the Párapatiagárs, the Subádárs and the Daryáft-Kacheri, as also before the Pancháyats assembled by them, furnishing them with power for that purpose.

694 67. The plaints shall clearly state the name and residence
671 of the complainant as well as of the person complained
177 against, the grounds on which the complaint is founded, the amount of value of the property claimed and all such circumstances as may serve for the elucidation of the case.

68. The Párapatiagárs or Subadárs may send peons either with a verbal message or written summons (yádást) to the defendant, directing him to appear in order to answer the complaints preferred against him.

69. The complainant shall be directed to accompany the peons entrusted with the summons, or otherwise to send relations or agents for the purpose, indicating the residence of the defendant and identifying his person.

695 70. After the defendant makes his appearance the com-
671 plaint shall be read over to him and he shall be directed to
177 give an answer to it on a day which shall be fixed, he being furnished with a copy of the complaint.

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71. On the delivery of the answer by the defendant who ought to state therein what he may have to say, a copy of it shall be sent to the plaintiff. The latter shall be required to give his reply within a prescribed time and after he delivers it, a copy of it shall be furnished to the defendant and he shall give a rejoinder. Afterwards the plaintiff and the defendant shall be directed to give in a list of the witnesses whom they wish to produce. The depositions of the witnesses shall be taken with all possible expedition and they shall be ordered to return to their homes or respective employments. The Párapatiagár or Subadár shall then decide the cause according to justice and the custom of the country. 695 671 177

72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he has wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Pancháyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Pancháyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Pancháyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

73. Where Pancháyats are assembled for investigating any dispute, the parties shall be caused to give written agreements binding themselves to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat. After the award is passed, the parties shall be 695 671 177

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695 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be
671 taken from them.

177 74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an in-
671 dividual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the
177 Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the
694 complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses
671 may be residing in another country, the district-servants are
177 to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take
694 measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 177 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

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692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

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89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

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Police.

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41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

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47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

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Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

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671 177 [766] admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the deceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the headman of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

671 177 429 768

648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

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merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg. 648

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during the last ten years the[1] admission of pleaders into the Courts and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary. 177 692

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal jurisdiction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town-Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in- 635 692 177 [634]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchayatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1st December 1868 the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of 1868 came into operation. Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of	Rs.	100.
Subadárs of the the 1st class	„	300.
Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class .	„	1000.
Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class . .	„	3000.
The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.		

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner;
692 but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is
●177 allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! 1 A However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an
177 airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the
[692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

1 A [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 999 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: This should read "remarkable or neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country. 273 178 [177]

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery! 656 273 [178] [655]

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád. 653

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

8. EDUCATION.

It speaks well for the Coorgs, that no sooner were they brought under the English rule, than they expressed an anxiety for the education of their children. It was, however, in those days a difficult task for Government, efficiently to satisfy their wants. In 1834 an English and a Canarese School were established in Mercara and Vírájpet and a Canarese School only in Kiggatnád at a monthly cost of Rs. 90 for the whole educational establishment. The result was in due proportion. The Vírájpet School collapsed in 1842 and the teacher's pay was appropriated for the maintenance of five Canarese Schools. For a number of years this state of affairs continued and the annual educational Report ran thus in stereotyped fashion:—"There are (25) boys learning English and (429) learning native languages, making a total of (454) showing an increase (or decrease) of (8) boys in the English and (17) in the native schools." This was the beginning, middle and end of the educational Reports, excellent in their way, short and businesslike, entailing no waste of time in writing or reading them! They said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English, there were some difficulties. The Schoolmaster could not, of course, be expected to know more, than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Kacheri who was better paid. After 20 years of English tuition, there was not one Coorg who could write an English letter or make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who had acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine through the medium of the English language.

The teaching of the native languages, Hindustani at Mercara, and Canarese in the districts, consisted in reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplica-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

871 tion tables and, when the scholars had further advanced, the reading and writing of petitions (Arjis). Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men in the Kacheris felt quite happy in their complete ignorance, being cunning enough to look after their own interests. What more could be required? Their only care was to keep every thing in statu quo and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past.

871 In 1855, encouraged by Sir Mark Cubbon, Dr. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, established an English 177 School at Mercara, the charge of which was placed into the 797 hands of the Rev. G. Richter in May 1856 and in February 1857 the Supreme Government sanctioned a liberal grant for its support. Maintaining its missionary character, the Coorg Headmen, one of whom felt in particular its christianizing influence upon his sons, at first opposed the school with all their might, but the Head-sheristadar, Nanchappa, having been reconciled to the new order of things, the School began to flourish and gain the favour of the people. Unfortunately for Coorg and the School, the Devân Nanchappa, who was a high spirited and influential leader of his people and would have done much for the advance of education, suddenly died by a fall from his horse.

871 On the departure of Dr. Moegling to Germany in De- 177 cember 1860, Mr. Richter was nominated by Government Principal of the School and with the year 1861 a new period commences in the educational affairs of Coorg.

The educational scheme, proposed by the Principal and heartily approved of by the Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Commissioner and the Supreme Government, has ever since been gradually carried out and comprises, when fully established, the following features:—an unlimited number of Vernacular district-schools, five Anglo-vernacular schools

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2¼ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 872

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been

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175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
735 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves. 564 173

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1] 564 792

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades. 564 [178]

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were 564 174

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Pajumé*, pp. 20–21.

1: Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

• [178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 423 Until the beginning of the last century the immovable property of an *okka* was regarded as impartible, and property descended from one generation to another without being split up in the process. In this respect Coorgs differed from other Hindus and, consequently, Coorg agriculture escaped the two great drawbacks of agriculture elsewhere in India, the subdivision of land into minute holdings and fragmentation or scattering of holdings over a wide area.

All earlier writers on Coorg—Connor, Moegling, Cole, and Rice[1]—are unanimous in holding that the immovable property of a Coorg *okka* is traditionally impartible. But some time after the defeat of Tippu in the closing years of the eighteenth century, some Coorg *okkas* were permitted by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas,[2] used to the Hindu idea of partition, to divide off. The example of these Coorgs was followed by many others. Consequently, 'in 1858 the *takkas* [social heads] and headmen of the Coorgs represented that the loss and ruin occasioned to their ancient houses by this innovation [was very great], and the Judicial Commissioner in additional Special Appeal Suit No. 117 of 1858–9 passed a decree declaring that division was contrary to the ancient custom of Coorg'.[3] The fact that the ancestral property was impartible was responsible to a great extent for preventing the *okka* from splitting.

596 423 178 The British also encouraged, although indirectly, the idea of partition of the ancestral property. They granted, for instance, *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to Coorgs who had taken part in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837. These *jagirs* were granted to individuals and not to the *okkas* of which they were members.

Coorgs who were government officials under the British bought farms and coffee- and orange-gardens with their savings, and the law courts established by the British permitted these to be regarded as the property of the individual acquirer and not of the *okka* of

[1] Connor, *Memoirs of the Codagu Survey*, pt. ii, Bangalore, 1870, pp. 29–30; H. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, 1855, p. 30; R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, secs. 115–17; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] Rice tells us that the Lingāyaṭ Rājas encouraged the idea of partition in order to break up the huge joint families of Coorgs. The Rājas wanted to increase the area under cultivation and also, according to Rice, they disliked intensely the fraternal polyandry of Coorgs. Rice remarks, 'Coorgs still viewed any deviation from this ancient custom [of polyandry] with the greatest abhorrence.' Op. cit., p. 329.

[3] Cole, op. cit., secs. 160, 165, 182.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*. 596 423 178

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown. [421]

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays. [594]

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*. 596 585

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground. 596 428

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives. 596 606

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult. 596 602

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged. 594 178 596

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt. 596 [622] 476

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dīkshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dīkshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
[593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*tiké mané*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
596 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
421 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few
178 educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned
593 presently.
596 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
586

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The cere- [778] mony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [595] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 178

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiĕ), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynwmane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyë] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it is inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British 177 Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamóm jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

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[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [871]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Virájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 127 [114]

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132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate
[167] their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

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356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-púmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[476] the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

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ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment. 591 423 178

b. Prescriptive law of inheritance. 428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of 429 428 [884]

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429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

e. Wedding and married life.

582 The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious
[178] mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[17] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

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The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [178] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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d. Childbirth.

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The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not 846 expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not 842 much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined 562 to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is 852 born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, 562 made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has [178] almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle 553 by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives 846 the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted 854 to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing [539] love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

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796 Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2¼ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras.
789 Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth
791 a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood
178 is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád
782 such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine
753 to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 **a. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside**
789 **their own country.**
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Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

654 648 651 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three annas per acre.

d. *Abkári.*

651 273 (656) Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 273 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 178 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country.

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery!

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

981 trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon
539 was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help
824 the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

181 The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent pheno-
701 menon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a
785 life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *chauri gubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [535]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, 144 a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas 141 belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. [177] The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in [187] important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

19 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

16 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males 18 and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

3:Iyer E-S (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume. In the words of Sir Erskine Perry they are by far the finest race he has seen in India in point of independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general [701] 651 423 565

[1] [Errata: This should read "remarkable as neither." See Corrigenda, Cor. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. iv contains no textual material]

FOREWORD

114 THE study of religions can be approached in many different ways and can present a number of different kinds of problems. For social anthropologists, or for some of them, one major problem is that of the social function of religion—how does religion contribute to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings? It is recognized that religion is a binding force amongst individuals, and it would seem that the etymology of the word indicates this. The scientific problem is how religion does this; how, in other words, it functions. The problem is one of very considerable complexity, and it cannot be said that at present we know very much about this subject. The only method by which we can hope ultimately to arrive at an understanding of it is by a number of analytic descriptive studies of religions of diverse types, so that by systematic comparison it may be possible to arrive at some general theory. This work of Dr. Srinivas is an important contribution to that investigation. It gives us a description and analysis of the religious practices of a people of India, the Coorgs of Coorg.

For the social anthropologist the religion of a people presents itself in the first instance not as a body of doctrine, but as what we may call 'religious' behaviour as a part of social life. Social anthropology is behaviouristic in the sense that we seek to observe how people act as a necessary preliminary to trying to understand how they think and feel. This book, by a trained anthropologist, who is himself an Indian, and who has therefore an understanding of Indian ways of thought which it is difficult for a European to attain even over many years, gives us a scientifically valuable and objective account of the religious behaviour of a particular Indian community.

771 In an investigation into the social function of religion in a parti-
182 cular society the first thing required is to examine the relation of the religion to the social structure. In this respect the religion of the Coorgs is of very special interest and value. For we may say that there are three different structural systems in which the individual Coorg is involved, and each of these has its own system of religious behaviour and obligations.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic
794 group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

114 Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this
794 domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to
182 see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

621 Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg indivi-
794 dual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 'caste'. There are some thousands of such groups in India as a whole. A caste is in its essence a religious group, membership of which entails certain ritual observances. The rules of caste behaviour are rules of religion.

The caste system of India presents a kind of social structure that is of special interest to comparative sociology. There are two major features. The first of these is what we may call 'separatism'. There are important rules which limit the social contact of members of different castes. The rule of endogamy prohibits marriage between members of different castes or sub-castes. There are caste rules as to the persons with whom one may partake of a meal, or from whose hands one may accept food or drink. The second important feature is that there is religious or ritual inequality of castes. Any man born as a Brahmin is holy; he might therefore become a priest and perform the priestly functions even if in actuality he becomes a cook or a water-carrier. At the other, lower, end of the scale are the people now called 'Untouchable'—leather-workers, sweepers, and so on, who are by birth 'unclean' or 'polluted' and with whom contact produces pollution in the members of superior castes. The inequality between persons that is an essential feature of the caste system is a religious or ritual inequality. The caste structure is one of a system of rigid partitions dividing caste from caste. At the same time the totality of all the various separate castes constitutes a single religious community the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief. The social separation of caste from caste is something very different from the social separation of Hindus and Muslims.

114 In connexion with the study of the inter-relations of religion and
182 social structure, therefore, the material presented by Dr. Srinivas is of very special interest and value. To define the position of an individual Coorg in the total structural system of the society in which he lives we have, in the first place, to consider him as a member of a particular joint-family (*okka*). To this there corresponds, in the field of religious behaviour, his participation in the domestic cult. This cult, with respect to its most general features, may be compared with domestic cults of the kind usually referred to as 'ancestor worship' which are found in many other peoples.

The Coorg individual is also a member of a village community, which is itself part of the Coorg local community, and so part of the wide Hindu community. Religious behaviour in this connexion

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is participation in the worship of the gods, who are both local gods and also identified with the gods of the Hindu pantheon. 114 182

But the Coorg is also a member of one of the hundreds of caste divisions of Hindu social structure. Religious behaviour in this connexion consists of the careful observance of the caste rules, so that ritual pollution is avoided. I believe that Dr. Srinivas intends to give us at some time an account of how the caste structure actually affects the social life within a village, a subject on which, hitherto, we have had no information.

In the kinds of societies with which anthropologists are chiefly concerned a direct relation between religion and social structure is to be discovered in the belief that is held that the due performance of religious rites contributes to the well-being of a group, or to the maintenance of a certain social order. This is seen in Coorg in both the domestic cult which is carried out in order to ensure the well-being of the joint-family, and also in the village cult. In what are sometimes called the higher religions there appears a different feature in the belief in some kind of personal salvation as something to be aimed at by the individual in his observance of religion. Like Christianity and Buddhism, Hinduism in its more philosophical form also holds out to the individual the hope of personal salvation, often conceived as release from the round of reincarnation. The problem of the social function of religious beliefs of this kind is highly complex. It is clear, however, that to examine the social effects of such religions we have to consider them as formulating for the members of a church an ideal of human conduct.

The rich religious life of the Coorgs is compounded of several strands. We can separate these by successively considering the individual as a member of a family group, as a member of a village community, as a worshipper of the deities of the Hindu pantheon, as a member of a particular caste and therefore having his place in the whole widespread caste structure, and finally as being at least influenced by the religious and philosophical system of Hinduism with its formulation of ideals of human conduct. For the student of comparative religion, and particularly for those interested in the sociological study of religion, this book of Dr. Srinivas offers material of exceptional value.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

467 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[533] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 70]

III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

881 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *hemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning
182 completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[177] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
564 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
564 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the pot at the top. His followers woke up before he had climbed down and demanded an explanation from him. Kētrappa (i.e. Ayyaṇṇa) replied that until then he was only receiving sandalwood paste and flowers,[1] but from then on he would receive instead 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'.

Deities have a tendency to adopt the customs of their devotees. It is natural then for the deity from Malabar to switch over to the Coorg's diet on reaching Bēngūr. But this diet is not the diet of the Brahmins. Coorgs explain the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they 'lost their caste': a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude, an attitude which presumably prevails towards their own diet. They like non-vegetarian food and liquor, but at the same time consider vegetarianism as more ethical.

[1] Brahmin priests in Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara use sandalwood paste and flowers, among other things, for the worship of deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 212]

VII

HINDUISM

I

779 182 584 ATTEMPTS to define an enormously complex and amorphous phenomenon like Hinduism have usually ended in failure. No definition will be attempted here, but instead some important characteristics will be mentioned.

Hinduism has a long history, in the course of which it has spread over the whole of India. Buddhism, in origin a Hindu schism, is now the religion of a great part of Asia.

The structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system which occasionally even survives conversion to Christianity or Islam. The hierarchical system, with the Brahmin and Untouchable at either end, represents a fusion of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic systems of ritual and beliefs. Each caste has both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic ritual and beliefs, but the proportions in which the two are found together vary from caste to caste, and also from region to region. It is now possible to understand how Hinduism is able to include within itself the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and cults of ancestors and village-deities, as well as the profound philosophy of the Upanishads and Vēdānta, and the mysticism of the Bhakti Schools. Reformist sects like the Jains and Lingāyaṭs ended by becoming castes which resulted in walls being built round them, while, at the same time, they remained within the fold of Hinduism. The caste system has enabled a vast number of tiny groups with distinct cultures, occupations, and systems of belief to live side by side, the autonomy of each being respected while at the same time co-operation was ensured between them. But in the history of India the idea of hierarchy has occasionally been questioned, and unsuccessful attempts have been made to overthrow the caste system. More frequent, however, has been the effort of lowly placed groups to raise their status as a group by Sanskritizing their ritual and belief.

Rites and beliefs have been constantly undergoing a process of Sanskritization. This is going on both inside and outside Hinduism. The rites and beliefs of the castes occupying the lower rungs

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the caste-ladder as well as the rites and beliefs of outlying communities hidden away in the forest-clothed mountains of India have been subjected to Sanskritization. The presence of completely Sanskritized worship of rivers, trees, and mountains in Hinduism, and their incorporation in the vast mythology of Hinduism, make easier the assimilation of the ritual and beliefs of the lower castes and of communities remaining outside Hinduism.

Hinduism is not static. Like every living religion it has continually reacted to the political and social forces of the time, both influencing them and being influenced by them. In the last hundred years it has produced reformist movements like the Brahmo Samāj, Ayra Samāj, and the Rāmakrishṇa Mission. Mahātma Gāndhi himself in his fight against Untouchability and in the many other reforms he advocated provides us with an instance of the dynamic nature of Hinduism.

While the intellectual has all along concentrated on the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gīta, and the Philosophical Systems, to the ordinary Hindu the innumerable feasts, fasts, *vratas* (rites and austerities performed to achieve certain ends), pilgrimages, and occasional visits to nearby temples constitute the stuff of religious life. The *purāṇas* (stories illustrating the works and powers of the gods), *itihāsas* (consisting of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata), and stories about local saints and the songs sung by them, all have a conspicuous place in day-to-day living.

II

The concept of 'spread' has been used throughout this book: Hinduism has been split up, for purposes of analysis, into 'All-India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and finally purely 'Local Hinduism'. All-India Hinduism is Hinduism with an All-India spread, and this is chiefly Sanskritic in character. Peninsular Hinduism spreads over the entire peninsular part of India, while Regional Hinduism has a more restricted spread. A 'Region' has to be defined in every case, and in this book Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg Proper may be said to constitute a Region. Local Hinduism is Hinduism with its spread confined to Coorg Proper, or even a smaller area within it. In a very broad sense it is true that as the area of spread decreases, the number of ritual and cultural forms shared in common

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main 779 body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat 177 and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering 182 balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty [792] years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It is the sib, moreover, that

614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:ḍaga near Mercara at the padra:linamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:ru, a dance called koḍia:ṭu, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a koḍi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the koḍi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the
[243] staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: putëri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyasteru", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

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1: Srinivas
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AW5 Coorg AW5

[This entire source deals in a general way with the functional interrelationship between religion and social structure.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *vōṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

484

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

[257]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar. 184

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs. 101 131

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages. 361

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest 621

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
84 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven. 634

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1] [101]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg. 634 184

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs. 634

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly. [623]

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants. [167]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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769 353 778 representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal possessions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *pīché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An [776] unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

769 353 184 Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788]
expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoveriahment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [513]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷis. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuṛi, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 797

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [582] [162] [464] [184] [793] [174]

4: Richter M, G-S (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 [177] On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashíme—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 128 131 632 103 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited, together with the area in square miles, the number of villages and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,					311
35 „ 50 „	four	„	„	„		651
above 50 „	five	„	„	„		423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—, it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [84]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

5. *Forest Conservancy.*

A glance at the Coorg Forests and their general Flora, as stated in page 16 ff., will show, that the formation of a Forest Conservancy Department in 1864 was an absolute necessity, and it is only to be regretted, that it was not five years earlier in operation, before some of the finest forests fell under the Planters' axe. There is, however, still scope enough for the energy and talents of a well trained Forest Officer in Coorg, and the more a scientific system of working the reserved forests is introduced such as was originated by Dr. Brandis and carried out in Burmah and other parts if India,[1] especially in the Madras Presidency under the able direction of Dr. Cleghorn and Major Beddome, the better will be the prospects of an ever increasing revenue from this department, which seems not yet to be in a very flourishing condition. Being left without rules fixed by law, the Forest Officer cannot act with that authority which is due to his position and necessary to the interests of Government. 654 185

Of the trees reserved by Government, Sandal and Teak are its monopoly, the Kuve or Poonspar is sold at the rate of Rs. 20 per tree, Blackwood and Anjili are sold at Rs. 10 and Ebony, Hone and Irupu at Rs. 6 per tree. All other timbers, bamboos and firewood are allowed free to the ryot paying land revenue to Government and also to all Government servants in Coorg whose pay does not exceed 10 Rs. per mensem, without written permission or any prohibition whatever, except that only mature trees must be cut and that the timber must be used solely for bona fide agricultural and building purposes and not for sale. For the same kind of trees which are free of charge to the ryots, traders have to pay from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4—8 per tree and Rs. 6 per 1000 bamboos, whilst non-ryot residents, if for their own use, pay only half price. 655 185 654 [435] [435]

[1] [Errata: This should read "of India". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

655 654 185 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

[651]

1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . . .	„	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	„	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . . .	„	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 648 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, [1] Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

[1] [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 — Analyst]

113, 185, 427 Coorg AW5

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Coorg see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, p. 350.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

\75 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5
INDIA AW1

[p. 24]

II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I

C
SY
[186]

THE existence of subdivisions among Coorgs does not prevent them from regarding themselves, and from being regarded by others, as a single group. Coorgs consider themselves to be Kshatriyas, who constitute the caste of rulers and soldiers in the traditional hierarchy, and rank next only to Brahmins, who are priests and scholars. It is necessary to give here a very brief and general account of the caste system in order to make clear the implications of the Coorg claim to be Kshatriyas.

I
SY

Caste is an institution of great complexity. It has its roots deep in history, and even today it governs the lives of 300 million Hindus in several important respects. It is popularly understood as the division of society into a fivefold hierarchy with the Brahmins at the head, followed in order by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or traders, Shūdras or servants and labourers, and, lastly, the Untouchables. The first three castes are called 'twice-born' (*dvija*) as they alone are entitled to undergo the ceremony of *upanayana* which constitutes spiritual rebirth. Only the twice-born castes are entitled to study the Vēdas and to the performance of Vēdic ritual on certain occasions. Caste in the above sense is referred to as *varṇa* and has an All-India application.

The idea of caste as the fivefold division of society represents a gross over-simplification of facts. The real unit of the caste system is not one of the five *varṇas*, but *jāti*, which is a very small endogamous group practising a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual, and juridical autonomy. Every *jāti*, or the members of a *jāti* in a particular village or a group of neighbouring villages, constitutes a caste court which punishes caste offences.

I
[623]

There are innumerable *jātis*. Professor Ghurye calculates that there are 2,000 sub-castes (*jātis*) in each linguistic area.[1] This should give some idea of the total number of endogamous sub-castes in India as a whole. The importance of the *varṇa*-system

[1] *Caste and Race in India*, London, 1932, p. 27.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Coorgs and other Coorgs were not very frequent. Saṇṇa Coorgs looked down upon Boḍḍu Coorgs whose customs and manners were somewhat different from their own: differences between cognate groups as to minute points of custom and ritual frequently come to stand for the identity of each of them as against the others. This is a common feature of caste.

A point which needs stressing because it is not very typical of the caste system is the comparative ease with which Coorgs admitted into their fold non-Coorgs belonging to fairly high castes. Moegling wrote in 1855, 'strangers are received among them and naturalised without difficulty, and such as have been excommunicated are received without much ado'.[1] Richter, writing sixteen years later, says that 'even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggaṭnāḍ, who ten years ago were, by the Head Sheristedar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan [caste] by the rest of the people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time. . . .'[2] Formerly some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Tuḷu Gauḍas were received into the Coorg fold. The complete absorption of recruits from other castes naturally took some time, and till it was accomplished the conservative Coorg families did not freely intermarry with the new recruits. Even now one hears a Coorg elder saying, 'such-and-such a family are really Kannaḍa Okkaligas who called themselves Coorgs 50 or 60 years ago. Until recently Coorgs would think twice before inter-marrying with them.'

IV

There are more than forty main castes and tribes in Coorg, but Coorgs come into intimate contact with only a few of them. A very brief account of their relations with each of these castes will now be given. It is important to add that the duties mentioned against each caste might frequently be performed by similar castes of equivalent status: for instance, it might be either a Tuḷu Brahmin or Malabar Brahmin who performs the priestly duties at a village temple, and the Tuḷu Brahmin is again split up into Shivaḷḷi and

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 55. [2] *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 231–2.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary,
773 plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

564 Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas.
186 In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

773 Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas*
773 which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are
177 also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home
788 and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhaganḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignor-
186 ance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by
[723] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg.

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar.

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'.

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[42 302 554] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life [186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

[291 411] The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light [301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. [714 411] His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the [147 527] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, CAT. 116; P. 493 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as
648 Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by
174 the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute
177 will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic
[578] caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious
[564] Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes
186 could have been formed into an almost homogenous body,
175 I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible
[628] amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a com-
[648] paratively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still [787]
write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

however, very common. Kannaḍa was the court and official language of Coorg under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, and nowadays it is the medium of instruction in schools. Besides, every Coorg is able to speak it. 197

Educated Coorgs are usually trilingual, knowing Koḍagi, Kannaḍa, and English. Koḍagi is used in the home, Kannaḍa in talking to most non-Coorgs excepting Malayāḷīs, and English in official matters, and occasionally in conversation with strangers. English is popular with Coorgs, and even women, especially those under thirty, have some acquaintance with it. 191

In 1931 there were 44,585 Koḍagi-speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. This discrepancy is due to the fact that several castes and tribes have taken over the language of Coorgs, who have throughout been the dominant group in Coorg. In fact, only a few castes have escaped the temptation to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manners. In the past some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gauḍas, and others did succeed in entering the Coorg fold. Even now some non-Coorgs aspire to be Coorgs. For instance, during the 1931 Census, a number of Kannaḍa Okkaligas and Tuḷu Gauḍas in north Coorg succeeded in getting themselves enumerated as Coorgs as they had been described as 'Jamma Koḍagas' in the title-deeds conferring on them the right to hold land under the concession tenure of *jamma* (see pp. 16–17). The enumerators, in spite of their strict instructions to check all doubtful cases thoroughly, had to enumerate such persons as Coorgs. It is presumed, however, that their number did not exceed a thousand.[1] 197 162

IV

Coorg enters history in the ninth century A.D., but the information we possess at present about the period between the ninth and seventeenth centuries is very little indeed. We do know, however, that ever since the period for which we have any information, the fortunes of the powerful south Indian Kingdoms in the east have had effects on Coorg. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Changāḷvas, who ruled some parts of Coorg, were feudatory to the Gangas of Talkāḍ in Mysore. The Changāḷvas (Kings of Changanāḍ) ruled certain areas to the west of Mysore city and the eastern 175

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 42.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

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Neuter form "puḷu," the worm. 193

Nom. puḷu, *Obj.* puḷuna, *Gen.* puḷuḍa, *Dat.* puḷukkū, *Instr.* puḷuvinji, *Loc.* puḷuvalū.*

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Canarese their number is not very great, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles ānū having become, and uḷḷū being, possessing: e. g. chāi beauty, chāiānū beautiful; paṇa money, paṇauḷḷū rich. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: e. g. pāḍuvū pakki, the singing bird; bandū guru, the priest who came. For expressing the comparative and superlative the adjective remains unchanged, but the notion of degree is produced by a peculiar construction of the sentence viz. the comparative by a construction like this: than your book his book useful, i. e. his book is more useful than yours; the superlative: among all books his book useful, i. e. his book is most useful.

The numerical Adjective, this criterion of the origin of a language, is, as may be expected, in the Drávida languages very much alike, but entirely different from other tongues. The neutral numerals in Kodagu from 1-12 are: ondū, danḍū, múndū, nálū, anji, árū, yēḷū, yeṭṭū, oyimbadū, pattū, pannondū, panoranḍū; from 13 to 19 the units are added to the crude form of pattū, viz. padu-múndū, etc. 20 is iruvadu, to which after changing the d into tt, the units are added for 21-29. [197]

In all compound numbers for danḍū, 2, ranḍū is substituted, which resembles the Canarese yeraḍu. 30 is muppadū, 40 nápadū, 50 eimbadū, 60 aruvadū, 70 eḷuvadū, 80 embadū, 90 tonúrū, 100 núrū; 101 náyittondū etc.; 200 innúrū, 300 munnúrū, etc., 800 eṭṭunúrū, 900 ombeinúrū, 1,000 áyira, which is borrowed from Sanscrit. 802 193 [192]

For the formation of ordinals the affix ne is added to the

* If the crude noun is long, or consists of several syllables, the final u disappears in the Instr. and Loc. e. g. nádū, *Instr.* nádinji, *Loc.* nádālū.

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193 as the old Canarese akkum. The fine distinction between irū, be, and áu, become, extends even to the derivative negations ille and alla, not, the first negativing existence, the second, the state of existence.

There is no passive voice in Kodagu; a little change in the construction of a sentence renders it superfluous.

A medial or reciprocal form is obtained as in Canarese by adding to the past participle: konḍa (Can. koḷḷu) which properly means, take, but in this connection: "relating to oneself." e. g. dārū māḍi konḍandēttū, who made it?

To express causal verbs in Kodagu, the affix chirū is added, e. g. maḍu-chirū, cause to do.

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List of Irregular Verbs.

English.	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Know	ari	ari	ariwē	arinjē
Become	águ	áu	ápē	anē
Choose	áyu	áyu	áyuvē	ánjē
Put	iḍu	iḍū	iḍūvē	iṭṭē
Fall		iḍi	iḍiyuvē	iḍinjē
Be	iru	irū	ippē	injē
Descend	iḷi	iḷi	iḷiyuvē	iḷinjē
Eat	uṇṇu	uṇṇū	umbē	unḍē
Plough	uḷu	úḷū	uppē	uttē
Rise	yéḷu	yéḷū	yévē	yeddē
See	káṇu	káṇū	kámbē	kanḍē
Be hot	káyu	káyi	káyuvē	kánjē
Wait	káyu	káu	kápē	katē
Spoil	keḍu	keḍū	keḍūvē	keṭṭē
Make		keyū	keyuvē	kejja
Cut	koiyu	koiyū	koyuvē	kojjē

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English	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Hear	kēḷu	kēḷū	kēpō	kēṭṭō
Kill	kollu	kollū	kollnvō	kondō
Take	koḷḷu	konḍa	kowwō	konḍandō
Win	gellu	gellū	gellnvō	geddō
Die	sá	chāū	chávō	chattō
Boil	suḍu	chuḍiū	chuḍāvō	chuṭṭō
Give	tá	*tá	tappō	tandō
Sink		tivū	távō	tándō
End	tiru	tūḷū	tūpō	tūtō
Pay	teru	terū	terūvō	tettō
Wear off		téyu	téyuvō	ténjō
Touch		toḍū	toḍuvō	toṭṭō
Fold		tou	toppō	tottō
Plant	neḍu	naḍū	naḍuvō	naṭṭō
Stop	nillu	nillū	nippō	nindō
Blame		paḷi	paḷiuvō	paḷinjō
Increase		poro	porōpō	porōtō
Bring forth	haru	perū	peruvō	pettō
Beat	hoḍiyu	poyi	poyuvō	pejjō
Make		poraḍū	poradūvō	poratō
Go	hógu	póu	pópō	pónō
Stitch	holi	pollū	pollūvō	pondō
Fight	hóru	póḷū	poppō	pottō
Come	bá	*bá	bappa	bandō
Live	báḷu	báḷū	bávō	bándō
Leave	biḍu	buḍū	būḍūvō	buṭṭō
Fall	bīḷu	bīḷū	bávō	buddō
Put		beyi	beppō	bechchō
Boil	bé	bé	bévō	benjō

* Tátū, he gave; bátū, he came.

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194 [197] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü;* Ex. Can. iḍu, Kg. üḍü = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced ö, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ēḷu, Kg. öḷö = seven; Can. peṭṭige, Kg. peṭṭi = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word avang instead of the Canarese avanu = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. undu for Can. uṇṭu = are, Kg. ikka for Can. iga = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. chandra Kg. chaṇṇurö = moon; Can. yentha Kg. yennatö. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. dēsha, Kg. dēja = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. sūrya, Kg. chūriyö. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ hiḍi, Kg. ಪಡಿ pöḍi = to seize.

• 193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunci- [177] ation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

[127] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

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a great deal of valuable information, though as a first attempt it is somewhat defective and requires critical sifting.

Regarding the *noun* there are in Kodagu simple and compound nouns; the combination of the latter follows more the convenience of pronunciation than grammatical rules, for the Kodagu language in its present form is anterior to Kodagu grammar. There are, as in Canarese, 3 genders, but as in the other Dravidian languages the principle of distinction is the separation between the divine, the human and the below human; only the nouns relating to the former beings partake of the distinction of male and female sex, all other words are neuter. As to number there is a singular and plural form. Following the usage of other grammars of the Dravidian tongues, the declension of Kodagu nouns may be represented with 7 or 8 cases, but several of them being but the result of affixed particles, the cases might well be reduced to 5 viz. the Nominative, Objective, Genitive, Dative and Vocative. According to the terminations of the nouns there are 3 declensions, viz. of nouns ending in *a*, in *i* or *e* and in *u*. Examples will make this clear.

First declension of Nouns ending in a.

Masculine form "rájá," the king.

	Singular.			*Plural.*		
Nom.	rájá (1.)		the king.	rája (2.)		the kings.
Obj.	rájana		"	rájara		"
Gen.	rájanda	of	"	rájanda	of	"
Dat.	rájangú	to	"	rájakú	to	"
Inst.	rájanagondu	by	"	rájaragondu	by	"
Loc.	rájandapakka	in	"	rájandapakka	in	"
Voc.	rájané		Oh king.	rájané		Oh kings.

1. Though corrupted at the end of a word the *a* takes again its full sound as soon as new syllables are added.

2. The plural sometimes adds *anga* similar to the old Canarese *angal*, e. g. Kg. *rájanga*, old Can. *rájangal*.

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Feminine form "móva," daughter.

To the crude form the objective singular adds ja and the plural ja.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nom.	móva		daughter.	mója		daughters.
Obj.	mówaja		„	mójaja		„
Gen.	mówaḍa	of	„	mójaḍa	of	„
Dat.	mówakkü	to	„	mójakkü	to	„
Voc.	mówajé	Oh	„	mójajé	Oh	„

Neuter nouns have no particular form for the plural number.

Second declension of Nouns ending in i and e.

Masculine form "dore," the master.

The plural is formed by adding: ya.

	Singular.			Plural.		
Nom.	dore		master.	doreya		masters.
Obj.	dorena		„	doreyaja		„
Gen.	dorera	of	„	doreyara	of	„
Dat.	dorekkü	to	„	doreyakkü	to	„
Voc.	doreyé	Oh	„	doreyajé	Oh	„

Feminine nouns are declined like the foregoing.

Neuter noun "poṭṭi," the box.

Nom. poṭṭi, *Obj.* poṭṭina, *Gen.* poṭṭira, *Dat.* poṭṭikkü, *Instr.* poṭṭinji, *Loc.* poṭṭilü.

Third declension of Nouns ending in u.

Masculine form "guru," the priest.

The plural is formed by adding: va.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	guru	guruva
Obj.	guruna	guruvaja
Gen.	guruḍa	guruvaḍa
Dat.	gurukkü	guruvakkü
Voc.	guruvé	guruvajé

Feminine nouns are declined in the same manner.

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Neuter form "puḷu," the worm. 193

Nom. puḷu, *Obj.* puḷuna, *Gen.* puḷuḍa, *Dat.* puḷukkū, *Instr.* puḷuvinji, *Loc.* puḷuvalū.*

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Canarese their number is not very great, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles ānō having become, and uḷḷō being, possessing: e. g. chāi beauty, chāiānō beautiful; paṇa money, paṇauḷḷō rich. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: e. g. pāḍuvō pakki, the singing bird; bandō guru, the priest who came. For expressing the comparative and superlative the adjective remains unchanged, but the notion of degree is produced by a peculiar construction of the sentence viz. the comparative by a construction like this: than your book his book useful, i. e. his book is more useful than yours; the superlative: among all books his book useful, i. e. his book is most useful.

The numerical Adjective, this criterion of the origin of a language, is, as may be expected, in the Drávida languages very much alike, but entirely different from other tongues. The neutral numerals in Kodagu from 1-12 are: ondū, danḍū, mūndū, nālū, anji, ārū, yēḷū, yeṭṭū, oyimbadū, pattū, pannondū, panerandū; from 13 to 19 the units are added to the crude form of pattū, viz. padu-mūndū, etc. 20 is iruvadu, to which after changing the d into tt, the units are added for 21-29. [197]

In all compound numbers for danḍū, 2, randū is substituted, which resembles the Canarese yeraḍu. 30 is muppadū, 40 nāpadū, 50 eimbadū, 60 aruvadū, 70 eḷuvadū, 80 embadū, 90 tonūrū, 100 nūrū; 101 nūyittondū etc.; 200 innūrū, 300 munnūrū, etc., 800 eṭṭunūrū, 900 ombeinūrū, 1,000 āyira, which is borrowed from Sanscrit. 802 193 [192]

For the formation of ordinals the affix ne is added to the

* If the crude noun is long, or consists of several syllables, the final u disappears in the Instr. and Loc. e. g. nādū, *Instr.* nāḍinji, *Loc.* nāḍūlū.

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802 crude form of the cardinals; e. g. ondane, danḍane, mūndane, etc.
193 the first, second, third, etc.

Only the numbers one and two have three genders, all the rest are neuter.

obbŏ	one man.	ibbŏ	two men.
obba	„ woman.	ibba	„ women.
ondŭ	„ thing.	danḍŭ	„ things.

As in Canarese doubling a number renders it a distributive; e. g. ondondŭ, danḍanḍŭ, etc. every one, two, etc.

Of fractions, which even in Canarese form but a limited system, the Coorg stock is still smaller and refers only to concrete terms viz: ¼ ārŏ, ½ kālŭ, ¾ mukkālŭ, which help to divide the Maṇa of 40 seers and the Baṭṭi of 80 seers of capacity-measure and the Rupee.

803 The Coorgs have no idea of abstract reckoning and fraction-
871 al arithmetic is a most difficult subject for native teachers.

The *pronouns* in Kodagu greatly resemble those in Ca-
193 narese.

The personal pronouns are declined in the following manner:—

First person: nā = I.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	nā or nānŭ,	I.	enga, nanga,	we.
Obj.	enna,	me.	engḷa, nangaḷa,	us.
Gen.	ennaḍa, ēḍa,	of me.	engaḍa, nangaḍa,	of us.
Dat.	enakŭ, nangŭ,	to me.	engakŭ, nangakŭ,	to us.

Second person: nī = thou.

Nom.	nīnŭ,	thou.	ninga,	you.
Obj.	ninna,	thee.	ningaḷa,	you.
Gen.	ninaḍa, niḍa,	of thee.	ningaḍa,	of you.
Dat.	ninnakŭ, ningŭ,	to thee.	ningakŭ,	to you.

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Third Person: Ivang, avăng, he; iva, ava, she.

(The proximate and the remote forms are declined alike.)

	Singular.				*Plural.*	
Nom.	avăng,	he.	ava,	she.	avu,	they.
Obj.	avana,	him.	avaḷa,	her.	ayana,	them.
Gen.	avanḍa,	of him, his.	avaḍa,	of her.	ayanḍa,	of them.
Dat.	avangū,	to him.	avakū,	to her.	ayangū,	to them.

idū, adū—it.

Nom. adū, it; *Obj.* adūna, it; *Gen.* adanḍa, of it; *Dat.* adangū, to it; *Instr.* adatinji, from it; *Loc.* adālū, in it.

Tānū, himself; *Obj.* tanna is declined, like nānū, I.

The following are the interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns:

yā, yēvū, yēva, yēdū, which; ārū, dārū, who.
i, ivang, iva, idū, this; ivū, these.
ā, avang, ava, adū, that; avu, these.
ennata, what kind? innata, annata, such.
ichakū, how much? ichakū, achakū, so much.

It will be remarked, that the idea of nearness and remoteness in the pronouns is finely distinguished by the use of the two vowels *i* and *a*.

Of *verbs* there are two conjugations in the Kodagu dialect; one of verbs ending in *u* and the other with the termination *i*, *e*, and *a*. The verbs ending in *u* add to their root the affix vū in the present and nū in the past relative participle; e. g. root: pāḍū, sing; pr. rel. part. pāḍāvū, who sings; past rel. part. pāḍānū, who sang. Verbs ending in *e* add pū and tū; e. g. root: nene think; pres. relat. part. nenepū, who thinks; past rel. part. nenetū, who thought. The various inflections of the verb are formed from the root, the present relat. part. and the past relat. participle.

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I. Conjugation. Verbs ending in u.

Root "pāḍū," sing.

Infinitive Mood: pāḍūvăkū, to sing.
Present Gerund or verbal Adjective: pāḍiandū, singing.
Past do. pāḍitū, having sung. *Old Can.* pāḍdu.
Negative Gerund pāḍatte, not singing.
Relative Participle Present: pāḍūvū, who sings.
Do. Past: pāḍūnū, „ sung.
Do. Negative: pāḍattū, „ does not sing.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
nānū pāḍuvi, pāḍuvaḷa.	enga pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa, we sing.
ninū pāḍuvia.	ninga pāḍuvira.
avăng, ava, adū pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa.	avu pāḍuva, pāḍuvaḷa.

Past Tense.

nānū pāḍūne, I sang.	enga pāḍiohi.
ninū pāḍia.	ninga pāḍira.
avăng pāḍiohi.	avu pāḍiohi.

Future Tense.

nānū pāḍuvū, I shall sing.	enga pāḍu.
ninū pāḍuvia.	ninga pāḍuvira.
avăng pāḍu.	avu pāḍu.

Neg. Mood Present Tense: nānū, ninū, &c. pāḍule, I do not sing.
Past „ pāḍille, did not sing.
Imperative Mood: pāḍū, sing; pāḍi, sing ye; nānū, &c. pāḍaḍū, let me sing; enga pāḍanga, let us sing.

II. Conjugation. Verbs ending in e, a and i.

Root: "nene," think.

Infinitive Mood: nenepākū, to think.
Gerund or Adjective Participle Present: nenatkandū, thinking.

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Gerund or Adjective Participle Past: nenetittū, having thought.
Do. *Negative:* neneyatte, not thinking.
Relative Participle Present: nenepō, who thinks.
Do. *Past:* nenetō, who thought.
Do. *Negative:* neneyatte, who does not think.

Present Tense.

Singular.	*Plural.*
nānū nenepi, nenepaḷe, I think.	enga nenepa, nenapaḷa.
ninū nenepiya.	ninga nenepira.
avv̆ng nenepa, nenapaḷa.	avu nenepa, nenapaḷa.

Past Tense.

nānū nenete,	I thought.	enga nenettātū.
ninū nenetiya.		ninga nenettira.
avv̆ng nenettātū.		avu nenettātū.

Future Tense.

nānū nenepō,	I shall think.	enga nenekku.
ninū nenepiya.		ninga nenepira.
avv̆ng nenekku.		avu nenekku.

Neg. Mood Present: nānū nenepile, I do not think.
Neg. Mood Past: nānū nenetille, I did not think.
Imperative Mood: nene, think; neneyire, think ye.
nānū neneyattū, let me think.
enga neneka, let us think.

Some verbs ending in *e* and *a* form their participles in the following manner:—

Root:	kaḍa,	*part.*	kaḍaṇḍō, kaḍapō.
"	naḍa,	"	naḍaṇḍō, naḍapō.
"	para,	"	paraṇḍō, paravō.
"	bōḷa,	"	bōḷaṇḍō, bōḷavō.

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193 Verbs ending in i:—

Root:	kani,	*Part.*	kanichâ, kanipâ.
„	kuri,	„	kurichâ, kuripâ.
„	kei,	„	keichâ, keipâ.
„	kodi,	„	kodichâ, kodipâ.
„	chadi,	„	chadichâ, chadipâ.

Conjugation of the auxiliary verb **irû, be.**

Infinitive Mood: ippâkû, to be.

Gerunds or Adj. Participle Present: injanḍû, being.

Do. *Past:* injittû, having been.

Do. *Negative:* iratta, not being.

Relative Participle Present: ippâ, who is.

Do. *Past:* injâ, who was.

Do. *Negative:* irattâ, who is not.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*
nânû ippi,	I am.	enga ippa, we were.
nînû ippia.		ninga ippira.
avv̆ng ippa.		avu ippa.

Past Tense.

nânû inja,	I was.	enga injattû.
nînû injiya.		ninga injira.
avv̆ng injattû.		avu injattû.

Future Tense.

nânû ippâ,	I shall be.	enga ikkû.
nînû ippiya.		ninga ippira.
avv̆ng ikku.		avu ikku.

Negative Mood Present: nânû ippile, I am not; *Past:* nânû injile, I was not.

Imperative Mood: irû, be; irri, be ye.

nânû iradû, let me be.

nangê ikka, let us be.

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Conjugation of the auxiliary verb �u, *become.*

Infinitive Mood: ápökkû, to become.
Gerund or Adj. Participle Present: áyandû, becoming.
Do. Past: áyitû, having become.
Do. Negative: átte, not becoming.
Pr. R. P.: ápô, who becomes; *Past:* ánô, who became. *Neg.:* áttô, who does not become.

Present Tense.

Singular.		*Plural.*
nánû ápi,	I become.	enga ápa, we become.
ninû ápia.		ninga ápira.
avắng ápa.		avu ápa.

Past Tense.

nánû áne,	I became.	enga áchi, we became.
ninû ániya.		ninga ánira.
avắng áchi.		avu áchi.

Future Tense.

nánû ápô,	I shall become.	enga áku.
ninû ápiya.		ninga ápira.
avắng áku.		avu áku.

Negative Mood Present: nánû ápile, I do not become.
Do. Past: „ áyile, I did not become.
Imperative Mood: áu, become; áyiri, become ye.
nánû áqû, let me become.
nanga ákka, let us become.

The irregular verb "pôû" to go, is conjugated in the same manner.

I may remark, that as in Canarese the affirmative ahudu, haudu is an old form of the future tense of águ, become, so in Kodagu akku, yes, corresponds with the 3rd person singular, future tense áku, it shall become, which is the same form

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193 as the old Canarese akkum. The fine distinction between irā, be, and áu, become, extends even to the derivative negations ille and alla, not, the first negativing existence, the second, the state of existence.

There is no passive voice in Kodagu; a little change in the construction of a sentence renders it superfluous.

A medial or reciprocal form is obtained as in Canarese by adding to the past participle: koḍa (Can. kollu) which properly means, take, but in this connection: "relating to oneself." e. g. dárā máḍi koḍandóttā, who made it?

To express causal verbs in Kodagu, the affix chirā is added, e. g. maḍu-chirā, cause to do.

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List of Irregular Verbs.

English.	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Know	ari	ari	ariwō	arinjō
Become	águ	áu	ápō	anō
Choose	áyu	áyu	áyuvō	ánjō
Put	iḍu	iḍā	iḍāvō	iṭṭō
Fall		iḍi	iḍiyuvō	iḍinjō
Be	iru	irā	ippō	injō
Descend	iḷi	iḷi	iḷiyuvō	iḷinjō
Eat	uṇṇu	uṇṇā	umbō	unḍō
Plough	uḷu	úḷā	uppō	uttō
Rise	yéḷu	yéḷā	yévō	yeddō
See	káṇu	káṇā	kámbō	kanḍō
Be hot	káyu	káyi	káyuvō	kánjō
Wait	káyu	káu	kápō	katō
Spoil	keḍu	keḍā	keḍāvō	keṭṭō
Make		keyā	keyuvō	kejja
Cut	koiyu	koiyā	koyuvō	kejjō

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English	Canarese Root.	Kodagu Root.	Present relat. Participle.	Past relat. Participle.
Hear	kéḷu	kéḷū	kéṇṇō	kéṭṭō
Kill	kollu	kollū	kolluvō	kondō
Take	koḷḷu	konḍa	kowwō	konḍandō
Win	gellu	gellū	gelluvō	geddō
Die	sá	cháū	chávō	chattō
Boil	suḍu	chuḍiū	chuḍāvō	chuṭṭō
Give	tá	* tá	tappō	tandō
Sink		tívū	távō	tándō
End	tiru	tāḷū	tāṇṇō	tāṭṭō
Pay	teru	terū	terūvō	tettō
Wear off		téyu	téyuvō	ténjō
Touch		toḍū	toḍuvō	teṭṭō
Fold		tou	toppō	tettō
Plant	neḍu	naḍū	naḍuvō	naṭṭō
Stop	nillu	nillū	nippō	nindō
Blame		paḷi	paḷiuvō	paḷinjō
Increase		pero	perōpō	perōtō
Bring forth	heru	perū	peruvō	pettō
Beat	hoḍiyu	poyi	póyuvō	poḷḷō
Make		poraḍū	poraḍāvō	poratō
Go	hógu	póu	pópō	pónō
Stitch	holi	pollū	pollāvō	pondō
Fight	hóru	póḷū	poppō	pottō
Come	bá	* bá	bappa	bandō
Live	báḷu	báḷū	bávō	bándō
Leave	biḍu	bēḍū	bēḍāvō	buṭṭō
Fall	bīḷu	bāḷū	bāvō	buddō
Put		beyi	beppō	becbobō
Boil	bé	bé	bévō	benjō

* Téū, he gave; béū, he came.

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193 As in Canarese *adverbs* are in Kodagu formed of nouns by adding the affixes áyitū, áyi (Can. ági), e.g. chamáyi (Can. samavági) according to.

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:—

yekkū	when,	ikkū	now,	akkū	then.
yendū	which day,	indū	this day,	andū	that day.
yelli	where,	illi	here,	alli	there.

By the usual affixes these adverbs undergo like nouns of the neuter gender a kind of declension, in which the instr. case indicates motion from and the dative motion to a place; e. g.

Instr.	yellinji	whence,	illinji	hence,	allinji	thence.
Dat.	yellikkū	whither,	illikkū	hither,	allikkū	thither.

Most of the adverbs, however, do not admit of declension.

To advert in a few lines to the Kodagu syntax, it may be remarked, that it is quite in harmony with that of the Dravida languages. A Kodagu or Canarese compound sentence, though it presents a complete reversion of our European structure of sentences, is to the accustomed ear as perfect and harmonious as a Greek period, which is perhaps equally involved by participial constructions. The principal verb (verbum finitum) invariably is placed last in the sentence and as a general rule every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

538 533 *Literature.* Strictly speaking there is no literature in the Kodagu language, as a few indigenous songs of a very limited range of subjects comprise the whole catalogue. These songs are known in every Coorg house, and, commemorating as they do the chief events of social life, marriage, death, and festivities, and the warfare with the Musulman power in Mysore, they are likely to continue to be popular.

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197 slaves, the Holeyas, have a language of their own, which is intelligible to themselves only. Upon closer examination, however, it is apparent, that the Kodagu tongue is but a dialect more or less related to the 5 principal Dravidian languages—the Telugu, Tamil, Malayálam, Tulu and Canarese—but eminently so to the older forms of these languages. [212] The old Coorg chants (Palamé) have been written for ages [214] past with Canarese letters, and the first attempt in printing a Coorg Grammar has likewise been carried out in Canarese type, also the Canarese numerical figures are used by the Coorgs. The Kodagu language is shorter, more simple, but less refined than the Canarese and a convenient medium for conversation; by its contracted, rounded forms with abrupt terminations in half vowels, it does not require a great exertion of the organs of speech and admits of chewing betel and retaining the precious juice, whilst the flow of conversation is uninterruptedly carried on. Indeed a beginner should practise the pronunciation with his mouth half full of water, till he can speak without spilling any. The Kodagu language has not the force and expressiveness of the Canarese, but it glides more readily over the lips. It is rich in words and forms and, as the Coorg chants attest, admirably suited for expressing easy flowing poetry of a humorous or solemn strain.

194 Of the 51 letters that constitute the new Canarese alphabet - [212] old Canarese has only 47—the Kodagu language appropriates but 33, viz. 12 vowels, 1 half consonant, 16 classified and 4 unclassified consonants, for it rejects all aspirated consonants.

The vowels are: the short and long a ಅ, ಆ, e ಎ, ಏ, i ಇ, ಈ, o ಒ, ಓ, u ಉ, ಊ, and the diphthongs ei ಐ and ou ಔ.

The half consonant or medium between vowel and consonant is ಂ which sounds like m, n, or ng, according to position.

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The 16 classified consonants are: the

Gutturals:	ಕ	ka	ಗ	ga	ಙ	gna	
Palatals:	ಚ	cha	ಜ	ja	ಞ	nya	
Cerebrals:	ಟ	ṭa	ಡ	ḍa	ಣ	ṇa	(ಳ ḷa)
Dentals:	ತ	ta	ದ	da	ನ	na	
Labials:	ಪ	pa	ಬ	ba	ಮ	ma	

The 4 unclassified consonants are the Liquids:

ಯ ya ರ ra ಲ la ವ va

It would lead me too far, to enter upon the method of changing this simple system of letters into their various combinations; this may be found in the Rev. Thos. Hodson's Canarese Grammar or in Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which in its etymological part is based upon the former. I may only remark, that in writing Kodagu with the Canarese alphabet there is a frequent use of half letters which are denoted by a peculiar flourish above the respective consonants, to preclude, as it were, the ordinarily used definite final vowel; Ex. ಮ್ = mö, ದ್ = dö instead of ಮ ma and ದ da. Yet these half letters are not mute consonants, but are followed by either of the two peculiar short and dull vowels ö and ü which frequently occur in German and French. The former (ö) is pronounced like *e* in the French relative pronoun "que", or the *ö* in the German "Götter", the latter (ü) sounds like the French *u* in "vertu" or the *ü* in the German "Mütter". As a general rule in the Kodagu language every half letter at the end of a syllable, whether mediate or final, is pronounced with the consounding short nasal vowel ö, where in new Canarese the same syllable would terminate in ಉ and in old Canarese in ಅಂ. Ex. Can. ಕುರುಬನು. Kg. ಕುರುಮ್ಬೆ = a shepherd. But where the half letter in Kodagu implies the vowel *u* in Canarese, it is pronounced ü; Ex. Can. ಇದು, Kg. ಇದ್ = this.

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194 [197] It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters obtains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü*; Ex. Can. ಇಡು, Kg. ಇಡ್ಡೆ = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ಏಳು, Kg. ಏಳ್ = seven; Can. ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ, Kg. ಪೊಟ್ಟಿ = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word ಅವಂಗ instead of the Canarese ಅವನು = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. ಉಂಡು for Can. ಉಣ್ಣು = are, Kg. ಇಕ್ಕ for Can. ಇಗ = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. ಚಂದ್ರ Kg. ಚಂದ್ರುರ್ = moon; Can. ಯಮುನೆ Kg. ಯಮುನೆ. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. ದೇಶ, Kg. ದೇಜ = country; ಷ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. ಶಿರ್ಯ, Kg. ಚಿರ್ಯ. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ, Kg. ಪಿಡಿ = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunci-
[177] ation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

[127] Taking now a rapid glance over the grammatical forms of the Kodagu language, I would refer for further instruction to Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which gives

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

193 [127]

a great deal of valuable information, though as a first attempt it is somewhat defective and requires critical sifting.

Regarding the *noun* there are in Kodagu simple and compound nouns; the combination of the latter follows more the convenience of pronunciation than grammatical rules, for the Kodagu language in its present form is anterior to Kodagu grammar. There are, as in Canarese, 3 genders, but as in the other Dravidian languages the principle of distinction is the separation between the divine, the human and the below human; only the nouns relating to the former beings partake of the distinction of male and female sex, all other words are neuter. As to number there is a singular and plural form. Following the usage of other grammars of the Dravidian tongues, the declension of Kodagu nouns may be represented with 7 or 8 cases, but several of them being but the result of affixed particles, the cases might well be reduced to 5 viz. the Nominative, Objective, Genitive, Dative and Vocative. According to the terminations of the nouns there are 3 declensions, viz. of nouns ending in *a*, in *i* or *e* and in *u*. Examples will make this clear.

First declension of Nouns ending in a.

Masculine form "rájá," the king.

	Singular.			*Plural.*		
Nom.	rájá (1.)		the king.	rája (2.)		the kings.
Obj.	rájana		"	rájara		"
Gen.	rájanḍa	of	"	rájanḍa	of	"
Dat.	rájangū	to	"	rájakū	to	"
Inst.	rájanagoṇḍu	by	"	rájaragenḍu	by	"
Loc.	rájandapakka	in	"	rájandapakka	in	"
Voc.	rájané		Oh king.	rájané		Oh kings.

1. Though corrupted at the end of a word the a takes again its full sound as soon as new syllables are added.

2. The plural sometimes adds *ange* similar to the old Canarese *angal*, e. g. Kg. *rájange*, old Can. *rájangal*.

[194]

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needles, in the tiny *chuṇḍekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chiraṇḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*maṇṇaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

[195] 'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appacheṭṭolanḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanḍa *okka*.'

[245] [1] *Chuṇḍekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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621 festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

162 Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

[361] There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

●197 All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

[212] Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

however, very common. Kannaḍa was the court and official language of Coorg under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, and nowadays it is the medium of instruction in schools. Besides, every Coorg is able to speak it.

Educated Coorgs are usually trilingual, knowing Koḍagi, Kannaḍa, and English. Koḍagi is used in the home, Kannaḍa in talking to most non-Coorgs excepting Malayāḷīs, and English in official matters, and occasionally in conversation with strangers. English is popular with Coorgs, and even women, especially those under thirty, have some acquaintance with it.

In 1931 there were 44,585 Koḍagi-speakers though the total number of Coorgs was only 41,026. This discrepancy is due to the fact that several castes and tribes have taken over the language of Coorgs, who have throughout been the dominant group in Coorg. In fact, only a few castes have escaped the temptation to imitate Coorgs in dress, customs, and manners. In the past some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gauḍas, and others did succeed in entering the Coorg fold. Even now some non-Coorgs aspire to be Coorgs. For instance, during the 1931 Census, a number of Kannaḍa Okkaligas and Tuḷu Gauḍas in north Coorg succeeded in getting themselves enumerated as Coorgs as they had been described as 'Jamma Koḍagas' in the title-deeds conferring on them the right to hold land under the concession tenure of *jamma* (see pp. 16–17). The enumerators, in spite of their strict instructions to check all doubtful cases thoroughly, had to enumerate such persons as Coorgs. It is presumed, however, that their number did not exceed a thousand.[1]

IV

Coorg enters history in the ninth century A.D., but the information we possess at present about the period between the ninth and seventeenth centuries is very little indeed. We do know, however, that ever since the period for which we have any information, the fortunes of the powerful south Indian Kingdoms in the east have had effects on Coorg. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Changāḷvas, who ruled some parts of Coorg, were feudatory to the Gangas of Talkāḍ in Mysore. The Changāḷvas (Kings of Changanāḍ) ruled certain areas to the west of Mysore city and the eastern

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 42.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, 144 a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas 141 belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151.2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

157 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. [177] The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in [187] important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

197 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

161 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males 181 and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is viewed. Its interior is light and chaste, the fittings,—chiefly the handiwork of the Rev. Mr. Fennell—in remarkably good taste and the whole much set off by ground glass windows, with apex and borders of coloured glass, that at the east end being of larger size, of a more elaborate design and extremely elegant. The interior contains also an ornamental monument in white marble by Westmacott to the memory of the late Major Frank Vardon and a circular tablet in memory of Mrs. Barclay, the wife of Dr. Chr. Barclay.

346
712
997

The *Fort at Kushálanagara* (Frasepet) built by Tippu Sultan was taken by the Coorgs in June 1789 under Dodda-Virájender, who sacked and burnt the place. When in 1846-1848 the fine bridge over the Kávéri was constructed, the ruins of the Fort supplied excellent building material.

712

The *Fortress at Arméri* in Beppunád was razed to the ground in August 1789.

Bhágamandala Fort, where Tippu seized some 5,000 Coorgs with their families whom he sent into Mysore in 1785 and forcibly made Mussulmans, was invested by Dodda-Virájender in 1790 and taken after 5 days' siege. The Rája himself fired the first cannon from the hill of Mumbáratu. During the bombardment 3 copper tiles of the Dévastána were destroyed by a cannon shot, but Dodda-Virájender replaced them by 4 tiles made of silver.

The *Pápáre Fort*, (Pálu-páre) on the Kire river, a tributary of the Lakshmanatírtha, in Hatgatnád in Kiggatnád taluq, in which there are also the ruins of a temple, is said to have been built by *Kolli-Ninga* and *Benne-Krishna* of the Bedaru or hunter-tribe. It was destroyed by Tippu Sultan's armies and its ruins are extensive.

8. THE COORG LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE.

197

The prevalent and official language in Coorg is Canarese, but this small mountain clan, the Coorgs, with their former

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•197 slaves, the Holeyas, have a language of their own, which is intelligible to themselves only. Upon closer examination, however, it is apparent, that the Kodagu tongue is but a dialect more or less related to the 5 principal Dravidian languages—the Telugu, Tamil, Malayálam, Tulu and Canarese—but eminently so to the older forms of these languages. [212] The old Coorg chants (Palamé) have been written for ages [214] past with Canarese letters, and the first attempt in printing a Coorg Grammar has likewise been carried out in Canarese type, also the Canarese numerical figures are used by the Coorgs. The Kodagu language is shorter, more simple, but less refined than the Canarese and a convenient medium for conversation; by its contracted, rounded forms with abrupt terminations in half vowels, it does not require a great exertion of the organs of speech and admits of chewing betel and retaining the precious juice, whilst the flow of conversation is uninterruptedly carried on. Indeed a beginner should practise the pronunciation with his mouth half full of water, till he can speak without spilling any. The Kodagu language has not the force and expressiveness of the Canarese, but it glides more readily over the lips. It is rich in words and forms and, as the Coorg chants attest, admirably suited for expressing easy flowing poetry of a humorous or solemn strain.

194 Of the 51 letters that constitute the new Canarese alphabet [212] old Canarese has only 47—the Kodagu language appropriates but 33, viz. 12 vowels, 1 half consonant, 16 classified and 4 unclassified consonants, for it rejects all aspirated consonants.

The vowels are: the short and long a ಅ, ಆ, e ಎ, ಏ, i ಇ, ಈ, o ಒ, ಓ, u ಉ, ಊ, and the diphthongs ei ಐ and ou ಔ.

The half consonant or medium between vowel and consonant is ಂ which sounds like m, n, or ng, according to position.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

194 It is remarkable that a similar system of half letters ob-
[197] tains also in Tulu, Tamil and Malayálam; it would appear, that both Tulu and Kodagu are in a medium and transition stage between the comparatively vowelless old Canarese and the sonorous new Canarese.

The Canarese short and long *i* before cerebrals and the terminal *u* are in Kodagu pronounced *ü;* Ex. Can. ḍḷu, Kg. ḍḷü = to put.

The Canarese short and long *e* is before cerebrals pronounced *ö*, but before a double cerebral the short *e* in Canarese is changed into *o*; e. g. Can. ḍḷu, Kg. ḍḷö = seven; Can. peṭṭige, Kg. poṭṭi = box.

A slight nasal sound occurs at the end of the word avang instead of the Canarese avanu = he.

Soft and hard consonants are often interchanged and single consonants doubled; e. g. Kg. uṇḍu for Can. uṇṭu = are, Kg. ikka for Can. iga = now.

Compound consonants are separated; e. g. Can. chandra Kg. chaṇṇurö = moon; Can. yentha Kg. yennatö. The letter ಶ (sha) becomes ಜ (ja); e. g. Can. dêsha, Kg. dêja = country; ಸ (sa) becomes ಚ (cha); e. g. Can. sûrya, Kg. chûriyö. The Canarese letter ಹ (ha) at the beginning of a word retains the old Canarese form ಪ (pa); e. g. Can. ಹಿಡಿ hiḍi, Kg. ಪಿಡಿ pîḍi = to seize.

193 The noun and verbal roots are in Kodagu chiefly mono- and dissyllables, that may be traced back to old Canarese or to the common Dravidian stock; there are however also many Sanscrit words, which as Tadbhavas are by Coorg pronunci-
[177] ation tortured into queer forms. The intercourse of the Coorgs with the Mussulmans has naturally enriched their language also with Hindustáni expressions.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Neuter form "pulu," the worm. 193

Nom. pulu, *Obj.* puluna, *Gen.* puluda, *Dat.* pulukkā, *Instr.* puluvinji, *Loc.* puluvalā. *

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Canarese their number is not very great, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles ānō having become, and ullō being, possessing: e. g. chāi beauty, chāiānō beautiful; pana money, panaullō rich. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: e. g. pāḍuvō pakki, the singing bird; bandō guru, the priest who came. For expressing the comparative and superlative the adjective remains unchanged, but the notion of degree is produced by a peculiar construction of the sentence viz. the comparative by a construction like this: than your book his book useful, i. e. his book is more useful than yours; the superlative: among all books his book useful, i. e. his book is most useful.

The numerical Adjective, this criterion of the origin of a [197] language, is, as may be expected, in the Drávida languages very much alike, but entirely different from other tongues. The neutral numerals in Kodagu from 1-12 are: ondā, danḍū, mūndū, nālū, anji, ārū, yēlū, yeṭṭū, oyimbadū, pattū, pannondū, panendanḍū; from 13 to 19 the units are added to the crude form of pattū, viz. padu-mūndū, etc. 20 is iruvadu, to which after changing the d into tt, the units are added for 21-29.

In all compound numbers for danḍū, 2, randū is substi- 802 tuted, which resembles the Canarese yeraḍu. 30 is muppadū, 193 40 nāpadū, 50 aimbadū, 60 aruvadū, 70 eḷuvadū, 80 embadū, 90 tonūrū, [192] 100 nūrū; 101 nāyittondū etc.; 200 innūrū, 300 muunūrū, etc., 800 eṭṭunūrū, 900 embainūrū, 1,000 āyiru, which is borrowed from Sanscrit.

For the formation of ordinals the affix ne is added to the

* If the crude noun is long, or consists of several syllables, the final a disappears in the Instr. and Loc. e. g. nādū, *Instr.* nāḍinji, *Loc.* nāḍilā.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris. [191]

197 533 539 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1. *Kodagu.*	Nóṭi nóṭi kámbakkò
2. *Canarese.*	Nóḍi nóḍi káṇuvágu
3. *English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1. *Kg.*	Bámikelloyandadè
2. *Can.*	Bhúmigu yella unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1. *Kg.*	Mahammèru parvata
2. *Can.*	Mahammèru parvata
3. *Engl.*	Mahamèru mountain
1. *Kg.*	Pú marakkoyandadè
2. *Can.*	Húvu maragaḷigu unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1. *Kg.*	Mánjappoya pómara
2. *Can.*	Mahá sampigua húvu mara
3. *Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1. *Kg.*	Déjakelloyandadè
2. *Can.*	Déshagaḷigu, yella, unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1. *Kg.*	Pommále Kodjavápa
2. *Can.*	Honnu male Kodagu águtade
3. *Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [191] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [177] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the 174 brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 167 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

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Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 (203)

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah. 692 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[485] *Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat, stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where, though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding
[205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front
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[206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house, attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a broad band, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or *Mahádévpet* in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines. An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by allotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme has not made much progress since. The new portion was

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

5. POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

Besides the regular postal service with Offices at Mercara and Vírájpet, there is a local post called Anché, originally established by the Rájahs and still principally used for official communication between the district functionaries and the heads of departments, who are exempt from postage, but it is open also to the public both for letters and packages on the same terms as the Queen's Post. By its means 160,999 letters, etc. have been despatched in 1869-70, whilst the Queen's Post at the two offices transmitted 147,309 letters, etc. over the three lines, Mercara—Mysore,—Cannanore,—Mangalore. For the Anché-tappál there are five lines: 205

1.	from Mercara to	Fraserpet	20	miles.
2.	" "	Kiggatnád	35	"
3.	" "	Kodlipet	46	"
4.	" "	Nálkanád	20	"
5.	" "	Madyanád	5	"

In localities away from these lines postal communication is very imperfect and public business much impeded and often seriously inconvenienced.

Mercara has lately become the Head-quarters of the Malabar Coast Division of the *Government Telegraph Department* and consequently the Bangalore, Cannanore, and Mangalore lines are here united and Mercara is brought into telegraphic communication with all parts of the civilized world. During 1869-70 1595 messages have been received and despatched, and yielded an income of Rs. 1,798—8. 655

6. MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

Considering the military services rendered by the Jammaryots in the times of the Coorg Rájahs and their martial spirit and loyalty, so often applauded by the English Government, 701 648

Appendix II.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE COORG REVENUE.

Sources of Income.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Land Revenue	89,915	6	3	102,270	9	4	127,118	14	10	162,664	12	7	182,859	15	8	286,560	4	9
Forest	7,348	4	11	65,032	12	10	13,950	1	5	38,522	12	10	102,218	10	4	106,658	8	6
Excise on Spirits and Drugs	4,445	0	0	17,609	8	0	25,983	13	4	32,266	0	0	142,510	10	10	66,374	11	7
Assessed Taxes, etc.	5,797	13	4	8,076	6	7	9,733	15	9	10,955	3	11	13,333	7	5	3,027	13	0
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17,262	8	3	33,741	14	1
Post and Service Lables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,129	8	2
Post Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	1	2
Electric Telegraph	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,863	12	0
Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
Public Works	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70,480	3	2*
Miscellaneous	3,591	0	4	4,054	2	3	3,939	2	6	6,339	7	9	10,638	12	4	7,302	3	10
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,518	15	2
Sayers or Inland Customs	5,923	14	2	8,267	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	117,021	7	0	205,310	15	6	180,726	6	10	250,748	5	1	468,824	0	10	594,460	5	6

Note:—Forest includes Cardamoms and Sandalwood.

Assessed taxes include Mohaturfa or tax on houses and shops, Income-tax and License-tax.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [871]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájendranáma" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Virájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 129 [114]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
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Monumental Stones of a more recent date are the Kollekallu (from kollu, to kill—and kallu, stone) tombstones in honour of warriors slain in battle. They are found along the eastern districts of Coorg. One I saw in Tavalagheri-gráma in Kiggatnád, some in Kottecád, 6 miles to the east of Mercara, and many in Fraserpet and near the Sómawarpet; the same kind of monuments occur also frequently in the Mysore country, especially in Nuggur and as far north as Belgaum. In all these localities the stones show a similar character. A large collection of them may be seen in the town of Mysore in an open place opposite the Grave-yard. The slabs are of granite, with rough facings, about 6 feet high, 4 feet broad and 9 inches thick, and frequently the lower half is buried in the ground. The front side is generally divided into three compartments, each containing some figures in relief, the background being chiselled out, so that the figures are level with the frame of the compartments. The objects represented in the top frame are one, two or three central figures seated in various postures on low stools such as the Hindus still use, and two female figures standing by their sides with fans. The central figures are evidently the heroes, they sit sword in hand with consequential dignity. The second compartment is filled with a string of 3, 5 or 7 figures alternately males and females, the latter preponderating and in most lively attitudes, the male figures extending their arms and resting their hands on the shoulders of the females who support their partners' arms near the elbows. The extreme figures who are always females hold fans (or guitars?) in their hands. The third frame encloses a battle scene in which warriors on foot and armed with bows and arrows, swords and shields are engaged in combat, one man lying dead on the ground. In the right corner there is a warrior on horseback with sword in hand making gestures of command or encouragement and in the left corner one or two bulls are represented. The

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211 532 172

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 172 to A. D. 1006 and the charter concludes with the solemn denunciation "whoever takes away this land which he or others have given, shall for sixty thousand years be born as a worm."

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d. The Coorg Cadangas and other remains of defensive works.

In the April number (1855) of the "Fortnightly Review" in the article: "Were the Ancient Britons Savages?" by W. Walker Wilkins, there occurs a passage which has a most appropriate bearing upon the Coorg Cadángas: "Probably "no country in the world possesses so many ancient earth-"works, certainly none upon such a stupendous scale as our "own.—They are extremely difficult of access from the steep-"ness of the mountain height on which they were formed. "This difficulty the primitive engineer greatly increased by "the most simple and natural means. He sunk one or more "deep trenches round the summit of the hill and raised lofty "banks with the excavated soil. Undoubtedly this is the "most ancient species of rampart known; it existed ages be-"fore the use of mural fortifications and originated in all pro-"bability with the nations in the East. But be that as it may, "the examples above indicated incontestably prove, that the "realization of vast works was as familiar to the mind of the "British regulus or chieftain, as to that of any oriental prince "his contemporary. The organization of labour necessary "for carrying them out evinces besides a condition of society "here in prehistoric times, utterly incompatible with the pre-"vailing notions on the subject."

The description here given literally applies to the Coorg breast-works called *Cadangas*, which are seen in almost every part of this country and which testify to the indefatigable perseverance with which these highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their Hills. They are of a very remote age, for in the time of Dodda Vírappa Vodeya who ruled for 49

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 651 1712 627 211 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembán, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Nádu. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 842 846 785 856 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712]
ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

197 slaves, the Holeyas, have a language of their own, which is intelligible to themselves only. Upon closer examination, however, it is apparent, that the Kodagu tongue is but a dialect more or less related to the 5 principal Dravidian languages—the Telugu, Tamil, Malayálam, Tulu and Canarese—but eminently so to the older forms of these languages. [212] The old Coorg chants (Palamé) have been written for ages [214] past with Canarese letters, and the first attempt in printing a Coorg Grammar has likewise been carried out in Canarese type, also the Canarese numerical figures are used by the Coorgs. The Kodagu language is shorter, more simple, but less refined than the Canarese and a convenient medium for conversation; by its contracted, rounded forms with abrupt terminations in half vowels, it does not require a great exertion of the organs of speech and admits of chewing betel and retaining the precious juice, whilst the flow of conversation is uninterruptedly carried on. Indeed a beginner should practise the pronunciation with his mouth half full of water, till he can speak without spilling any. The Kodagu language has not the force and expressiveness of the Canarese, but it glides more readily over the lips. It is rich in words and forms and, as the Coorg chants attest, admirably suited for expressing easy flowing poetry of a humorous or solemn strain.

194 Of the 51 letters that constitute the new Canarese alphabet [212] old Canarese has only 47—the Kodagu language appropriates but 33, viz. 12 vowels, 1 half consonant, 16 classified and 4 unclassified consonants, for it rejects all aspirated consonants.

The vowels are: the short and long a ಅ, ಆ, e ಎ, ಏ, i ಇ, ಈ, o ಒ, ಓ, u ಉ, ಊ, and the diphthongs ei ಐ and ou ಔ.

The half consonant or medium between vowel and consonant is ಂ which sounds like m, n, or ng, according to position.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

194

The 16 classified consonants are: the

Gutturals:	ಕ	ka	ಗ	ga	ಙ	gna	
Palatals:	ಚ	cha	ಜ	ja	ಞ	nya	
Cerebrals:	ಟ	ṭa	ಡ	ḍa	ಣ	ṇa	(ಳ ḷa)
Dentals:	ತ	ta	ದ	da	ನ	na	
Labials:	ಪ	pa	ಬ	ba	ಮ	ma	

The 4 unclassified consonants are the Liquids:

ಯ ya ರ ra ಲ la ವ va

It would lead me too far, to enter upon the method of changing this simple system of letters into their various combinations; this may be found in the Rev. Thos. Hodson's Canarese Grammar or in Captain Cole's Elementary Coorg Grammar, which in its etymological part is based upon the former. I may only remark, that in writing Kodagu with the Canarese alphabet there is a frequent use of half letters which are denoted by a peculiar flourish above the respective consonants, to preclude, as it were, the ordinarily used definite final vowel; Ex. ಮ್ = mö, ದ್ = dö instead of ಮ ma and ದ da. Yet these half letters are not mute consonants, but are followed by either of the two peculiar short and dull vowels ö and ü which frequently occur in German and French. The former (ö) is pronounced like e in the French relative pronoun "que", or the ö in the German "Götter", the latter (ü) sounds like the French u in "vertu" or the ü in the German "Mütter". As a general rule in the Kodagu language every half letter at the end of a syllable, whether mediate or final, is pronounced with the consounding short nasal vowel ö, where in new Canarese the same syllable would terminate in am and in old Canarese in am. Ex. Can. kurubam. Kg. kurumbö = a shepherd. But where the half letter in Kodagu implies the vowel u in Canarese, it is pronounced ü; Ex. Can. idu, Kg. ïdü = this.

[212]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Náds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

533 [212] [74] [634]

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

[179]

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India."

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4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RÂJAHS AS DELINEATED IN THE RÂJENDRANÂME AND FROM OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

175*

The Rájendranáme (account of Rájendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virájendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rájahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rájah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rájah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

[217]

[P. 56]

CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] [354] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [432] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttnnád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[521] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he
177 inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

[224] Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack
[551] of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

177 The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours every-
779 where Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars,
793 from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thaduvala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

it is an unsavoury pet, and its capricious and vindictive temper, when getting old, render it a dangerous playmate for children. 136*

The grey or Hanumán monkey (Semnopithecus entellus, Duff)—*Kg.* Kóde—prefers a more open country and does not shun the neighbourhood of native dwellings, where there are Upali trees of the fruit of which it is very fond. Troops of them may sometimes be seen on an open glade near a large tree, gambolling unmindful of the passing by of a native, but quickly disappearing in the dense foliage on the appearance of a European, chattering all the while with their little ones, whose frightened expression is pitiful, clinging to their sides. This monkey is considerably larger than the former species and has a long tail, which is of service in gymnastic feats on slender branches. Its face is bare and rather reddish. It is more docile than the black monkey, but when big more vindictive and dangerous. A case happened in Mercara, where one of these monkeys attacked a baby in its cradle and might have killed it, but for the timely arrival of the parents.

The brown monkey—*Kg.* Mucha—is only found in the Mále-kádu and eagerly hunted by the Coorgs, who eat its flesh roasted and in curry, and consider it a great delicacy. A soup made of its flesh is given to sick and weakly people. When full grown, this monkey is in a sitting posture about two feet high; it has a long tail, a light grey face and chest. It is never kept as a pet by natives. Of the skin of all the three named species the Coorgs make their tom toms or drums. [224] [262] [237] [534]

A little animal of the Lemur kind is the slender *Loris* (Loris gracilis. Linn). The Coorgs call them Chínge-kúli or devils of the Chínge or soapnut shrub which grows all over the central and northern plateau of Coorg. Its silent and slow gait, its thin limbs, its closely set and large protruding eyes and pointed visage are enough to frighten on a sudden en-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [250] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals 231 and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (new palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow, and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots, about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

*The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

*[Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Waleer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear."

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round [825] the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[Errata: this should read "claws." See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Bâne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the ant-hills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [237]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Mussulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 real foes, never turning to bay, as long as he has moving
[224] space before him. Bison shooting is a favourite sport, both amongst Coorgs and Europeans.

231 The domesticated buffalo (*Can.* male: kóna; female: yemme) thrives very well in Coorg, but the existing breed is an inferior one; however, some Gaulikas from Dharwar have lately introduced a much larger and more powerful kind which will gradually improve the native stock. Buffaloes are more numerous in the woody districts especially in Kiggatnád and wherever there is marshy land, which is most congenial to their amphibious habits, as they delight during the hot hours of the day in seeking refuge against heat and flies in stagnant pools, where they wallow with supreme gusto with only their noses above water. Buffaloes are a treasure to the farmer; their strength qualifies them for the plough, for the threshing floor and for carrying burdens; they yield more manure and twice the quantity of milk of a common cow and of a far richer kind. With such a list of good qualities one may feel inclined to overlook the extreme uglineas of the beast. It is a bulky, clumsy animal of a greyish colour, with long, annulated horns, lying generally on the back of its thick-set neck; its stupid, motionless look, combined with its gurgling bellow, render its presence unwelcome, though it has nothing of the vicious temper of the hill buffaloes of the Todas.

*136 Of the deer-tribe there are several representatives in Coorg: the samber, spotted deer and jungle-sheep.

The samber or elk, (*Rusa Aristotelis*; *Can.* kadave) is a fine large animal with antlers of great size, resembling those of the stag. It is more frequent in the great mountain forests. It is not gregarious and ruts and drops its horns in spring. The spotted deer (*Axis maculata*; *Can.* sárga) haunts thick
[231] jungles in the vicinity of water. It is timid mild and easily domesticated, an elegant pet whilst young, but becomes rather mischievous with age, as it not only butts at children, but

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 "Rogues", are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree.

[224] Elephants in Coorg are caught in pits, covered over with a slight framework to conceal them and placed accross the paths which the animals frequent. It is however no easy matter to beguile the sagacious creatures into this kind of [231] trap. If caught young they are easily tamed, but when of maturer age, a year and sometimes two are necessary to bring them into subjection. There are now no tame elephants kept in Coorg, but the Rajahs used to maintain many. Wild elephants are now far less numerous and the periodical elephant hunts less productive, though the Coorgs like true highland-[656] ers are as eager for sport as ever. The indiscriminate slaughter of these useful beasts has however been forbidden by Government, and they are now only caught alive.

175 224 There is a granite slab in the Superintendent's Cutcherry in Mercara with an engraved record of a grand elephant hunt in the beginning of the reign of the late Rajah, which may well excite the jealous astonishment of modern Nimrods. The facts divested of oriental flourish are simply these: In 1822 the ryots complained of the great destruction of their fields and houses, caused by numerous herds of elephants, when the Rajah, "recollecting that it was the duty of a king to destroy the wicked and assist the helpless," resolved upon a wholesale destruction of the beasts and within 38 days he killed with his own hand 233 elephants and his soldiers caught 181 alive! Well may he exclaim in conclusion: "Is this not a great wonder, that men caught elephants alive, as if they were mice, and killed herds of them by using their seven weapons with the destructive force of roaring thunder?"

*136 The *Ornithologist* not less than the Botanist finds in Coorg a fruitful field for his researches, for birds of almost every tribe are plentiful throughout the country. The Mysore Museum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712]
ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224 ●
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places
[782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 574 [357] furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs, chandeliers, settees, etc. etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Colonel Ridgway Mealay, and a dozen active servants, who very speedily produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's ware, with every kind of European liquor; and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes good bread!

*175 *643 *648 "After all our exertions of this day, it may readily be supposed we slept soundly; and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes an usual, a custom which I most strenuously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Rájah's stud and elephants; and amongst the latter found a young white one, about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes, and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance. After breakfast, we were astonished by a visit from the Mahá Swámi, in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels; and *certes*, in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us, this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and our shooting apparatus; and, on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Rájah himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck, with a hook in the right hand and a knife in the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. 'Such a man,' thought I, 'at the head of his followers, must be invincible.' So perfectly different from the effeminate grandeur of most eastern

*175 *643 *648 ● 224

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

potentates.* Arrived at the spot, which was only about a mile off, we dismounted, and, while the people were preparing seats on trees for our reception, amused ourselves shooting arrows at a mark, in which, as usual, the Rájah beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Rájah between us, and sat in a snug little wicker-box with three guns of the Rájah's each, and two of his eunuchs to load our pieces. The Rájah had a single rifle carrying a twelve ounce ball, and two double ones, of one ounce each....The creature rolled over instantaneously, carrying away several small trees, as he extended his enormous bulk upon the ground....It stood ten feet high, and was in excellent condition; the tusks were two feet outside, and nearly three feet long when extracted; and the length of the body was very nearly the same as its height.....Here, supposing our day's work was concluded, we proposed to take leave, but we were yet to learn something further of the kind attentions of this excellent Prince. He told us, that having kept us so long from our own tiffin, it being then three o'clock, he had ordered a dinner to be brought out for us; and, to our surprise, we found a small house built of leaves, a table and chairs, a dinner, consisting of pillawe, mutton cutlets, curry, &c. all ready for us. Nor was this all: the Rájah followed us in, and begged us to excuse him, as he was not very well; but left his servants with guns, powder, shot, &c. and four elephants, desiring us to amuse ourselves after dinner as we pleased. We accordingly dined, and then beat a thick jungle for game, though without success, it being the dry season, when they retire into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. At five P. M., we returned to our palace, well satisfied with the adventures of the day.....On the 25th of March, we

175* 643* 648* 224 ●

175* 643* 648* 431

* Sorry shall I be, in the sequel, to reverse this most delightful, though airy vision; but truth, with me, is the first maxim, and it will force me to dispel the delightful romance which was here intruded on us by the most plausible appearances.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 The sequel may as well be anticipated here, to connect the whole in one. A few months after, when in my own house at Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearance of Mahomed Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I have saved his life, that the Rájah had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me, in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of every thing at the last barrier; but that he never would return. I saw him in a good place, shortly afterwards, well and happy. The Rájah, Lingrájender Wodeer died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the Musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I have heard of no cruelties committed by the present Mahá Swámi, who is described as a mild, inoffensive young man. [491] The English have had, however, little or no intercourse with that country, since 1811, a road being opened through Wynád to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own pioneers. [224] I have omitted to mention, that as this country abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they [136] should be hunted every season, and the former Rájah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger, after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers."

*175 *643 The above extracts give a tolerably correct idea of Lingarájah's character and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vírarájendra to the deposition of the present ex-rájah in 1834. Vírarájendra was impelled to deeds of blood by a naturally savage temperament, hardened by habits of internecine warfare in which he was engaged almost throughout life, and inflamed towards the end of his career by paroxysms of the darkest suspicions, and a melancholy ever hovering on the brink of insanity. His brother, Lingarája, had none of his redeeming qualities. His cruelty was without excuse. He

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspicious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport. An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadavala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226 ●

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 Of the third order of birds, the *Rasores* or *Scrapers*, Coorg can make a goodly show with a variety of Pigeons, of which the blue pigeon—*Kg.* tórapakki—is the most common, but the green and the yellow pigeon and the ring-dove are not scarce in the forests. The Peacock (Pavo cristatus; *Kg.* meilu) with its shrill morning call, and the timid jungle fowl (Gallus Sonneratii; *Kg.* kádgóli) with its self-betraying "cockadoodle doo" are numerous in bamboo jungles, especially during the last few years of bamboo seeding. Both species together with the Woodcock and the common Partridge (Perdix cinerea; *Kg.* ganjalakki) and the Quail (Coturnix) are at the time of the ragi crop frequently brought to Mercara for sale by a class of jungle people who are most expert in catching these birds, the voices of which they very cleverly imitate. In the neighbourhood of Subramanya peacocks may not be killed, as they are believed to be the vehicles of the god residing there. The neck-feathers of the jungle cock are much valued for their beauty, each being marked by roundish hornlike plates of various shades of yellow. The Coorgs keep these [232] as trophies, as the Indian does his hairy scalp. The single [226] feathers are turned into artificial flies, to fishes the most attractive bait, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid for by the devotee of "the gentle art." The Crow-pheasant or common Coucal (Centropus rufipennis), distinguished by its cinnamon brown wings, long tail and crow-like head, is very frequently seen on bamboo land, where it hides itself in the dense clumps, uttering as it slowly flies away a deep note [242] like a monkey. It feeds on insects and small reptiles and is eaten by the natives.

A few representatives of the fourth order of birds, the *Grallatores* or *Waders* are: the Egret (Egretta flavirostris; *Kg.* balya-póle = great crane) which towards the end of the monsoon is frequently seen stalking along paddy-fields or streams in search of prey. It is white as snow, about 3 feet high with

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 (*Kg.* karingere) which catches mice and small reptiles. It frequently lives upon the thatched roofs of native houses and its flesh is eaten by the lower classes. Remarkable for its beauty and graceful evolutions is the green Whip-snake (*Kg.* pache-pámbu), which is commonly seen in shrubs. In native opinion it enjoys the imaginary purity and sanctity of the Brahmin and its skin is said to get blistered by the very shadow of man, falling upon it! An extraordinary forest-snake is the Kánam-pámbu, which is said to have a crest upon its head like a cock. The one foot long Ira-tale or two-headed snake is considered as capable of progressing equally well forwards or backwards, being gifted with a head at either end of its body. The flying snake or Páram-pámbu is very thin, of a brownish black colour and 18 inches long. Equally thin, but shorter is the Elat-áni-murgu or writing-stile-snake, which is black with white spots. Other harmless snakes are: the Billulli, the Niru-kuduma, the Túra-pámbu or cane-snake, etc.

The *Batrachians*, or the family of *Frogs*, fill the air with their croaking concert before the monsoon and during the occasional breaks, prognosticating impending rain. There is the large bull-frog, which makes itself heard at night, the common brown frog, which chiefly infests paddy-fields and tanks, and a small green frog, that lives on shrubs and trees; but all of them are feeders on insects, which they catch very cleverly. Toads, very ugly and very large, are found wherever there is a convenient hiding place on damp ground.

The river Kávéri and its affluents and the small native tanks and even the paddy-field rills are well stocked with a great variety of *Fishes*, which are caught by every class of natives, who have leisure for and take pleasure in the sport. [226] Shooting, angling, netting, basketing and poisoning with [127] Cocculus Indicus are the usual methods of fishing. For the following remarks I am chiefly indebted to Dr. Nash's list of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431 602

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kiṇḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

231 222 237 [48] [32]

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [750] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals ●231 and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (now palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

"The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

[Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers, each holding as high as his face, an immense billhook or knife, the blade of which near the extremity could not be less than three inches wide and diminishing gradually towards the hilt. This formidable instrument, well known in Indian warfare under the name of the "Coorg knife", is often used as a sword, and when handled by men, who are not afraid to close with their antagonist, is said to be a most efficient weapon. 136* 231 411

"On a signal given by the Rajah a folding door was thrown open on one side of the court, and in stalked two immense royal tigers, held by several men on each side by long ropes, attached to collars round the animals' necks. These beasts appeared very tractable, for they allowed themselves to be led very close to us. I confess, I did not much like this degree of propinquity and eyed the slender cordage with some professional anxiety. Meanwhile the Rajah and his son and the officers of the household appeared quite unconcerned, though the tigers passed within a few yards of them, and, as it seemed to me, might easily have broken loose. 136* 231

"What degree of training these animals had undergone, I know not, but after a little while, the Rajah, probably to increase the surprise of his guest, directed the men to let go the ropes and to fall back. There we sat in the midst of the open court with a couple of full sized tigers in our company, and nothing on earth to prevent their munching us all up! The well fed and well bred beasts, however, merely lounged about, rubbed their noses together and then tumbling on the ground, rolled about like a couple of kittens at play. I could, however, detect the Rajah spying at me out of the corner of his eye and half smiling at the success of his trick. After a time the men were recalled and the tigers dragged off.

"A pair of lionesses and two furious looking buffaloes were then introduced, but nothing could be more innocent or more respectful to the Rajah and his son. Like Falstaff, in-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 deed, they seemed to have an instinctive knowledge of the
●231 true prince. Yet for all this, I caught myself several times edging my chair back a little bit and looking out for a clear place to escape, as the monsters stalked up and down the court, and once or twice actually touched the edge of our carpet with their feet. On these occasions, that part of the circle of guards which stood behind us advanced just so far as to bring our chairs on the outside of their ring and to place themselves between the beasts and us. On clapping their hands and flourishing their knives the lionesses and other beasts moved a little further off, after which the guards again dropped to the rear. Still this seemed rather a poor protection; at least I had my recollection so full of the rapid motions of the same class of animals, which I have seen baited at Mysore, that I could discover nothing which need have prevented the lionesses from whipping off the heads of the Rajah and the heir apparent, or at all events, that of their guest, who having no particular claims to the throne of Coorg, could reckon on none of the benefits of instinctive respect.

*136 'The Rajah gave orders for half a dozen tiger's cubs about
231 eight months old, and as many puppy dogs to be set to play
541 before us on the carpet, while a full grown royal tiger was at the same time dragged forward and pitted against a bear for a real battle in the open court. Any thing more disproportionate or absurd cannot be conceived than this match; and so, perhaps, the poor brutes thought, for fight they would not, although both of them were well thumped and forced against each other by the attendants. At length a brilliant thought struck the Rajah. 'Tie them together!' exclaimed his majesty; and accordingly the rope which was fastened to the tiger's collar was hitched to the belly band of the bear. Neither party liked this. The tiger roared and the bear growled while the Rajah and his son laughed and clapped their hands in ecstacy at their own good joke. Of course the guards and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Wadeer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear."

136 * 231 ● 541

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of

224 224 554 588

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 The fact is, that, as the jackal eats only the ripest berries, the beans are naturally of a good quality.

The mungoose or Ichneumon Múngos (Viverra mungo *Can.* kíra)—is frequently found on the bánes, where it is seen running from one copse to another. Its elongated, slender body with pearly, ash-grey fur and thick long tail, its pointed head and bright eyes and its rapid movements give it a pretty appearance, and, but for its wanton depredations amongst the poultry, it might become a useful pet, as [824] it destroys rats and snakes. The natives say that after its struggle with a poisonous snake, it takes recourse to the Nágadále (Ruta, Rue) the leaves of which act as an antidote.

Black bears (*Can.* karadi) are found in Marenád on the Pushpagiri, Kóte-betta and Kálur-betta, where there are colonies of beehives, for Master Bruin is very fond of honey. [262] His flesh is not eaten, but pieces of his skin are attached to [789] the necks of horses and cows, to keep off the evil eye. [231]

On the wooded banks of the Hatti and Shóran-hole and elsewhere there are small colonies of a species of otter-hound, which the natives call Nírunái or water-dog (Lutra Nair Cuv.) The animal is deep reddish brown on the back, lightest on the sides and below, lives in artificial burrows and subsists on fish, which it catches with great skill. It is eaten by the Yerawas.

Mice and *rats* there are more of in Coorg, than the farmer and house-owner would wish. The musk-rat betrays itself by its piercing shriek, but has a safeguard in its strong smell against its pursuing enemies. Great havoc has been done on some coffee plantations by the bamboo-rat (Golunda Ellioti) which is gregarious and for want of jungle-food often attacks in great numbers the coffee shrub, selecting the tender and succulent shoots and, to get at them, cutting off the primaries near the stem. Most wary of traps of any kind, this destructive animal is difficult to deal with. The field-rat (*Can.*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
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C #136 seen of its body from above is of a dark chocolate colour deepening into black along the centre of its back and tail, while the under parts are of a pale yellowish brown. When young, C [231] it is easily tamed and proves an amusing pet, but it tries its sharp teeth on most substances, that come within its power, and too confiding children, when ruffling its temper, may suffer harm. The Kurubas, who know the trees of the forest T [224] as familiarly as a police man the streets and houses of his beat, catch these squirrels by means of nets which they fix to branches that are in the track of the animals.

The grey flying squirrel or flying cat (Pteromys) has become better known since the destruction of so many forests, when hundreds of the harmless little animals were caught or shot. It is crepuscular in its habits and, unless disturbed, very rarely seen. Its home is in the holes of trees and it lives entirely on fruit, especially that of the wild sago palm, the toddy of which it is very fond of too. Strictly speaking, it cannot be said to fly, but is endowed with a furry membrane between the fore and hind limbs which enables it, when stretched out, to take leaps of almost incredible extent, sometimes 100 yards through which it passes with the swiftness of an arrow. In its flying mode of progression it moves invariably downwards, when it runs up a new tree and takes another leap, which is well sustained owing to the extreme lightness of the animal The flying membrane or parachute cannot be contracted, but is merely a lateral prolongation of the skin and therefore also covered with hair. The squirrel is of a dark grey colour with a black line down its face, which, with its prominent black eyes and grey nose, give it a peculiarly fiendish look, and it bites severely. Its fur is very soft C [262] and might be turned to good use. The flesh of all the 4 species of squirrels is eaten by the natives.

C [262] The common hare (*Can.* mola) is found chiefly in the open country, where long grass grows. The natives of all

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Báne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the ant-hills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [237]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Mussulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

• 231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat [578] swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. LeHARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or

[36* [262] [554] [714] [237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 [224] real foes, never turning to bay, as long as he has moving space before him. Bison shooting is a favourite sport, both amongst Coorgs and Europeans.

●231 The domesticated buffalo (*Can.* male: kóna; female: yemme) thrives very well in Coorg, but the existing breed is an inferior one; however, some Gaulikas from Dharwar have lately introduced a much larger and more powerful kind which will gradually improve the native stock. Buffaloes are more numerous in the woody districts especially in Kiggatnád and wherever there is marshy land, which is most congenial to their amphibious habits, as they delight during the hot hours of the day in seeking refuge against heat and flies in stagnant pools, where they wallow with supreme gusto with only their noses above water. Buffaloes are a treasure to the farmer; their strength qualifies them for the plough, for the threshing floor and for carrying burdens; they yield more manure and twice the quantity of milk of a common cow and of a far richer kind. With such a list of good qualities one may feel inclined to overlook the extreme ugliness of the beast. It is a bulky, clumsy animal of a greyish colour, with long, annulated horns, lying generally on the back of its thick-set neck; its stupid, motionless look, combined with its gurgling bellow, render its presence unwelcome, though it has nothing of the vicious temper of the hill buffaloes of the Todas.

*136 Of the deer-tribe there are several representatives in Coorg: the samber, spotted deer and jungle-sheep.

The samber or elk, (*Rusa Aristotelis*; *Can.* kadave) is a fine large animal with antlers of great size, resembling those of the stag. It is more frequent in the great mountain forests. It is not gregarious and ruts and drops its horns in spring. The spotted deer (*Axis maculata*; *Can.* sárga) haunts thick [231] jungles in the vicinity of water. It is timid mild and easily domesticated, an elegant pet whilst young, but becomes rather mischievous with age, as it not only butts at children, but

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eagerly devours any paper within reach. The female has no horns and is smaller than the male, which reaches a hight at the shoulder of 2 feet 6 or 8 inches. The skin is at all times of a rich fawn colour, spotted with white. In almost every Coorg house one finds some horns of the spotted deer, fixed to the walls for hanging clothes on. 136* [231] [237]

The most delicate and beautiful of the deer-tribe is the jungle-sheep—*Can.* kuringi—which somewhat resembles an antelope. It is about 18 inches high, with short horns, a little twisted, their roots for the first inch and a half being enveloped in hair. Its colour is fawn, lighter towards the belly, i a legs are very thin, but in speed it is like the passing wind. Its graceful form, mild, bright eye and harmless habits make it an interesting little pet, but it does not long survive its captivity. The flesh of all the deer-tribe is highly esteemed by the natives. [231] [262]

The common pig and the wild hog abound, and their flesh is preferred by the Coorgs to all other meat. Both kinds thrive very well, but the former is not bred with any care and its unsavoury habits do not recommend its flesh for European consumption. What the goat is to the Mussulman, the pig is to the Coorg! [262] [231]

The largest of the Coorg Mammalia is the elephant (áne), but it is so well known, that it needs no particular description. The Coorg elephants are as large and powerful as any others of Southern India. They are gregarious, keeping in droves of 15 to 30, under a leader who directs their movements. They inhabit indiscriminately all the woody parts, but particularly those towards the eastern boundary. They are ferocious and mischievous, destroying garden cultivation and crops of paddy and sugarcane. As they are excellent swimmers, the Kávéri is no barrier to their depredations. When met in droves, they seldom attack the traveller, but it is dangerous to encounter a single elephant. Such brutes, called

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 "Rogues", are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree.

[224] Elephants in Coorg are caught in pits, covered over with a slight framework to conceal them and placed accross the paths which the animals frequent. It is however no easy matter to beguile the sagacious creatures into this kind of [231] trap. If caught young they are easily tamed, but when of maturer age, a year and sometimes two are necessary to bring them into subjection. There are now no tame elephants kept in Coorg, but the Rajahs used to maintain many. Wild elephants are now far less numerous and the periodical elephant hunts less productive, though the Coorgs like true highlanders are as eager for sport as ever. The indiscriminate slaughter [656] of these useful beasts has however been forbidden by Government, and they are now only caught alive.

175 224 There is a granite slab in the Superintendent's Cutcherry in Mercara with an engraved record of a grand elephant hunt in the beginning of the reign of the late Rajah, which may well excite the jealous astonishment of modern Nimrods. The facts divested of oriental flourish are simply these: In 1822 the ryots complained of the great destruction of their fields and houses, caused by numerous herds of elephants, when the Rajah, "recollecting that it was the duty of a king to destroy the wicked and assist the helpless," resolved upon a wholesale destruction of the beasts and within 38 days he killed with his own hand 233 elephants and his soldiers caught 181 alive! Well may he exclaim in conclusion: "Is this not a great wonder, that men caught elephants alive, as if they were mice, and killed herds of them by using their seven weapons with the destructive force of roaring thunder?"

*136 The *Ornithologist* not less than the Botanist finds in Coorg a fruitful field for his researches, for birds of almost every tribe are plentiful throughout the country. The Mysore Museum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

sucker (Caprimulgus Asiaticus) in its modest greyish-black 136*
plumage is often observed in twilight along hedges or in abandoned buildings. Its flight is short and noiseless. Amongst the beautiful Tragonidae there is the Harpactus fasciatus or Malabar Trogon, a solitary bird of splendid plumage, that delights in the stillness of the forest, where it seizes the flitting insects on the wing. Remarkable for the gaudy brilliancy of its light blue plumage is the Indian roller or blue Jay (Coracias Indicus). It is frequently seen on jungle clearings or coffee estates perched on a solitary dry tree, where it freely surveys its hunting ground and discerns with wary look any approaching danger. It is difficult to get at, though it may be seen all the year round. Nearly allied to the jay are the Kingfishers. Of these brilliant birds, which are rather common along streams and paddy-fields we have three species: the brown headed (Halcyon leucocephalus), the white breasted (H. Smyrnensis) and the common Indian kingfisher (Alcedo Bengalensis; *Kg.* mingotti—fishcatcher). Their habits are similar; they live on small fishes such as stickle-backs and minnows; perched immovably upon some overhanging twig, they watch for a passing fish, upon which they suddenly dart with their long sharp bill, and kill and eat it. Their flight is very swift. They lay their round white eggs in holes of banks.

Amongst the *Scansores* or Climbers foremost are the parrots, which are very numerous in Coorg, especially in bamboo jungles. They are remarkable for their beautiful [231]
colours, their climbing skill, their powerful bill, their fleshy tongue and their power of imitating the human voice; they are therefore great pets with natives and Europeans. The large green species (Palæornis torgatus; *Kg.* mále-gini) with a rose coloured ring round its neck, is for its docility and power of imitation most valued. There is also the blue winged Parrokeet (Palæornis columboides), the blue headed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

long yellow legs and straight yellow bill. It keeps in small flocks. The little green Heron (Butatrides Javanicus; *Kg.* kiru-póle = small crane), the Indian Waterhen (Gallinula) and the Plover or Peevit (*Kg.* uppu-títe, imitating its cry) are found in marshy places, likewise the Snipe (Gallinago stenura; *Kg.* bandu-koneya = mud squatter) whose flesh is in great estimation with the Coorgs and Europeans; also the green Sandpiper (Aclitis Ochropus) may occasionally be seen. 136* [262]

As there are no large tanks in Coorg, few of the *Natatores* or *swimming birds* are to be found. There is only the Wild Duck or Teal of a larger and smaller species, which the Coorgs call Kóku and Yerande-pakki; the latter dive under the water, as soon as they observe a hunter and remain submerged for a long time. Geese and Turkeys are kept domesticated, but the cold and wet monsoon weather does not agree with turkeys. [312] [231]

A rapid glance over the remaining portion of the Coorg Fauna will be arrested by but a few species of general interest. The *Reptiles* are represented by two kinds of Tortoises, a variety of Lizards, Snakes and Frogs.

The *Tortoises* are found in paddy-fields and small tanks. The shell of one in my possession is 11 inches long and 7 inches broad, but of a bony nature, unfit for ornamental use. Since the devastations of the coffee-borer common Lizards, Bloodsuckers, and Chameleons, all of them insect-feeders, have become of greater importance to the agriculturist. Alligators are occasionally seen in the Káveri, especially near Rámaswámy Kanawé. Last year one of 9 feet in length was caught in Beppunad with a woman's nose-ring and a silver bracelet in his stomach.

Snakes are rather plentiful in Coorg, but the subject has not yet received sufficient attention, to enable me to give the correct name of the different species. Classifying them as poisonous and harmless snakes, the native name may at least

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their [241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and [231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with 361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building 712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one [342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of [173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan. [726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over- 342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above 342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and [824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, 175*
by Manton and Jover; fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., then an 643*
air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven P. M., 648*
and torchlight had succeeded the daylight in his courtyard; we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram- [541]
fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, [231]
with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

I must now describe our own habitation, built on a small 175
island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry, for the sole 648*
accommodation of Europeans. It is a large square, having 574
a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandah all round it, and four bed-rooms projecting at the angles of the verandah, all on an upper story, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, etc. It stands on a square of seventy feet, the verandah having thirty-eight glass windows, with Venetian blinds outside. The bed-rooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors; every part being neatly

231, 113 Coorg AW5

[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

231 222 237 [439] [432]

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

it is an unsavoury pet, and its capricious and vindictive temper, when getting old, render it a dangerous playmate for children. 136*

The grey or Hanumán monkey (Semnopithecus entellus, Duff)—*Kg.* Kóde—prefers a more open country and does not shun the neighbourhood of native dwellings, where there are Upali trees of the fruit of which it is very fond. Troops of them may sometimes be seen on an open glade near a large tree, gambolling unmindful of the passing by of a native, but quickly disappearing in the dense foliage on the appearance of a European, chattering all the while with their little ones, whose frightened expression is pitiful, clinging to their sides. This monkey is considerably larger than the former species and has a long tail, which is of service in gymnastic feats on slender branches. Its face is bare and rather reddish. It is more docile than the black monkey, but when big more vindictive and dangerous. A case happened in Mercara, where one of these monkeys attacked a baby in its cradle and might have killed it, but for the timely arrival of the parents.

The brown monkey—*Kg.* Mucha—is only found in the Mále-kádu and eagerly hunted by the Coorgs, who eat its flesh roasted and in curry, and consider it a great delicacy. [224] [262] A soup made of its flesh is given to sick and weakly people. When full grown, this monkey is in a sitting posture about two feet high; it has a long tail, a light grey face and chest. It is never kept as a pet by natives. Of the skin of all the three named species the Coorgs make their tom toms or drums. [237] [534]

A little animal of the Lemur kind is the slender *Loris* (Loris gracilis. Linn). The Coorgs call them Chínge-kúli or devils of the Chínge or soapnut shrub which grows all over the central and northern plateau of Coorg. Its silent and slow gait, its thin limbs, its closely set and large protruding eyes and pointed visage are enough to frighten on a sudden en-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Bâne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the ant-hills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [237]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Musulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

136*

perched on a tree keep up a continual chirping. Its pending retort-shaped nest, which is over a foot in length, is woven of long fine grass. The entrance is from below and formed by the two inches wide neck of the retort, the main body of the nest is laterally compressed and divided by an open partition wall into 2 compartments, of which the lower one is occupied by the hatching bird that lays 2 or 3 white little eggs.

There are several species of larks rather common in Coorg. They have much the same plumage and habits as our European warbling lark, and are sometimes caged by the natives.

One of the largest birds here is the Hornbill (Buceros cavatus; *Kg.* Malérapa, malé forest, arapa sound, i. e. the forest resounding bird). It is upwards of 4 feet in length; black on the belly, chin, wings and back, with one band across the tail, the rest of which is white, as also the neck and parts of the wing. The curved, large bill, which now lies before me and which belonged to a male bird, is vermillion above, with a black central line, and yellowish on the sides, the lower mandible is whitish and the base below the eye black. On the upper mandible there is an extraordinary prominence of vermillion colour, 4 inches broad and 8¼ inches long, terminating behind in a black curvature and the concave front uniting its dip with the ridge of the beak, so that the two sides rise to a narrow ledge 2 inches above the true bill, from which they are distinguished by a black triangular stripe. The appendage looks as if 2 horizontal horns were superadded to the bill, which from point to gape is in a straight line 11¼ inches in length, and from point to the end of the protuberance I measured 16¼ inches. The Coorgs make powder flasks of its hollow bill and the quills they use for writing. The noise of its wings, when flying, is very loud and its progress is so slow, that a man can follow it. In its prey it is omnivorous. [237] [413]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 Of the third order of birds, the *Rasores* or *Scrapers*, Coorg can make a goodly show with a variety of Pigeons, of which the blue pigeon—*Kg.* tórapakki—is the most common, but the green and the yellow pigeon and the ring-dove are not scarce in the forests. The Peacock (Pavo cristatus; *Kg.* meiln) with its shrill morning call, and the timid jungle fowl (Gallus Sonneratii; *Kg.* kádgóli) with its self-betraying "cockadoodle doo" are numerous in bamboo jungles, especially during the last few years of bamboo seeding. Both species together with the Woodcock and the common Partridge (Perdix cinerea; *Kg.* ganjalakki) and the Quail (Coturnix) are at the time of the ragi crop frequently brought to Mercara for sale by a class of jungle people who are most expert in catching these birds, the voices of which they very cleverly imitate. In the neighbourhood of Subramanya peacocks may not be killed, as they are believed to be the vehicles of the god residing there. The neck-feathers of the jungle cock are much valued for their beauty, each being marked by roundish hornlike plates of various shades of yellow. The Coorgs keep these as trophies, as the Indian does his hairy scalp. The single feathers are turned into artificial flies, to fishes the most attractive bait, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid for by the devotee of "the gentle art." The Crow-pheasant or common Coucal (Centropus rufipennis), distinguished by its cinnamon brown wings, long tail and crow-like head, is very frequently seen on bamboo land, where it hides itself in the dense clumps, uttering as it slowly flies away a deep note like a monkey. It feeds on insects and small reptiles and is eaten by the natives.

[237] [226] [262]

A few representatives of the fourth order of birds, the *Grallatores* or *Waders* are: the Egret (Egretta flavirostris; *Kg.* balya-póle = great crane) which towards the end of the monsoon is frequently seen stalking along paddy-fields or streams in search of prey. It is white as snow, about 3 feet high with

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the púJári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in HÁlerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Pilidta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauridta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

[P. 56]

CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] [354] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight [474]

764
783

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorks used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

241

Occupation

The Amma Coorks are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428
771
+2
262
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The Amma Coorks follow the Coorks in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorks in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the
[167] thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The 245 leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the 137 upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee.

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected 245 on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the [407] parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market.

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of 245 nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the 134 shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is 241 generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[1] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality.

[1] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

244 137 *English Vegetables* are satisfactorily grown by Mercara residents and still more so by some planters on their estates. Potatoes and Cabbage thrive remarkably well; also Peas, Beans, Knoll kohl, Salad, Beets, Turnips and Carrots of excellent quality are produced. The natives do now only attempt to cultivate these vegetables, but the markets are unsupplied with them.

244 *Native Vegetables*, which are reared on patches of paddy-fields after harvest time, or in small gardens, in the villages about Fraserpet, include: French Beans, Radishes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Indian Corn, Brinjals, Chillies, Coriander, Amaranthus and others, but even these are not plentiful in the Mercara market, and what there is comes chiefly from Fraserpet.

243 *Dry grain*, such as Ragy, Avary, Tavary, Huruli and others are chiefly grown in the open country of the Nanjarájpatna taluq lying along the western banks of the Kávéri. It is there also, that Tobacco is cultivated for sale, whilst in most of the Coorg farms little reserved patches of the narcotic is grown for home-consumption; but the Coorg tobacco is of an indifferent description, no particular care being bestowed upon its cultivation. The introduction of a new seed would [248] have a beneficial influence. A few Hemp plants are here and [296] there grown near native houses, but more for the use of smoking the intoxicating leaves, than for the sake of the fibre.

● 241 243 Similar to other hilly parts of India, there prevails a primitive mode of cultivation called "kumari," which is practised by the lowest classes of natives, the Kurumbas and Kudiss, chiefly on the western slopes of the Ghats. They cut and burn a patch of jungle, and plant either the small reddish hill-rice, sown broadcast upon the slightly dug up land, or Ragy. The former yields a 10 fold, the latter a 200 to 300 fold return. Such fields are only once or twice cultivated, when they are abandoned in favour of a new piece

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of jungle and not resumed till after 5 or 6 years. This wanton jungle-waste has however been put a stop to by Government and brought within reasonable limits. 241 243 [656]

Bringing to a close the subject of Arbori-horti-culture in Coorg, it were ungrateful, did I omit to mention the many and beautiful exotic flowers and shrubs, that ornament the gardens of European residents and recall by their presence sweet remembrances of distant Home; I forbear however to enumerate any beyond the modest Violet, the fragrant Rose and the showy Dahlia, and leave it to the fancy of the reader to associate with these types of spring, summer and autumn the many other garden flowers, that are familiar to Europeans. 247

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pámi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[476] the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-road the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

3:lyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the former's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity. 823 776

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east. [342]

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun. [782] [243]

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death. [764]

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities. [184]

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here. 796 305 292

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath. [584] [783]

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttanna of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p 228]

VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astrologer, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 This latter rite is the crucial point of the festival which lasts nine
788 to ten days, the seven days previous to the sheaf-cutting being spent in singing, dancing, and playing games. On the day following the cutting of sheaves there is a domestic feast, a dance, and sports for all the villagers. This is followed by a dance for the entire *nāḍ*, and a collective hunt and dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*).

243 The rite of cutting the sheaves takes place on the full-moon day
787 in the month of Scorpio under either of the constellations, *krittikē* or *rōhiṇi*. Formerly the hereditary astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi in Nālknāḍ used to decide the day and time for the ritual cutting of sheaves for the whole of Coorg Proper excluding Kiggaṭnāḍ. The local astrologer then decided for each high caste *okka* in his village the member who was most suitable for performing the rite of cutting the sheaves. The member selected for this honour had to wear the white gown.

243 On the festival day, very early in the morning, various leaves and
788 creepers are gathered for the rite of *néré kaṭṭuvudu*. The trees and creepers most common locally are chosen for this purpose, and they frequently vary from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*. They seem to symbolize the principle of fertility in vegetable nature. A wish for growth is also indicated in another rite, and such a wish is commonly indicated in harvest festivals in south India.

A part of the kitchen floor is cleaned with a solution of cow dung and a new mat is spread on it. A tripod-stool is made to stand on the mat, and a dish-lamp is placed on the stool. A harvest-basket containing the leaves, and short lengths of creepers, is kept near the dish-lamp. Later, at an auspicious time, a leaf of each variety is taken, arranged one upon the other, a short length of *inyoḷi* creeper crowning the pile of leaves. The leaves are then rolled round the creeper and the roll is secured with a length of *achchi* fibre. A number of such rolls are made.

A harvest-basket is filled with paddy and this is placed on the mat near the dish-lamp. Two measures and a small pot, filled with paddy, rice, and rice-flour respectively, are arranged one upon the other on the paddy in the basket. The new bamboo vessel (*kutti*) which the Mēda brought in the morning is stood near the basket on the mat. A little milk, honey, and *ghī* are poured into the vessel. Bits of coconut, fresh ginger, and green rattan cane, and a small quantity of gingelly grains are also put into it. Finally, the new sickle which the blacksmith brought is left in it.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The members of the *okka* then eat a dish of cooked harvest yam (*putri geṇasu*, which ripens at the time of the harvest festival) mixed with honey and *ghi*.

At the auspicious time fixed by the astrologer, the sheaf-cutter leaves the house carrying the bamboo vessel in his hand. Before him goes a girl carrying a dish-lamp. A band marches farther ahead.

As soon as he reaches the rice-field, the sheaf-cutter salutes the sacred eastern direction and the field. He ties a leaf-roll to the bottom of a rice plant and pours a little of the contents of the bamboo vessel on it. Everyone shouts '*poli, poli, dēva*' (increase, increase, O god), and a shot is fired from a gun. The sheaf-cutter cuts a number of plants, taking care to see that each time he cuts an odd number.

After the party reaches home, the sheaf-cutter's feet are washed, and he is given milk to drink. He deposits the bamboo vessel in the kitchen.

He then prepares *yēḷakki puṭṭ* (seven rice-pudding), kneading together a quantity of rice-flour, a few plantains, some milk and honey, and seven of each of the following: new rice grains from the sheaves, gingelly grains, tiny stones, and bits of coconut, ginger, and green rattan cane. Small balls are made of this mixture and offered to the lamps in the south-western room and ancestor-shrine. Later everyone eats a little of the mixture.

Leaf-rolls (*néré*) and sheaves are tied to every part of the house. The sweet, liquid dish, *pāyasa*, is prepared and into this are put seven new rice grains.

The rites performed at the harvest festival stress, directly or indirectly, the great value of rice to Coorgs. The astrologer decides not only when the sheaves should be cut but who should be chosen for this important task. New articles are used for this ritual. Elaborate taboos surround the person of the sheaf-cutter, and solidarity rites, in which valuable articles like milk and honey are used, are performed towards the sheaves before cutting them.

Some of the rites performed, like tying plants and creepers locally prolific to every part of the house, and uttering a prayer for increase before cutting the sheaves, express a desire for plenty. The ritual eating of the new rice, and the eating of the yams and vegetables which ripen at this time, are another aspect of the harvest rites.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 788 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhagaṇḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 186 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignorance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by [723] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It is the sib, moreover, that

614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:daga near Mercara at the padra:|inamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:ru, a dance called koḍia:ṭu, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a koḍi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the koḍi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the
[243] staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: putēri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preli-
minary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at
sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of
fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those
present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase,
O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a
national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[525] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
[533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[526] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but
the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance,
which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths
and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of
ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the
monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[711] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The
Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the
astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the
celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house
is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife.
Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When
this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[742] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt
before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show
offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
[526] festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then
proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the
afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day
is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed
by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt
on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company.
The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

[P. 56]

CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates; but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been 243 formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

782 [221] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On [354] an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

3:lyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race. The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves, carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered. A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

824
771
291
782

Tree Worship

243
796

Huttari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[927] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate
[167] their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [772] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

243 Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been collected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and [354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they [782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2¼ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

seed. The seed paddy is heaped up on the north side of the house, watered for 3 days, then covered up with plantain leaves and stones, till it begins to sprout. The nursery ground has meanwhile again been ploughed and harrowed, and the water allowed to run off, so that the grain when sown is just imbedded in the soft mud. After 20 or 30 days the blades have attained a height of about one foot and the seedlings are ready for transplanting. Beautiful as are corn and clover fields in Europe, there is no vegetation there that surpasses in beauty the brilliant green of a rice nursery. The eye is irresistibly attracted to these bright spots and rests upon them with the utmost delight! 243

Regulated by the monsoon rain the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women, covered with leaf-umbrellas, called Goragas, that rest on the head and protect the whole of the body, pull out the plants from the nursery, tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled with the Tawe, "till the soil is soft as treacle, white as milk the foaming surface," when all the men of the house, placed in a line and standing almost knee deep in the muddy fields, begin the transplanting in which women are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited over the field; each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left and with the right hand presses with great rapidity 6 or 8 seedlings together into the mud, keeping a regular distance of about 6 inches. Before the completion of the largest field an open space of about 10 feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorgs' race-ground and offers right good sport which greatly exhilirates their monotonous task. All the men engaged in the work—and 15 are reckoned for a 100 butties of land—may run, but 4 or 5 only obtain a prize. Wearing merely a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run, for which their powerful [293] 243 461 526

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 [989] As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Males along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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of jungle and not resumed till after 5 or 6 years. This wanton jungle-waste has however been put a stop to by Government and brought within reasonable limits. 241 243 [656]

Bringing to a close the subject of Arbori-horti-culture in Coorg, it were ungrateful, did I omit to mention the many and beautiful exotic flowers and shrubs, that ornament the gardens of European residents and recall by their presence sweet remembrances of distant Home; I forbear however to enumerate any beyond the modest Violet, the fragrant Rose and the showy Dahlia, and leave it to the fancy of the reader to associate with these types of spring, summer and autumn the many other garden flowers, that are familiar to Europeans. 247

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632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara and Pulinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévára-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congregation (1857).

632 [131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the Huttari- and Gauri-feast at the Rájah's palaces for exhibiting their national dance, accompanied by singing and instrumental music. At the general request of the people it was abolished, as the English Government neither fed nor gave the dancers presents on these occasions. 651 423

The *house-tax* is paid by every farmer at the rate of 9 As. 7 P. per family, Pariahs paying only half that sum. Merchants and other classes pay according to their caste or trade from 3 As. 2¼ P. to 3 Rs. 10 As. 10 P. per house. 243 423 651

The *Dhúli-paddy-tax* was originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily given to the Haléri-Jangam who first pretended to be satisfied with an offering of the refuse paddy (Dhúli *Can.* dust) but, who on having usurped the Coorg Samsthán, imposed the tax by right on all ryots, vide p. 230. Since 1834 the rule was, that ryots, cultivating from 25 to 50 butties of wet land, had to pay ¾ of a butty of paddy—but no refuse!—and for 50 and upwards 1¼ butty of paddy to Government. In Gadinád and Yedavanád the ryots paid three Hannies or six seers in addition to every rupee paid for the land rent instead of the Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The paddy thus collected amounted in 1835 to 3,323 butties and in 1868-69, when this impost was commuted into a money payment of Rs. 3—3—7 per 1¼ butty or 120 seers,—this being the average market price of paddy for the 5 previous years—, it yielded Rs. 18,304—6—3 which at the above rate represents 8,516 butties, an increase of nearly 2¼ times and a considerable item in the land revenue!

The *Inám-holdings*, or rentfree lands, are either granted to religious institutions or for service rendered to the State and represent a nominal land-tax of Rs. 17,298—8—4. For *Dry-cultivation* the land is divided into fields and pieces of ground, denominated in the Registers respectively "Sargas" and "Tundus," each of the latter measuring from one to two cawnies and the former comprising from one to eight tundus. 423 651

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

needles, in the tiny *chunḍekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīranḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*maṇṇaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

[195] 'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appacheṭṭolanḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanḍa *okka*.'

[245] [1] *Chunḍekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

133 ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Bengunad [491] Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmagiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemala, Igguteppa, Devarabetta, Tadiandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamala. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmagiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyalemale. Many spurs from the Brahmagiris branch off over the whole of Kiggatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittangala, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg. The Bengunad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara. One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kallurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanagalu hill.

137 Coorg was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one [245] has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorg (South) impenetrable evergreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree 133 is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November [137] morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmagiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kudaremukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilgiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.

231 222 237 [431] [432]

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night. cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [451] [452] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

C 133 I [118] [211]

two rude stone structures, with the customary imprint of two feet (páda) of celestial origin!

Amongst the many ridges that branch off from the Subramanya range of the Ghats the most remarkable is that, which attains its greatest height in Kóte-betta, about 9 miles north of Mercara. Its elevation is over 5000 feet, and its base covers a very large extent of country. Its summit, which is divided into two peaks, one rather pointed – the Harangal-betta—and the other broad, forms a comparatively flat table-land, while its sides are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses. Close to the apex there are two reservoirs of water, one for the use of the Brahmins and one for the Coorgs, which all the year round retain a constant supply. Close to the summit on a spacious platform is a small temple of rough granite slabs dedicated to Shiva. This hill as well as the Nárokal-betta offer, on account of their height and central position, the finest general view of Coorg, and even to the lover of nature, familiar with mountain glories in Scotland, Switzerland or Italy, no more delightful excursion could be recommended than that to these hills.

C [312]

From Kóte-betta to the north is another ridge running parallel with it, the Shanthalli hills, and beyond them is a bluff hill with almost a precipitous declivity on its western face—the Múkri-betta (múku, nose) with a fine coffee plantation at its base.

C [245]

The last remarkable range, that extends from the northern frontier of Coorg down to the Kávéri almost due south, is the Yélusávira hills with the Málimbi and Kanangala peak. The former is distinguished by its beautifully conical shape which strikes the eye in every part of Coorg.

The Geological formation of the Coorg mountains is indicated by the sharply defined outline of the Western Ghats, a feature characteristic of granitic rocks. The constant action

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 and the Brambles: Rubus Lasiocarpus or country raspberry, R. Rugosus a scandent, prickly shrub and R. Wallichiana
[245] which yields a delicious fruit. The Conocephalus nivens
[314] appears here in great abundance, and proves a troublesome weed on some coffee plantations. Its stem yields a beautiful fibre much resembling that of the Rheea or China grass plant.

The forests in the Ghat region are so dense and tangled by thorny underwood and creepers, that they can only be penetrated by beaten paths and under the guidance of one familiar with their formidable mazes. The many densely shaded mountain rills and torrents are generally lined with a great variety of ferns, prominent amongst which is the stately *Tree fern*. In other places delicate reeds (Wotte) stud the more humid banks of streams. Stout ratans with terrible spines and slender flagelli lashing the air to keep, as it were, intruders at a distance, climb in all directions and surmount with their feathery leaves the highest trees. Favored by the constantly moist atmosphere the stems of many of the trees are speckled with lichens or covered with rare orchids, mosses, and other parasites especially the Mandali-parasite with its large glossy leaves, irregularly cut on one half of the limb. Festoons of wild pepper and gigantic creepers, which again support the more slender herbaceous vines of Convolvulus, Thimbergia,[1] Ipomoea, &c. stretch from tree to tree in the most fantastic interlacings and gorgeously decorate the grand timber trees verdant with their foliage and many hued flowers.

[134] The soil, almost everywhere covered with a humid rich stratum of vegetable mould, highly favors the growth of moisture-loving plants, such as the Indian Arrowroot (Curcuma augustifolia), the long rooted Turmeric (Curcuma longa), the Wild Ginger (Zingiber cassumunar) and especially the highly valued Cardamom.

Wherever the hills are denuded of forest, they are clothed

[1] [Errata: This should read "Thunbergia". See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 ~ Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a dense coarse grass, which at times greatly impedes their ascent. As the western forests are left and the eastern districts approached, many of the trees just enumerated are still met with, but added thereto others more characteristic of a drier climate. On entering into the more open country, there are found upon the grassy glades (Báné) smaller trees and shrubs, disposed with an artless grace, that the landscape gardener in vain seeks to imitate. Here spring and summer, in sweet embrace, hold perpetual sway, and the very air, so cool and fresh, seems imbued with life and health. 137

The aromatic Jasmine with its pure white flowers, the Coorg Rose in its rustic simplicity, the Gloriosa superba with its flaming corolla, the Melastoma malabathricum with its strange looking ribbed leaves and splendid mauve coloured flowers, the Coorg Lilac (Callicarpa Wallichiana) with its small red cymes of flowers, and the Adisia humilis with translucent rose coloured flowers, that look as if they had been cut out of a rare cornelian; these and many other flowering shrubs and herbs greet the eye here.

As we approach the Coorg houses, we come upon groves of Orange, Lime, Guava (Psidium pyriferum), Rose-apple (Jambosa vulgaris), Pomegranate, and clumps of Plantain trees, all of which thrive remarkably well. The Bastard Sago is much esteemed for its toddy and the Areca palm occasionally keeps its company, and their foliage, blended with the dense crown of the stately mango or jack tree, forms a beautiful back ground to the large paddy flats below. [245] [273]

We enter now upon the eastern or bamboo district of Coorg called Kanawé-kádu. The character of this district is indicated by the prevalence of large clumps of bamboo, interspersed with Blackwood, Matti, Hony, Teak, Sandal and other trees. Whoever had the good luck of seeing a Coorg bamboo jungle a few years ago when in its full vigour of growth, cannot have failed to be struck with the elegance and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16 to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. 137 The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. 314 Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The [313] Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and [372] sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Hedde-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" [386] furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small [388] fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure [386] black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts [333] bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very [281] strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* [313] (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On [245] account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to [271] many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is [251] Preserved in sugar.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa),
314 though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its
[386] scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg Laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of
[278] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia.
137 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave
245 Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. The re-
137 cognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has
314 brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Sponea Wighttii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-mdeina-mara*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 179 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

now over fifty and the change already effected in the appearance of the country would surprise one who left Coorg 10 years ago. The capabilities of the province as a coffee-growing country have long been known to the natives, and it is a matter of surprise, that the European enterprise did not enter on the field till a much later date. It is conjectured that in the time of the Coorg Rajahs some Moplas, to whom they had given land near Nalknád, introduced the shrub from seed, which was brought from "Mocha" or perhaps second hand from Munzerabad. Its successful and profitable cultivation was at first concealed from the Coorgs, but these were shrewd enough to find out for themselves, that, whilst none of the fabled fatal consequences followed the cultivation of the shrub, there was a ready and lucrative sale for the produce. Through the exertions of the first British Superintendent, Captain Le Hardy, who took a deep interest in the material prosperity of the country, the coffee plant became almost universal, and now there is hardly a Coorg or any native house, that does not pride itself in a coffee-garden, comprising, it may be, a few trees or as many acres.

245 177

The native mode of cultivation was exceedingly simple. The plants, reared from seed in a nursery, were in the monsoon put out on a shady hill-slope, the underwood of which had been previously cleared away. An occasional weeding was all the attention bestowed upon the plants which in 3 or 4 years, according to the density of the covering shade, gave a promising crop, that was picked, dried and disposed of in the husk to the merchant, as they did with their cardamoms, the price of dry cherry coffee averaging from 7 to 10 rupees per batty of 80 seers measure.

When coffee cultivation was taken in hand by European skill and energy, the industry soon assumed greater importance. Mr. Fowler, the first European Planter, opened up the Mercara Estate in 1854, Mr. H. Mann became the pioneer on

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245 177 the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Perambadi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya founded Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country! Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the example of the European planter, and opened up large estates; private and public companies were formed to embark in the lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

474 245 177 434

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249]

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee. 245 137

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market. 245 [407]

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[1] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality. 245 134 241

[1] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (Period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 Of almost equal importance with manuring is the pruning of the trees, whereby the extravagant elaboration of the sap is checked and the fertility of the soil economised. It is this operation which makes the planter most familiar with his trees and which impresses upon the appearance of an estate as decided a stamp, as the system of training characterizes a school. It is amusing to hear a planter call one's attention to this and that "dear little tree", which he has "brought round by pruning"; but these are often the men who do justice to a plantation and who eventually succeed!

245 439 435 The export of coffee for the last 12 years, as will be seen from the subjoined table, has with the exception of the last two years been steadily increasing.

Statement of exports of Coffee from Coorg

from 1857—1869 in maunds of which 4 are equal to 1 Cwt.

Year	Coffee in maunds	Avoirdupois weight			Value at Rs. 500 per ton
		Tons.	Cwts.	Qrs.	
1857—58	46,336	579	4	0	289,600
1858—59	66,862	835	15	2	417,850
1859—60	1,11,768	1,379	2	0	689,550
1860—61	1,28,412	1,605	3	0	802,550
1861—62	1,53,781	1,922	5	1	961,125
1862—63	1,40,113	1,751	8	1	875,700
1863—64	2,34,182	2,927	5	2	1,463,625
1864—65	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1865—66	2,50,000	3,125	0	0	1,562,500
1866—67	2,60,000	3,250	0	0	1,625,000
1867—68	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1868—69	2,20,700	2,758	15	0	1,379,375
	20,92,154	26,133	17	2	13,066,875

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The extent of actual cultivation is difficult to estimate, 245 311
owing to the survey being incomplete. The land under coffee cultivation on the 1st April 1870 was 5,222 acres less than on the same date in 1869, when 55,750 acres were held by Europeans and 29,930 acres by natives, or a total of 85,780 acres, yielding a landtax of Rs. 91,251 whilst the acreage in 1869-70 produced only Rs. 89,942. The assessment for 245 651
each holder is, after an exemption for the first 4 years, from the fifth to the ninth year 1 rupee per acre and rupees 2 ever after whether cultivated or uncultivated land. The planters, however, hope that Government will reduce this landtax to 1 rupee per acre in consideration of the sore disappointments and losses from unforeseen causes, under the pressure of which 204 acres have already been resigned by planters and, to recover rupees 3,497 for assessment due, several estates amounting to 3,702 acres have been resumed and sold by Government.

Chinchona cultivation, has been initiated on a small scale 249
by Government in 1863 in a favourable locality 3 miles to the east of Mercara. There are now several hundred trees in a thriving condition, that yield quantities of seed for distribution and for rearing new plants in the hothouse, which was erected for the purpose on the premises of the Central School. Plants have already been distributed to those taluq cutcherries, in the compounds of which they were thought likely to grow, and the experiment has to some extent proved successful. Seed and plants have also been given to private persons. On [245]
several coffee estates small patches have been planted with chinchonas for estate use; but the special cultivation on a large scale has not found favour with any planter, though there is little doubt, that, wherever in the open coffee grows, which belongs to the same natural order viz: Chinchonaceæ, the Chinchona will also thrive. There is some diffidence as to its success as a financial speculation, seeing that the Govern-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 ment plantations all over India are likely to supply every possible local want.

Of the many species of chinchona the most generally cultivated is the "Chinchona Succirubra" or "Genuine Red Bark," which grows to a lofty tree and is rich in Alkaloids; but Mr. Broughton, the Government Quinologist on the Nilagiris, has lately discovered a species, which yields more than 11 per cent Alkaloids, and of these 10 per cent Quinine, the largest amount ever obtained from the Peruvian bark.

• 245 *Tea cultivation* has received but little attention. To judge from the experiments already made by Mr. Mann, Dr. Macpherson and Mr. Roberts, there is however no doubt, that tea will grow in Coorg.

249 *The cultivation of Sugarcane* is a purely native enterprise and chiefly in the hands of settlers from Mysore, who sell it for raw consumption or use it for the manufacture of jagry, a kind of coarse sugar. It is propagated from cuttings put down in April and yields ripe canes the year after in September. It requires a moist rich soil, that can be brought under irrigation. Some coffee planters have begun to stock their swampy ravines with sugarcane; but, the produce not being large enough, it is doubtful, whether it answers as a pecuniary speculation.

248 *Cotton* of a fair description has long been under cultivation to a small extent by ryots in the north-eastern parts of Coorg, where the fibre is used for home-made fabrics and the seed for oil. New species: the Sea-Island, New Orleans, Egyptian and Hybrid Cotton have lately been introduced as experiments and they thrive very well, but the sudden depression in the cotton market discourages any further pursuit of the speculation. [137]

The seed is sown in May on a well broken up rich soil, that is raised in long ridges 3 or 4 feet apart. The seedlings are sufficiently strong to withstand the heavy monsoon rains

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and the pods ripen in October or November, when the sunny weather favors the gathering; perennial plants yield however ripe cotton almost at all seasons; and the monsoon crop is of course lost. My own experience on a coffee plantation near Anandapur with all available kinds of cotton seed led me to the conclusion, that the Sea-Island and Berar-Hybrid would yield most satisfactory results. Egyptian cotton grown in 1865 by Captain Taylor on the Sampáji Ghat produced a fibre, which was pronounced by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce the best that had reached the Bombay market. 248

The Plantain (Musa paradisiaca) of which there is a wild kind in the hill-jungles, is common all over Coorg near native dwellings. The 10 to 12 feet high succulent stem consists of a number of fibrous sheaths that may be considered the continuation of the leaf-stalks and is at the base nearly one foot thick. The leaves forming a tuft on the apex of the stem are 6 or 8 feet long and 2 feet broad. In the centre of the stem is a white solid substance forming a cylinder throughout its length. It is used by the natives for curry, when broken across, it shows bundles of spiral vessels to great perfection. The continuation of this cylinder beyond the stem forms the flower-stalk, it is therefore evident that one tree can bear but once, after which it is cut down and a new shoot springs up from the root, by which means the plantain is chiefly propagated. The closely packed conical flower head is not unlike a red cabbage in appearance, and by its own weight inclines downward in a graceful curve. Each of the purple leathery leaves or involucres coated with a pale bloom of great delicacy, covers a double row of 9 or 12 elongate yellowish red flowers, extending in a spiral line over one-third of the circumference of the fleshy stalk. With the maturity of each successive row of flowers, the involucre reclines and falls off, and the fruit appears, which when ripe is from 3 to 6 inches long and from half an inch to 2 inches thick. In its spiral clustering 245 [262]

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245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
137 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

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248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at £ 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Devân of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

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ful tree, which requires a soil fit also for coffee, promises to prove a most welcome addition to Coorg exotics, as it produces fruit when 5 years old and requires but little care or labour. The plants are grown from seed, to be obtained in March, much in the same way as coffee seedlings, and after 15 months when they are about 18 inches high, they are transplanted in large pits about 12 feet apart and protected by shade. 245

The fact, that a wild species of Nutmeg grows plentifully in the Coorg forests induced me, to make an experiment with cultivating *the Nutmeg of commerce*, "Myristica officinalis," but the promised seed has not yet arrived. According to Dr. Bidie's instructions, the cultivation may be carried on on coffee-land and seems to offer no great difficulties. 137

Of *fruit trees* the *Coorg Oranges* are celebrated and as common as the plantain. There are several varieties, but the best is the sweet, luscious "Loose Jacket" so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. The Coorg Rajahs owned fine orange gardens in the most suitable localities of the country, but they have since been neglected. There are also varieties of Citrons and the Lime indispensable in Coorg etiquette is in abundance. 245

Apples and Pears do not succeed in Mercara, as the heavy monsoon does not favour their growth, but there is perhaps no reason, why they should not grow in warmer and more sheltered localities, as well as in Bangalore. Loquats, Peaches, Figs and Pomegranates thrive better and the Guava, which makes a most excellent jelly, would be the Coorg Pear, if it were not for the numerous hard little seeds and the peculiar flavor which is not always appreciated. Strawberries and Pine-apples grow to a large size. Grapes have been reared in sheltered places in Mercara, but the vine soon degenerates. The Brazil-cherry is very common, the fruit is the berry of a herbaceous plant and is made into excellent jam.

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796 Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called *Bíma-*
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a
[133] stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built.
From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of
about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to
a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace
on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated
to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the
residing Brahmin-pújáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's enter-
ing into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the
pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the
sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With
the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude sur-
rounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious mo-
ment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng,
old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into
the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water,
and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit
near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water
over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims
fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring
and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the
● 245 neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that
the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
●245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[464] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

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443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Talo-

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632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yelenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congregation (1857).

632 The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a
[131]

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

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632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
369 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception of the large and influential house of the late Deván
[55] Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

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exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramára, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

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and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Nádu. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

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Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [271]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

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423 651 Though the name, situation, size and extent of each tundu is minutely specified in the Registers, no mention is made of their estimated produce. Practice has, however, established the rule, that Government should receive one sixth of the gross produce, which in 1869-1870 effected a revenue of Rs. 9,362—3—5. When several families unite in cultivating pieces of dry land, each ryot contributing his share of labour and agricultural stock according to his means and receiving a corresponding proportion of the produce, such a farm is called "Hola-kula" or family field. The house-tax is, however, collected from each ryot.

423 651 245 With the year 1866-67 a new source of land revenue arose from the *assessment on land* taken up *for coffee cultivation*. After much deliberation and correspondence on the part of the "*Coorg Planters' Association*" and *Government*, the latter finally resolved in October 1863, to abolish the "Halut" or excise duty of 4 as. per maund of 28 lbs., or one rupee per hundredweight of clean coffee and to substitute on acreage rental on the following terms:

From the first to the fourth year the land is rentfree from the date of acceptance by the District Officer of the tender for the grant.

From the fifth to the ninth year one rupee per acre on the whole area, except a certain proportion of waste grass land.

From the tenth and subsequent years two rupees on the same area.

The Planters' Association (in September 1864) expressed itself entirely satisfied with these Rules which on the whole were considered both "just and liberal." A six years' experience, however, under adverse circumstances of bad seasons, Bug and Borer convinced the Planters, that the assessment, having been fixed upon too sanguine expectations of coffee-produce and therefore wrong premises, had turned out to be unjust and illiberal, and in some instances had become actually

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oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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648 The Registration of these Assurances according to Act
656 XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the
423 natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's
425 signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

651 *Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an*
423 *acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.*
245

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

[249] VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the fifth year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over. 651 423 245

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Náds, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Báne-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Náds, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is 651 423 244

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Appendix VIII.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COFFEE-ESTATES IN COORG,

THEIR REPUTED PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS IN 1870.

I. In the Mercara-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Aberdour	337·21	120	J. Russell	J. Russel	
2	Abyal	344	not known	Major G. M. Martin	K. Chittyanna	
3	Angaro-kolli	183·8	do.	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
4	Balidtro	130·97	90	Herbert Taylor	H. Taylor	
5	Beauvoir	44·63	44·63	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
6	Belta-male	476·70	450	do.	do.	
7	Belta-male	380·8	300	W. S. Boyd	W. Bidie	
8	Bhaktana-kotte	612·42	0	S. Jup	do.	resigned.
9	Bhima-kandi	859·58	0	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
10	Boykéri	90	90	H. Taylor	H. Taylor	
11	Cheppo-kéd	125·86	125	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
12	Closeburn	231·46		Major Martin and Dr. Kirkpatrick	P. Pearson	
13	Coorg-Coffee-Company	2095·46	800	Coorg-Coffee-Company	F. Rylett	
14	Culdees	1023·64	165	H. Bain	Scobie	
15	Edrington	46·71	not known	Capt. Marshall	Jagnath	
16	Fanny-vale	205·76	175	D. Stewart	J. A. Young	

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
17	Fisher	429·91	400	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
18	Glen-Coorg	3012·52	400	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
19	Glen-more	173	132	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
20	Hillori-hôtukâd	161·13	150	H. A. Mangles	F. Mangles	
21	Helon-bally	467·79	100	S. G. Tipping	S. G. Tipping	
22	Herumale-nâd	455·58	300	H. Mann	C. M. Grant	
23	Hordr-hôtukâd	369·12	150	A. C. Campbell		
24	Kadlur-kâd	118·27	118	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
25	Kagodlu-nâd	174·68	174	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
26	Kânan-kâd	107·90	25	J. P. Hunt		
27	Kapale-kâd	184·84	180	A. C. Campbell, A. Fowler and Mr. H. A. M. Duncon	James Fowler	
28	Kâro-kolli	481·22	0	late Dr. Macpherson		abandoned.
29	Kimado-male	214·13	175	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
30	Knoll	93.81		Major Martin	Major Martin	
31	Do.	40·49		do.	do.	
32	Kunni-motte	136·40	136	Henry Mann		
33	Kundalam-kolli	209·32	175	F. W. Hill		
34	Lilford	113·93	95	W. Drummond	H. Drummond	abandoned.
35	Lower Kimale	198·52		Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
36	Lower Belta-male	345·8	190	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allay	
37	Made-nâd	341·13	290	H. Mann	J. W. Finlayson	
38	May-male	369·71	300	W. S. Boyd	A. Stephen	
39	Mercara-Estate	242·65	190	Mrs. A. M. Duncon, A. Campbell & J. Fowler	J. Fowler	
40	Pachanda-male	548·69	250	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allen	

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41	Padachi-kád	155·30	155	J. P. Hunt and J. W. Hill		
42	Pándi-male	425·66	300	H. Mann	A. G. Aspinall	
43	Salop	299·91	220	Nicol William and Co.	F. H. Hayes	
44	Sampige-kolli	197·47	140	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	
45	Suati-koppa	372·50		late Dr. Macpherson		resigned.
46	Upper-kimale	486·24	280	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
47	Wóte-kolli	480·74	250	Donald Stewart	J. Russel	

II. *In the Padinálknád-taluq.*

1	Anepére-kád	455·88	167	Ch. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
2	Athumarada-Dére	204·42		J. W. Finlayson		
3	Banada-kolli	200		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		
4	Bantar	384·59	170	W. U. Arbuthnot and 3 others		
5	Chetti-male	225·76	200	J. W. Finlayson	Turner	
6	Eyenkallia-male	200	80	W. Burnett and A. Stephen	A. Stephen	
7	Eyenkanungandi-kád	100		J. W. Finlayson		
8	Itiakutumbe-male	417·54		do.		
9	Kartha-kád	85·70	70	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
10	Kutanganda-Dére	94·51		J. W. Finlayson		
11	Mechanda-Dére	94·52		do.		
12	Mukati-kád	100		do.		
13	Padicha male	327·45	10	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
14	Patti-male	811·29	150	Capt. R. Taylor	Whish	
15	Thérikád	197·62	42	C. Grant and Aspinall	H. A. Wheeler	
16	Umale	283·2	150	Edg. Ludlow		
17	Waveney Valley	282·50	100	H. L. Johnstone and Brewer	J. Morgan	

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III. In the Yedenálknád-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Allépa I.	263·49	150	G. R. Evans	F. Marsden	
2	Do. II.	329·16		F. Marsden	do.	
3	Allathan-kád	580·16		D. Stewart		
4	Anandapur	96·82	35	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya	David	
5	Beri-kád	816·75	165	Marquis Viriano	W. Ross.	
6	Beechlands	732·8		J. Tanner	Pudicombe	
7	Clutha	424·95	400	Nicol Dunkworth and Co.	A. Mc. Innes	
8	Kyan-betaretu-kád	500		G. MacGregor		waste.
9	Fairlands and Oaklands	306·3	280	J. Wright of Edinburgh	J. Chisholm	
10	Fowler	806·6		Mrs. A. M. Duncan		uncultivated.
11	Do.	300		do.		do.
12	Do.	139·95		do.		do.
13	Glen Moriston	282·81	130	James Fowler and Co.	James Fowler	
14	Glen Urquhart	211·80		James Fowler		abandoned.
15	Hanchi-betta	168·17	0	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya		resigned.
16	Handi-gutta-betta	260·60		N. Stewart		
17	Kaberáda-male	800		Major Boddock and Mrs. Hearn		
18	Kákunda	862·28	500	Donald Stewart		
19	Kayem-kád	491·78	40	late Dr. Maxwell	C. Lawrence	
20	Kávéri-Estate	299·4	150	Kávéri-Coffee-Company	Pereira	
21	Kombu-halli	876·61	250	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young		
22	Kusabari		75	Rev. G. Richter and J. Haller	J. Haller	

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23	Methada-kád	195·88		N. Stewart		
24	Mushalbora	141·66	50	late P. James and P. Kennedy		
25	Nalla-bóte	296·66	250	N. Stewart	W. T. Simpson	
26	Puriambádi	266·54	140	late Dr. Maxwell	W. Ross	
27	Pili-betta	315·93	240	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
28	Pelle-kád	43·90		Donald Stewart		
29	Pelle-betta	1066·88	700	H. P. Minchin and W. R. Arbuthnot	H. P. Minchin	
30	Rockliffe	960·44		J. Stewart		resigned.
31	Rockville	151·52		F. Brown		
32	School-Plantation	301	50	Central-School-Endowment	Rev. G. Richter	
33	Siddhapur	165·70		J. P. Hunt		waste.
34	Strathmore	1011·74	320	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	C. Macdonald	
35	Tanada-betta	387·33		H. Forman	H. R. Craig	
36	Thanir-halla	506·87		N. Stewart		waste.
37	Woodside	508·95		D. Stewart	J. Miller	
38	Wodder-halli	502·54	150	J. P. Hunt	Hobbert	
39	Yennagundi	785·33	450	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young	W. Turnbull	

IV. In the Kiggatnád-taluq.

1	Athal I.	178·96	140	J. W. Savage and		
2	Do. II.	152·64	90	H. J. Marsden	J. W. Savage	
3	Bambu-kád	159·17	45	J. W. Hayes		
4	Benlomond	252	170	A. C. Barnett and G. Ross	A. Barnett	
5	Burnside	277·76		G. Anderson		
6	Clifton	233·70	150	Alex. Denoon	James Fowler	
7	Cluny	268·70		Cols. A. Cadell & Barrow	H. P. Drummond	
8	Cadial	114·03	100	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Ross	H. A Ross	

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage. Total.	Acreage. Cultivated.	Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
9	Eyguada	418·48	300	Capt. R. Taylor	F. Jaques	
10	Karla-male	1032·99	435	H. G. Roberts, D. Rose, and D. Peebles	J. Rose	
11	Kayim-kolli	667·62	147	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
12	Elkhâd	106·45	80	Maj. Benton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Rose	H. A. Rose	
13	Koko-male	994·55	150	McGregor and J. Martin	J. L. Martin	
14	Kokâri	103·62		H. P. Gordon	H. P. Horton	
15	Mathigôd	438·94		D. Stewart		
16	Puggadi-male			H. J. Roberts, D. Rose and D. Peebles		waste.
17	Pulatôd	1565·12	400	C. W. Dawson		
18	Poonambâru			W. V. Drummond		
19	Rosemeth		45	W. Rose	J. Rose	waste.
20	Shulankâri	199·75		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		resigned.
21	Singo-mane			do.		do.
22	Sévirahatti-kâd			G. Wilson		

V. In the Nanjarâjpatna-taluq.

1	Alle-hatte	151·18		H. A. Maugles	G. F. Deeds	
2	Battada-rôni	238·84	100	Col. Cunningham and Barrett	S. Barrett	
3	Carton	378·81	200	R. P. Carr		abandoned.
4	Hamyal	1461·29	120	Campbell and Fowler		
5	Lowden valley	460·18	100	Mrs. E. Wright and W. Wright	W. Wright	
6	Kambo-kâd		145	H. R. East	H. R. East	
7	Kavina-kolli	212·21	30	H. A. Maugles	G. F. Deeds	

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(A)	(B)
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Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

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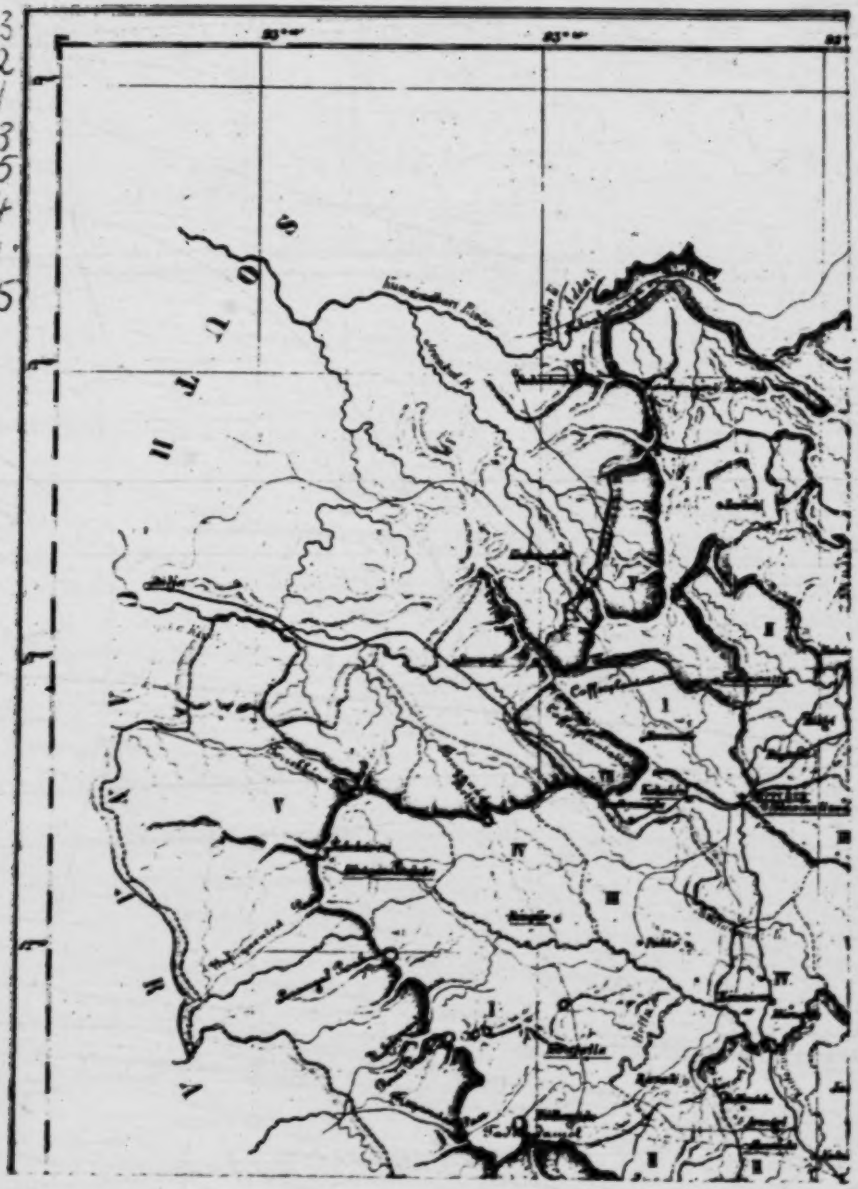

[End Map (A)]

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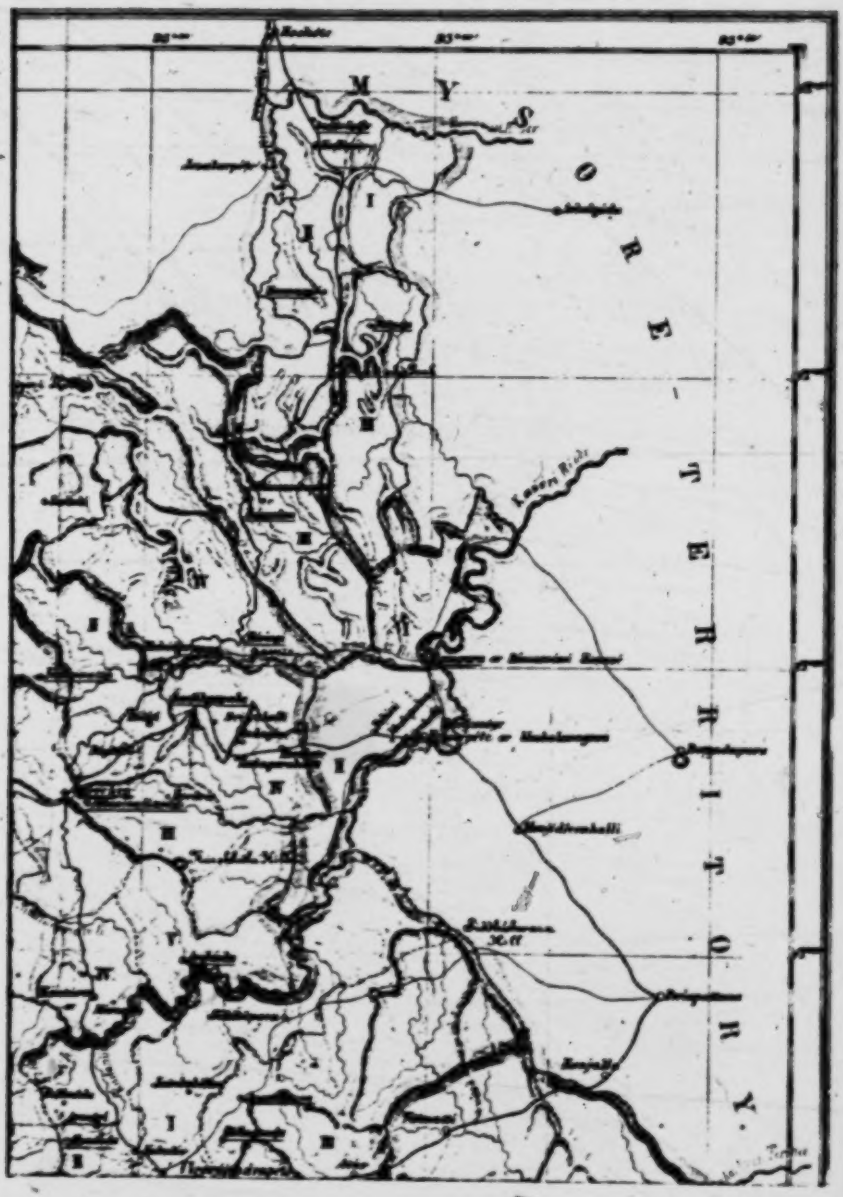

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

102
103
131
133
635
634
491
● 245

[End Map (C)]

I [The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

102
103
131
133
635
634
491
245

[End Map (D)]

4: Richter

AW5 Coorg AW5

245

/For the effects of various insect pests on coffee trees and overall production, see category 116, pp. 67-71, 75-77./

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of jungle and not resumed till after 5 or 6 years. This wanton jungle-waste has however been put a stop to by Government and brought within reasonable limits. 241 243 [656]

Bringing to a close the subject of Arbori-horti-culture in Coorg, it were ungrateful, did I omit to mention the many and beautiful exotic flowers and shrubs, that ornament the gardens of European residents and recall by their presence sweet remembrances of distant Home; I forbear however to enumerate any beyond the modest Violet, the fragrant Rose and the showy Dahlia, and leave it to the fancy of the reader to associate with these types of spring, summer and autumn the many other garden flowers, that are familiar to Europeans. 247

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 ment plantations all over India are likely to supply every possible local want.

Of the many species of chinchona the most generally cultivated is the "Chinchona Succirubra" or "Genuine Red Bark," which grows to a lofty tree and is rich in Alkaloids; but Mr. Broughton, the Government Quinologist on the Nilagiris, has lately discovered a species, which yields more than 11 per cent Alkaloids, and of these 10 per cent Quinine, the largest amount ever obtained from the Peruvian bark.

245 *Tea cultivation* has received but little attention. To judge from the experiments already made by Mr. Mann, Dr. Macpherson and Mr. Roberts, there is however no doubt, that tea will grow in Coorg.

249 *The cultivation of Sugarcane* is a purely native enterprise and chiefly in the hands of settlers from Mysore, who sell it for raw consumption or use it for the manufacture of jagry, a kind of coarse sugar. It is propagated from cuttings put down in April and yields ripe canes the year after in September. It requires a moist rich soil, that can be brought under irrigation. Some coffee planters have begun to stock their swampy ravines with sugarcane; but, the produce not being large enough, it is doubtful, whether it answers as a pecuniary speculation.

• 248 *Cotton* of a fair description has long been under cultivation to a small extent by ryots in the north-eastern parts of Coorg, where the fibre is used for home-made fabrics and the seed [137] for oil. New species: the Sea-Island, New Orleans, Egyptian and Hybrid Cotton have lately been introduced as experiments and they thrive very well, but the sudden depression in the cotton market discourages any further pursuit of the speculation.

The seed is sown in May on a well broken up rich soil, that is raised in long ridges 3 or 4 feet apart. The seedlings are sufficiently strong to withstand the heavy monsoon rains

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the pods ripen in October or November, when the sunny weather favors the gathering; perennial plants yield however ripe cotton almost at all seasons; and the monsoon crop is of course lost. My own experience on a coffee plantation near Anandapur with all available kinds of cotton seed led me to the conclusion, that the Sea-Island and Berar-Hybrid would yield most satisfactory results. Egyptian cotton grown in 1865 by Captain Taylor on the Sampáji Ghat produced a fibre, which was pronounced by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce the best that had reached the Bombay market. 248

The Plantain (Musa paradisiaca) of which there is a wild kind in the hill-jungles, is common all over Coorg near native dwellings. The 10 to 12 feet high succulent stem consists of a number of fibrous sheaths that may be considered the continuation of the leaf-stalks and is at the base nearly one foot thick. The leaves forming a tuft on the apex of the stem are 6 or 8 feet long and 2 feet broad. In the centre of the stem is a white solid substance forming a cylinder throughout its length. It is used by the natives for curry, when broken across, it shows bundles of spiral vessels to great perfection. The continuation of this cylinder beyond the stem forms the flower-stalk, it is therefore evident that one tree can bear but once, after which it is cut down and a new shoot springs up from the root, by which means the plantain is chiefly propagated. The closely packed conical flower head is not unlike a red cabbage in appearance, and by its own weight inclines downward in a graceful curve. Each of the purple leathery leaves or involucres coated with a pale bloom of great delicacy, covers a double row of 9 or 12 elongate yellowish red flowers, extending in a spiral line over one-third of the circumference of the fleshy stalk. With the maturity of each successive row of flowers, the involucre reclines and falls off, and the fruit appears, which when ripe is from 3 to 6 inches long and from half an inch to 2 inches thick. In its spiral clustering 245 [262]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
137 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

much divided roots, from which rise a number of straight, slender, slightly branching stems from the bark of which the fibre is extracted. The leaves resemble those of the nettle, are light green on the surface and silvery white below but are not stinging. The male and female flowers being separate and situated on different parts of the stem, the production of seed is uncertain. 248 137

From data, given in the December number of the Calcutta Review 1854, the "Rhoea" is propagated either by dividing the roots or by cuttings. The plant is exceedingly hardy and thrives in almost any description of soil, but to have it grown to perfection, the land must be well manured and capable of irrigation. In planting a piece of ground, the roots or cuttings should be placed out in rows a foot or a foot and a half apart each way, so that the plants do not throw out too many lateral shoots which impairs the height of the stems. When once the roots have firmly struck, the plant grows vigorously, but more especially during the rainy season. The first principal shoots burst from the centre of the root, and are quickly followed by exterior ones. In two months generally may be expected, especially upon well manured land, the first cuttings, which must be taken off about one inch above the root. It is essential to mind, that the plant does not become covered with hard or woody bark, which is indicated by the former green coating turning brown, the discoloration commencing at the stem. A little browning strengthens the fibre, too much imposes additional costly labour. It requires a little experience to ascertain clearly the requisite time for cutting. There is another criterion by which the fitness of the plant for cutting may be known, by passing the hand down it from the top to the bottom; if the leaves break off crisply from where they are joined to the stem, it is a good indication that the plantation may be thinned out. If, on the contrary, the plant be not ready, the leaves, instead of breaking, tear off and strip 248

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at £ 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Devân of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

244 137 *English Vegetables* are satisfactorily grown by Mercara residents and still more so by some planters on their estates. Potatoes and Cabbage thrive remarkably well; also Peas, Beans, Knoll kohl, Salad, Beets, Turnips and Carrots of excellent quality are produced. The natives do now only attempt to cultivate these vegetables, but the markets are unsupplied with them.

244 *Native Vegetables*, which are reared on patches of paddy-fields after harvest time, or in small gardens, in the villages about Fraserpet, include: French Beans, Radishes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Indian Corn, Brinjals, Chillies, Coriander, Amaranthus and others, but even these are not plentiful in the Mercara market, and what there is comes chiefly from Fraserpet.

243 *Dry grain*, such as Ragy, Avary, Tavary, Huruli and others are chiefly grown in the open country of the Nanjarájpatna taluq lying along the western banks of the Káveri. It is there also, that Tobacco is cultivated for sale, whilst in most of the Coorg farms little reserved patches of the narcotic is grown for home-consumption; but the Coorg tobacco is of an indifferent description, no particular care being bestowed upon its cultivation. The introduction of a new seed would [248] have a beneficial influence. A few Hemp plants are here and [296] there grown near native houses, but more for the use of smoking the intoxicating leaves, than for the sake of the fibre.

241 243 Similar to other hilly parts of India, there prevails a primitive mode of cultivation called "kumari," which is practised by the lowest classes of natives, the Kurumbas and Kudias, chiefly on the western slopes of the Ghats. They cut and burn a patch of jungle, and plant either the small reddish hill-rice, sown broadcast upon the slightly dug up land, or Ragy. The former yields a 10 fold, the latter a 200 to 300 fold return. Such fields are only once or twice cultivated, when they are abandoned in favour of a new piece

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seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it fron them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation,

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.,

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [32] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night. cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•249 The cardamom requires a rich, moist soil in a bracing hill-climate, accessible to sea breezes and favoured by deep shade and partial sunshine. A western or northern hill-slope offers the greatest advantage. A working party of about 10 men start for the forest in February or March; and the site for a garden being fixed, one of the largest trees is marked for felling; a temporary hut is built on a convenient spot and operations are commenced. The smaller trees and brushwood are cut down to some distance round the giant tree, that is to be felled, and a platform some 10 feet high built close to the tree on the upper slope. This part being completed, the party sets out early next morning with 4 good axes and, standing on the platform, a pair of cutters, generally Kudias or Yeravas, belabour the tree with all their might. [977] When tired they are relieved by their comrades. Their work must be finished by noontide or they are unlucky. At noon the front part of the tree is cut and at last some strokes are given to the side facing the high ground; the tree now trembles bends over and topples down the side of the hill, with a thundering crash, carrying down in its precipitate fall a number of smaller trees. The thorough shaking of the ground is the essential object of this operation. A piece of ground thus prepared is called a garden and according to the size of the large trees the party may cut down more than one in a day and clear as many as four or five gardens.

Within 3 months after the felling of the tree, the young plants shoot up all over the ground, shaken by the fallen giant especially near its stem and roots, and reach a height of one foot with 8 or 10 leaves within the first year; in the third year they will be 4 feet high and require a little culling, whilst previously one annual weeding is all the necessary work. In April of the third year the fruit bearing racemes shoot forth from the ground; they are alternately covered with short-stalked, beautiful, pale-white, solitary flowers of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249 ●
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757]
use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249] ●

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extent of actual cultivation is difficult to estimate, owing to the survey being incomplete. The land under coffee cultivation on the 1st April 1870 was 5,222 acres less than on the same date in 1869, when 55,750 acres were held by Europeans and 29,930 acres by natives, or a total of 85,780 acres, yielding a landtax of Rs. 91,251 whilst the acreage in 1869-70 produced only Rs. 89,942. The assessment for each holder is, after an exemption for the first 4 years, from the fifth to the ninth year 1 rupee per acre and rupees 2 ever after whether cultivated or uncultivated land. The planters, however, hope that Government will reduce this landtax to 1 rupee per acre in consideration of the sore disappointments and losses from unforeseen causes, under the pressure of which 204 acres have already been resigned by planters and, to recover rupees 3,497 for assessment due, several estates amounting to 3,702 acres have been resumed and sold by Government. 245 311 245 651

Chinchona cultivation, has been initiated on a small scale by Government in 1863 in a favourable locality 3 miles to the east of Mercara. There are now several hundred trees in a thriving condition, that yield quantities of seed for distribution and for rearing new plants in the hothouse, which was erected for the purpose on the premises of the Central School. Plants have already been distributed to those taluq cutcherries, in the compounds of which they were thought likely to grow, and the experiment has to some extent proved successful. Seed and plants have also been given to private persons. On several coffee estates small patches have been planted with chinchonas for estate use; but the special cultivation on a large scale has not found favour with any planter, though there is little doubt, that, wherever in the open coffee grows, which belongs to the same natural order viz: Chinchonaceæ, the Chinchona will also thrive. There is some diffidence as to its success as a financial speculation, seeing that the Govern- 249 [245]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 ment plantations all over India are likely to supply every possible local want.

Of the many species of chinchona the most generally cultivated is the "Chinchona Succirubra" or "Genuine Red Bark," which grows to a lofty tree and is rich in Alkaloids; but Mr. Broughton, the Government Quinologist on the Nilagiris, has lately discovered a species, which yields more than 11 per cent Alkaloids, and of these 10 per cent Quinine, the largest amount ever obtained from the Peruvian bark.

245 *Tea cultivation* has received but little attention. To judge from the experiments already made by Mr. Mann, Dr. Macpherson and Mr. Roberts, there is however no doubt, that tea will grow in Coorg.

249 *The cultivation of Sugarcane* is a purely native enterprise and chiefly in the hands of settlers from Mysore, who sell it for raw consumption or use it for the manufacture of jagry, a kind of coarse sugar. It is propagated from cuttings put down in April and yields ripe canes the year after in September. It requires a moist rich soil, that can be brought under irrigation. Some coffee planters have begun to stock their swampy ravines with sugarcane; but, the produce not being large enough, it is doubtful, whether it answers as a pecuniary speculation.

248 *Cotton* of a fair description has long been under cultivation to a small extent by ryots in the north-eastern parts of Coorg, where the fibre is used for home-made fabrics and the seed [137] for oil. New species: the Sea-Island, New Orleans, Egyptian and Hybrid Cotton have lately been introduced as experiments and they thrive very well, but the sudden depression in the cotton market discourages any further pursuit of the speculation.

The seed is sown in May on a well broken up rich soil, that is raised in long ridges 3 or 4 feet apart. The seedlings are sufficiently strong to withstand the heavy monsoon rains

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 656 423 425 The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

651 423 245 *Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.*

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

[249] VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 8th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over. 651 423 245

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Nádu, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Báne-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Nádu, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is 651 423 249

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651 423 ● 249

correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!

General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagárs of Nádu bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 423 635 634

Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close, we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

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Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.,

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [432] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night. cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. 137 The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. 314 Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). [313] The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and [372] sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Heddo-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" [386] furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut* [388] *tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure [386] black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts [333] bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes. [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* [313] (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On [245] account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to [271] many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is [251] Preserved in sugar.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [159] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals 231 and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (now palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

"The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

[Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

kádili) is of a brownish colour; in its provident care against the rainy season it commits great damage to the ripening paddy-fields and stores considerable quantities of grain in its subterraneous burrows, to the great satisfaction, however, of the lynxeyed Wotter (tank digger) who searches after the little granary and carries away in triumph the owner and its property for his own meal. A formidable rat for its destructive burrowing habits is the Bandicoot (*Mus bandicota Can.* Heggana). It grows to the size of a sucking pig, is of a blackish colour and lives near houses. To protect their rice against these enemies, the Coorgs store their grain in enclosures, called pattáya, which are raised 2 feet from the ground with an open space all round. It undermines walls and causes buildings to tumble down. Its flesh is eaten by the Holeyas, Kurubas and Yerawas.

136*

[251] [343]

Of squirrels there are 4 species: the striped, the grey, the red and the flying squirrel. The first species (Tamias striatus) is very common in the open and warmer districts of Coorg, especially in Fraserpet, where it familiarly runs along the thatched roofs of the European bungalows and amuses their inmates with its little squeak. It is a pretty tiny creature; with its tail it measures about 9 inches. Its body is of a greyish colour, whitish below and 3 brown longitudinal stripes and 2 white ones on the upper parts. In Hindoo fable, this little animal is said to have been rewarded by RÁma for its services in constructing his bridge over the sea to Ceylon. Passing his hand over its back he said: "Shábás" (well done) and behold, it was marked with indelible streaks!

The grey squirrel is somewhat larger than the former, without stripes, and lives on trees. The red squirrel (Sciurus maximus, *Can.* kenjari) is a remarkably lively and handsome animal, when enjoying its native liberty. In length over two feet, of which its bushy tail measures half, it surpasses its European cousin in size and beauty. All that can be

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
130 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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231 222 237 [431 432]

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Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nfradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

796

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

[352]
[252]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *vōṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 484 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of con-
796 cern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread
783 systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

796 The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or
785 *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and
262 the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW

unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangolli* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pāyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōksha*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

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783

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

241

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428
771
142
262
582

The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia). 137 313 314 [273] [262]

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's 137 314

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. [415] A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On 137 open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and appearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

C [262] 735 823

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

Y 313

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 313 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought after and eaten by the natives. 137 314 [262]

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pandanus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farinifera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms before the hot season in January presents the appearance of, what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee estate. 137 [285] [293] [262]

At Frasrpet in the compound of the Coorg Superintendent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading, and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13 a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enterprise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open, but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several representatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 Fraserpet to which the elegant lines of Southey so truly apply:—

"It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree.
For over the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swang.
Others of younger growth, unmoved, were hung
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor
And through the leaf-cope which bower'd it over
Came gleams of checkered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer."

(*The Curse of Kehama*, Book 13.)

The *Pippal* (Ficus religiosa) is likewise a large tree and found nearly in every temple in Coorg, but growing best in the drier districts. This tree proves most destructive to neglected buildings; when once rooted in crevices, nothing can withstand its progress. More common than both preceding trees [262] is the *Atti-maru* or "Ficus glomerata" with fruit much like the common fig and which is eaten by the natives. The *Indian Caoutchouc tree* "Ficus elastica" also occurs and is [314] not only a useful but highly ornamental tree. The milky juice obtained from incisions into the bark is exposed to the air, when the *Caoutchouc* or elastic substance spontaneously separates, leaving a foetid whey-coloured liquid.

[655] Almost a stranger to Coorg and growing only in several places along the Kávéri between Fraserpet and Sómawarpet,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

it is an unsavoury pet, and its capricious and vindictive temper, when getting old, render it a dangerous playmate for children. 136*

The grey or Hanumán monkey (Semnopithecus entellus, Duff)—*Kg.* Kóde—prefers a more open country and does not shun the neighbourhood of native dwellings, where there are Upali trees of the fruit of which it is very fond. Troops of them may sometimes be seen on an open glade near a large tree, gambolling unmindful of the passing by of a native, but quickly disappearing in the dense foliage on the appearance of a European, chattering all the while with their little ones, whose frightened expression is pitiful, clinging to their sides. This monkey is considerably larger than the former species and has a long tail, which is of service in gymnastic feats on slender branches. Its face is bare and rather reddish. It is more docile than the black monkey, but when big more vindictive and dangerous. A case happened in Mercara, where one of these monkeys attacked a baby in its cradle and might have killed it, but for the timely arrival of the parents.

The brown monkey—*Kg.* Mucha—is only found in the Mále-kádu and eagerly hunted by the Coorgs, who eat its flesh roasted and in curry, and consider it a great delicacy. A soup made of its flesh is given to sick and weakly people. When full grown, this monkey is in a sitting posture about two feet high; it has a long tail, a light grey face and chest. It is never kept as a pet by natives. Of the skin of all the three named species the Coorgs make their tom toms or drums. [224] [262] [231] [534]

A little animal of the Lemur kind is the slender *Loris* (Loris gracilis. Linn). The Coorgs call them Chínge-káli or devils of the Chínge or soapnut shrub which grows all over the central and northern plateau of Coorg. Its silent and slow gait, its thin limbs, its closely set and large protruding eyes and pointed visage are enough to frighten on a sudden en-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

black roundish spots. It is 2½ or 3 feet high and 4 feet long from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail. 136*

The tiger-cat (*Can.* huli-bekku) is a cheeta in miniature and its sleek, glossy, speckled fur renders it a very beautiful animal. It is about 3 feet long and 15 inches high; it is destructive to fowls. The Holeyas eat it.

The black jungle-cat (kabbekku), of the size of a house-cat, but with pointed muzzle, is very common; it lives chiefly on the fruit of the wild fig tree and sago palm. The Coorgs are fond of its flesh. Similar to this in form, but different in colour is the civet-cat (punugina bekku) which yields a peculiar musky secretion. [262]

The hyæna (katte kiruba) is very seldom seen. Of the dog-family there is, besides the Pariah, the wild dog (*Can.* kennai). In resemblance it approaches nearest the wolf. It is a powerful and dangerous brute, remarkable for the strength of its neck and jaws. Its colour is reddish brown, and in size it is like a Pariah dog, whose barking it imitates. It is seldom seen alone but in packs of 10 to 20, and thus united they will attack any beast of the forest, even the tiger. They are swift and never fail in catching what they once give chase to; on coming up with their game, they seize the animal from behind or in front, immediately destroying the eyes and having once fixed themselves, they maintain their position, sucking the blood of their unfortunate victim and never quitting their hold, till it has fallen from pain and fatigue. The samber and other deer are the principal animals they prey upon. Remarkable for his peculiar and piercing yell in moonlight nights is the jackal, so common over the whole of India. Besides feeding on small game and poultry, he is not averse to carrion of any kind. The jackal is no favourite of the planters, for he pilfers a great deal of ripe cherry-coffee, but is honest enough to deposite the beans, which are considered all the better for their transmigration through his body!

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*136 The fact is, that, as the jackal eats only the ripest berries, the beans are naturally of a good quality.

The mungoose or Ichneumon Múngos (Viverra mungo *Can.* kíra)—is frequently found on the bánes, where it is seen running from one copse to another. Its elongated, slender body with pearly, ash-grey fur and thick long tail, its pointed head and bright eyes and its rapid movements give it a pretty appearance, and, but for its wanton depredations amongst the poultry, it might become a useful pet, as [824] it destroys rats and snakes. The natives say that after its struggle with a poisonous snake, it takes recourse to the Nágadále (Ruta, Rue) the leaves of which act as an antidote.

Black bears (*Can.* karadi) are found in Marenád on the Pushpagiri, Kóte-betta and Kálur-betta, where there are colonies of beehives, for Master Bruin is very fond of honey. [262] His flesh is not eaten, but pieces of his skin are attached to [789] the necks of horses and cows, to keep off the evil eye. [231]

On the wooded banks of the Hatti and Shóran-hole and elsewhere there are small colonies of a species of otter-hound, which the natives call Nírunái or water-dog (Lutra Nair Cuv.) The animal is deep reddish brown on the back, lightest on the sides and below, lives in artificial burrows and subsists on fish, which it catches with great skill. It is eaten by the Yerawas.

Mice and *rats* there are more of in Coorg, than the farmer and house-owner would wish. The musk-rat betrays itself by its piercing shriek, but has a safeguard in its strong smell against its pursuing enemies. Great havoc has been done on some coffee plantations by the bamboo-rat (Golunda Ellioti) which is gregarious and for want of jungle-food often attacks in great numbers the coffee shrub, selecting the tender and succulent shoots and, to get at them, cutting off the primaries near the stem. Most wary of traps of any kind, this destructive animal is difficult to deal with. The field-rat (*Can.*

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C
*136 seen of its body from above is of a dark chocolate colour deepening into black along the centre of its back and tail, while the
C
[231] under parts are of a pale yellowish brown. When young, it is easily tamed and proves an amusing pet, but it tries its sharp teeth on most substances, that come within its power, and too confiding children, when ruffling its temper, may
T
[224] suffer harm. The Kurubas, who know the trees of the forest as familiarly as a police man the streets and houses of his beat, catch these squirrels by means of nets which they fix to branches that are in the track of the animals.

The grey flying squirrel or flying cat (Pteromys) has become better known since the destruction of so many forests, when hundreds of the harmless little animals were caught or shot. It is crepuscular in its habits and, unless disturbed, very rarely seen. Its home is in the holes of trees and it lives entirely on fruit, especially that of the wild sago palm, the toddy of which it is very fond of too. Strictly speaking, it cannot be said to fly, but is endowed with a furry membrane between the fore and hind limbs which enables it, when stretched out, to take leaps of almost incredible extent, sometimes 100 yards through which it passes with the swiftness of an arrow. In its flying mode of progression it moves invariably downwards, when it runs up a new tree and takes another leap, which is well sustained owing to the extreme lightness of the animal The flying membrane or parachute cannot be contracted, but is merely a lateral prolongation of the skin and therefore also covered with hair. The squirrel is of a dark grey colour with a black line down its face, which, with its prominent black eyes and grey nose, give it a peculiarly fiendish look, and it bites severely. Its fur is very soft
C
[262] and might be turned to good use. The flesh of all the 4 species of squirrels is eaten by the natives.

C
[262] The common hare (*Can.* mola) is found chiefly in the open country, where long grass grows. The natives of all

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Bâne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the out-hills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [239]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Mussulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

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practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778

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Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* [262] [554] [714] [237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eagerly devours any paper within reach. The female has no horns and is smaller than the male, which reaches a hight at the shoulder of 2 feet 6 or 8 inches. The skin is at all times of a rich fawn colour, spotted with white. In almost every Coorg house one finds some horns of the spotted deer, fixed to the walls for hanging clothes on. 136* [231] [237]

The most delicate and beautiful of the deer-tribe is the jungle-sheep—*Can.* kuringi—which somewhat resembles an antelope. It is about 18 inches high, with short horns, a little twisted, their roots for the first inch and a half being enveloped in hair. Its colour is fawn, lighter towards the belly, i a legs are very thin, but in speed it is like the passing wind. Its graceful form, mild, bright eye and harmless habits make it an interesting little pet, but it does not long survive its captivity. The flesh of all the deer-tribe is highly esteemed by the natives. [231] [262]

The common pig and the wild hog abound, and their flesh is preferred by the Coorgs to all other meat. Both kinds thrive very well, but the former is not bred with any care and its unsavoury habits do not recommend its flesh for European consumption. What the goat is to the Mussulman, the pig is to the Coorg! [262] [231]

The largest of the Coorg Mammalia is the elephant (áne), but it is so well known, that it needs no particular description. The Coorg elephants are as large and powerful as any others of Southern India. They are gregarious, keeping in droves of 15 to 30, under a leader who directs their movements. They inhabit indiscriminately all the woody parts, but particularly those towards the eastern boundary. They are ferocious and mischievous, destroying garden cultivation and crops of paddy and sugarcane. As they are excellent swimmers, the Kávéri is no barrier to their depredations. When met in droves, they seldom attack the traveller, but it is dangerous to encounter a single elephant. Such brutes, called

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 Of the third order of birds, the *Rasores* or *Scrapers*, Coorg can make a goodly show with a variety of Pigeons, of which the blue pigeon—*Kg.* tórapakki—is the most common, but the green and the yellow pigeon and the ring-dove are not scarce in the forests. The Peacock (Pavo cristatus; *Kg.* meilu) with its shrill morning call, and the timid jungle fowl (Gallus Sonneratii; *Kg.* kádgóli) with its self-betraying "cockadoodle doo" are numerous in bamboo jungles, especially during the last few years of bamboo seeding. Both species together with the Woodcock and the common Partridge (Perdix cinerea; *Kg.* ganjalakki) and the Quail (Coturnix) are at the time of the ragi crop frequently brought to Mercara for sale by a class of jungle people who are most expert in catching these birds, the voices of which they very cleverly imitate. In the neighbourhood of Subramanya peacocks may not be killed, as they are believed to be the vehicles of the god residing there. The neck-feathers of the jungle cock are much valued for their beauty, each being marked by roundish hornlike plates of various shades of yellow. The Coorgs keep these as trophies, as the Indian does his hairy scalp. The single feathers are turned into artificial flies, to fishes the most attractive bait, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid for by the devotee of "the gentle art." The Crow-pheasant or common Coucal (Centropus rufipennis), distinguished by its cinnamon brown wings, long tail and crow-like head, is very frequently seen on bamboo land, where it hides itself in the dense clumps, uttering as it slowly flies away a deep note like a monkey. It feeds on insects and small reptiles and is eaten by the natives.

[237] [226] [262]

A few representatives of the fourth order of birds, the *Grallatores* or *Waders* are: the Egret (Egretta flavirostris; *Kg.* balya-póle = great crane) which towards the end of the monsoon is frequently seen stalking along paddy-fields or streams in search of prey. It is white as snow, about 3 feet high with

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long yellow legs and straight yellow bill. It keeps in small flocks. The little green Heron (Butstrides Javanicus; *Kg.* kiru-póle = small crane), the Indian Waterhen (Gallinula) and the Plover or Peevit (*Kg.* uppu-títe, imitating its cry) are found in marshy places, likewise the Snipe (Gallinago stenura; *Kg.* bandu-koneya = mud squatter) whose flesh is in great estimation with the Coorgs and Europeans; also the green Sandpiper (Actitis Ochropus) may occasionally be seen. 136* [262]

As there are no large tanks in Coorg, few of the *Natatores* or *swimming birds* are to be found. There is only the Wild Duck or Teal of a larger and smaller species, which the Coorgs call Kóku and Yernnde-pakki; the latter dive under the water, as soon as they observe a hunter and remain submerged for a long time. Geese and Turkeys are kept domesticated, but the cold and wet monsoon weather does not agree with turkeys. [312] [231]

A rapid glance over the remaining portion of the Coorg Fauna will be arrested by but a few species of general interest. The *Reptiles* are represented by two kinds of Tortoises, a variety of Lizards, Snakes and Frogs.

The *Tortoises* are found in paddy-fields and small tanks. The shell of one in my possession is 11 inches long and 7 inches broad, but of a bony nature, unfit for ornamental use. Since the devastations of the coffee-borer common Lizards, Bloodsuckers, and Chameleons, all of them insect-feeders, have become of greater importance to the agriculturist. Alligators are occasionally seen in the Káveri, especially near Rámaswámy Kanawé. Last year one of 9 feet in length was caught in Beppunad with a woman's nose-ring and a silver bracelet in his stomach.

Snakes are rather plentiful in Coorg, but the subject has not yet received sufficient attention, to enable me to give the correct name of the different species. Classifying them as poisonous and harmless snakes, the native name may at least

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*136 or 10 distinct blotched bands below and 8 or 9 dark coloured bands above them run along the sides of the body. The lower jaw is marked on each side by 4 black dots.

The *Stone Loach* (Nemacheilus striatus. Day; *Kg.* Pálavari?) is found in sandy and stony river bottoms, where they lie hidden until disturbed or rising for air, when they quickly come to the surface and as speedily return. It is a small fish; its silvery sides and yellowish brown back are dotted with black. There is a well defined dot at the base of the caudal fin, which gives at the first glance the appearance of the little [262] fish having an eye at each end. If well dressed it is fair eating.

The *Maninchа* or Malanchi-mínu (slimy fish) is a kind of Eel, that grows to a length of 6 feet and is perhaps identical with the Murana maculata. Its flesh is very good eating and [262] highly esteemed by the natives for its medicinal qualities [957] against piles.

The *Indian Trout* (Garra Jerdoni. Day; *Kg.* Pandi-mínu i. e. Pig-fish) may be found in all the mountain nullahs; it is about 6 inches long, its head and neck are thick like those of a pig, hence its name. Its colour is a mottled green and grey. It has a suctorial dish under the chin, by which it can attach itself to rocks.

[262] The *Carp or Roach* (Puntius) occurs in several varieties all of which are esteemed good eating.

The *Banded Gold-fin* (Barilius cocsa) is an exceedingly pretty fish about 5 inches long and found only in shallow running streams. The back is greyish blue, with 8 or 9 lateral darker bands, the sides are silvery with blue reflections and fading to white below.

The *Silver-fish* (Chella cultellus) is of about the same size as the former, handsomely shaped and covered with brilliant, silvery scales, which are easily rubbed off.

From August till November the flooded paddy-fields give

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shelter to numerous little fishes from half an inch to 4 inches in length, the smallest is the bitter Keipe, next the Kumbalakotte, the Koile, the Ponakani and the Avari. They are eagerly caught by the natives who are very fond of fish curry. 136* [262]

The shells, which I have been able to collect in Coorg comprise the following: 3 species of the Genus Unio, 2 species of the Genus Helix, the Genus Melania, the Genus Paludina, the Cyrena Malaccensis and the Cyclophorus excellens. The Helicidae are eaten by the natives. [262]

With the termination of the monsoon the insect world, in its varied and often brilliant array, asserts its dominion in the sunny air, the reinvigorated vegetation, on the placid waters and the warm ground. Then is the time for the entomologist to enrich his collection with fresh specimens of the different insect forms, and certainly Coorg offers a rich reward to the enthusiastic lover of nature. A small collection of Coorg Beetles, sent to a German entomologist, was highly appreciated for the variety and beauty of its species. Almost every family of the Coleoptera has its numerous representatives and even a glance over them all, were I able to enumerate them, would be too much for the patience of the reader. Passing over the beautiful family of the Cicindelidæ or Sand-runners and the still more brilliant Buprestidæ and Elateridæ, the powerful family of the Scarabacidæ with the giant Stag-beetle (Lucanus Malabaricus) over 3 inches in length and with light brown elytra; our attention will be arrested by the formidable looking Cerambycidæ or Long-horns, for amongst this family we find the contemptible and yet terrible little enemy of the coffee planters in Coorg and Southern India generally: the Coffee-Borer (Clytus Coffeophagus or Xylotrechus quadrupes) of which our woodcut gives a very good representation. The

The Coffee-Borer beetle (Xylotrechus quadrupes) slightly enlarged.

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and the pods ripen in October or November, when the sunny weather favors the gathering; perennial plants yield however ripe cotton almost at all seasons; and the monsoon crop is of course lost. My own experience on a coffee plantation near Anandapur with all available kinds of cotton seed led me to the conclusion, that the Sea-Island and Berar-Hybrid would yield most satisfactory results. Egyptian cotton grown in 1865 by Captain Taylor on the Sampáji Ghat produced a fibre, which was pronounced by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce the best that had reached the Bombay market. 248

The Plantain (Musa paradisiaca) of which there is a wild kind in the hill-jungles, is common all over Coorg near native dwellings. The 10 to 12 feet high succulent stem consists of a number of fibrous sheaths that may be considered the continuation of the leaf-stalks and is at the base nearly one foot thick. The leaves forming a tuft on the apex of the stem are 6 or 8 feet long and 2 feet broad. In the centre of the stem is a white solid substance forming a cylinder throughout its length. It is used by the natives for curry, when broken across, it shows bundles of spiral vessels to great perfection. The continuation of this cylinder beyond the stem forms the flower-stalk, it is therefore evident that one tree can bear but once, after which it is cut down and a new shoot springs up from the root, by which means the plantain is chiefly propagated. The closely packed conical flower head is not unlike a red cabbage in appearance, and by its own weight inclines downward in a graceful curve. Each of the purple leathery leaves or involucres coated with a pale bloom of great delicacy, covers a double row of 9 or 12 elongate yellowish red flowers, extending in a spiral line over one-third of the circumference of the fleshy stalk. With the maturity of each successive row of flowers, the involucre reclines and falls off, and the fruit appears, which when ripe is from 3 to 6 inches long and from half an inch to 2 inches thick. In its spiral clustering 245 [262]

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245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
130 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

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Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 993 -- Analyst]

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preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

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an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déva!" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. 796 [262]

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When [534] [533]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shiváchárics possess rich endowments. 635 563 [177]

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.) [137] [243] [245] [273] [262] [222]

Frasorpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasorpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site 632 [361] [485]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263] and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757] use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782] crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648] with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415] into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824] To the hut before sunset.

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almands. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pámi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

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796 [264]

hood.) On the return of the man from the field, the whole family sit down in the kitchen and eat the cakes prepared by the mistress and the other females after their morning entrance into the cooking and dining-room. When the cakes are consumed, the ceremony of the Kávéri-day is over. In houses, where some one knows how to read, he takes the Góvina-pada book and recites *the Song of the Cow*, the rest of the family listening. The day is kept as a holiday; nobody is expected to work. But there is no further ceremony.

796 539

The substance of the lay of the cow is as follows:—One great herd of cattle was grazing in the forest, when a royal tiger appeared and in a few moments by three or four leaps threw himself into the midst of the poor, peaceful animals. The whole herd, affrighted, ran off in wild despair in all directions. One cow only stood still, and was seized by the savage beast. The cow, however, made bold to speak to her destroyer, and said: "You will kill and devour me. Do it. But give me a few moments' leave to go after my poor calf, to let it drink for the last time, and to commit it to the care of kind friends, before I die." The tiger, astonished and moved by the speech of his victim, causes the cow to swear, that, after performing her last duty, she will return and deliver herself to her hungry master. She swears and goes to seek her calf. Having found it, she gives it to drink, and then commits it to the care of her friends, entreating them to allow it to share their milk with their own calves, not to kick, when it comes from behind to drink, nor to turn their horns against it, when it comes in front. Having sworn, she would rather die, than break her word, she returns to the tiger, and begs his pardon for having detained him so long and increased his hunger. But the tiger in the presence of such truth and goodness, is seized with remorse. His heinous sins rise to his mind in dreadful array. The slayer of a thousand cows sinks under the burden of his wickedness.

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so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Hedde-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

137 314 [313] [372] [386] [388] [386] [333] [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is Preserved in sugar.

[313] [245] [271] [251]

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 585

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 581

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
●272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

[272] [415] [252] [576]

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

858 [574] 888 576

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia).

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a dense coarse grass, which at times greatly impedes their ascent. As the western forests are left and the eastern districts approached, many of the trees just enumerated are still met with, but added thereto others more characteristic of a drier climate. On entering into the more open country, there are found upon the grassy glades (Báné) smaller trees and shrubs, disposed with an artless grace, that the landscape gardener in vain seeks to imitate. Here spring and summer, in sweet embrace, hold perpetual sway, and the very air, so cool and fresh, seems imbued with life and health. 137

The aromatic Jasmine with its pure white flowers, the Coorg Rose in its rustic simplicity, the Gloriosa superba with its flaming corolla, the Melastoma malabathricum with its strange looking ribbed leaves and splendid mauve coloured flowers, the Coorg Lilac (Callicarpa Wallichiana) with its small red cymes of flowers, and the Adisia humilis with translucent rose coloured flowers, that look as if they had been cut out of a rare cornelian; these and many other flowering shrubs and herbs greet the eye here.

As we approach the Coorg houses, we come upon groves of Orange, Lime, Guava (Psidium pyriferum), Rose-apple (Jambosa vulgaris), Pomegranate, and clumps of Plantain trees, all of which thrive remarkably well. The Bastard Sago is much esteemed for its toddy and the Areca palm occasionally keeps its company, and their foliage, blended with the dense crown of the stately mango or jack tree, forms a beautiful back ground to the large paddy flats below. [245] [273]

We enter now upon the eastern or bamboo district of Coorg called Kanawé-kádu. The character of this district is indicated by the prevalence of large clumps of bamboo, interspersed with Blackwood, Matti, Hony, Teak, Sandal and other trees. Whoever had the good luck of seeing a Coorg bamboo jungle a few years ago when in its full vigour of growth, cannot have failed to be struck with the elegance and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nfradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyasteru", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

623 692 681 623 692 662 182 [273] ooo

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttanád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Nádu. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Frasérpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasérpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

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635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
● [273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38¼ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingsites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

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654 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three
648 annas per acre.
651

d. *Abkári.*

651 Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or
273 sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best
[656] intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet
273 and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret
178 of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

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eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country.

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery!

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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social life as well as a happy state. Mourners who have been withdrawn from participation in social life have to abstain from betel leaves, and the ritual chewing of betel leaves is one of the symbols of the end of mourning.

On the twelfth day, at the burial-ground, mourners offer the dead man's spirit betel leaves and areca-nut along with meat and liquor. Each of them then takes a betel leaf and areca-nut out of the leaf-cup in which they are placed and chews them. When they come home the family friend hands to each of them a few betel leaves and areca-nut which they chew for a while, and then take the chewed stuff out of their mouths and throw it on to the roof of the mourning-house. This is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

It is pertinent to recall here that the second-grade mourners are given betel leaves and areca-nut on the eleventh day alone after the performance of a particular rite called *mēnguva*. The first-grade mourners perform the latter rite on the day before *māda*, but they are *not* given betel leaves and areca-nut to chew at the end of it as the most rigorous part of mourning ends for them only on the *māda* day, after returning home from the burial-ground. It is appropriate then that they should not be given betel leaves and areca-nut till the *māda* day.

A relative who chewed betel leaves during mourning would be regarded as lacking in affection towards the dead person, if not actually gloating over his death. It is not very easy to hide the chewing of betel as the mouth and lips become very red after chewing.

It has already been mentioned that there is a great difference, if not opposition, between the ritual treatment of the mourners and the corpse. Things forbidden to the mourners are offered to the spirit of the dead person. For instance, while mourners have to abstain from meat, liquor, and betel and nut, the spirit of the dead man is offered these articles. The mourners have to show their sorrow by abstaining from dietary articles which have come to stand for happiness or wealth or participation in social life. While the mourner denies to himself things that he likes or values, he offers them to the dead man's spirit to show his affection and regard. While the mourner abstains from chewing betel leaves, a paste made by pounding betel leaves and areca-nut together is put into the corpse's mouth. Later, the dead person's spirit is offered betel leaves and areca-nut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual.

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage.

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'.

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [571] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and [276] servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [411] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

244 137 *English Vegetables* are satisfactorily grown by Mercara residents and still more so by some planters on their estates. Potatoes and Cabbage thrive remarkably well; also Peas, Beans, Knoll kohl, Salad, Beets, Turnips and Carrots of excellent quality are produced. The natives do now only attempt to cultivate these vegetables, but the markets are unsupplied with them.

244 *Native Vegetables*, which are reared on patches of paddy-fields after harvest time, or in small gardens, in the villages about Fraserpet, include: French Beans, Radishes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Indian Corn, Brinjals, Chillies, Coriander, Amaranthus and others, but even these are not plentiful in the Mercara market, and what there is comes chiefly from Fraserpet.

243 *Dry grain*, such as Ragy, Avary, Tavary, Huruli and others are chiefly grown in the open country of the Nanjarájpatna taluq lying along the western banks of the Kávéri. It is there also, that Tobacco is cultivated for sale, whilst in most of the Coorg farms little reserved patches of the narcotic is grown for home-consumption; but the Coorg tobacco is of an indifferent description, no particular care being bestowed upon its cultivation. The introduction of a new seed would [248] have a beneficial influence. A few Hemp plants are here and [276] there grown near native houses, but more for the use of smoking the intoxicating leaves, than for the sake of the fibre.

241 243 Similar to other hilly parts of India, there prevails a primitive mode of cultivation called "kumari," which is practised by the lowest classes of natives, the Kurumbas and Kudias, chiefly on the western slopes of the Ghats. They cut and burn a patch of jungle, and plant either the small reddish hill-rice, sown broadcast upon the slightly dug up land, or Ragy. The former yields a 10 fold, the latter a 200 to 300 fold return. Such fields are only once or twice cultivated, when they are abandoned in favour of a new piece

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ∂ upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features, and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa),
314 though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its
[386] scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg Laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of
[278] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia.
137 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave
245 Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. The re-
137 cognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has
314 brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Sponea Wightii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-máwina-mara*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Hedde-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

137 314 [313] [372] [386] [388] [386] [333] [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is Preserved in sugar.

[313] [245] [271] [251]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought after and eaten by the natives. 137 314 [262]

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pandanus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farinifera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms before the hot season in January presents the appearance of, what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee estate. 137 [285] [293] [262]

At Frasrpet in the compound of the Coorg Superintendent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading, and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13 a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enterprise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open, but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several representatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Sániwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38¾ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetarians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous [291] unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

533
291

MÉDAS AND POLEYAS PROVIDE MUSIC FOR COORG DANCERS

[Facing p. 192]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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AN ELDER

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A WIDOW

[Facing pg 208]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Pilgrims at Bhagamandala

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Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bhagamandala

[facing p. 3]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A View of a Coorg House and its sylvan environment

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A Front View of a Coorg House

[facing p.40]

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A Coorg Male Group

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A Coorg Married Couple

[facing p. 41]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Coorgs in National Costume

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A Village Tekka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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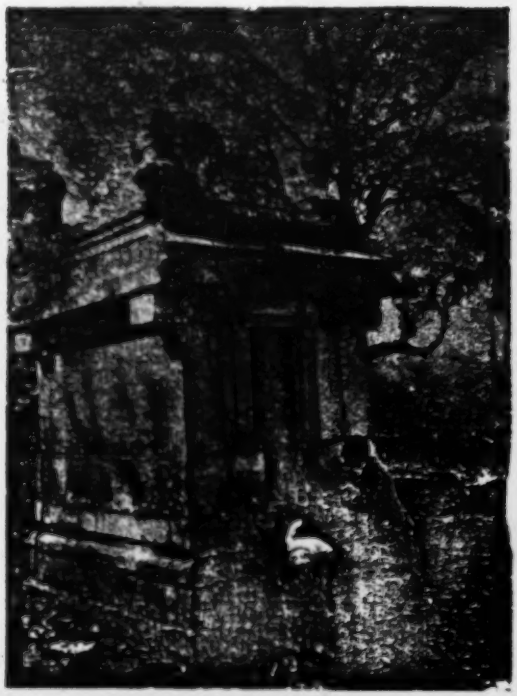

A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)

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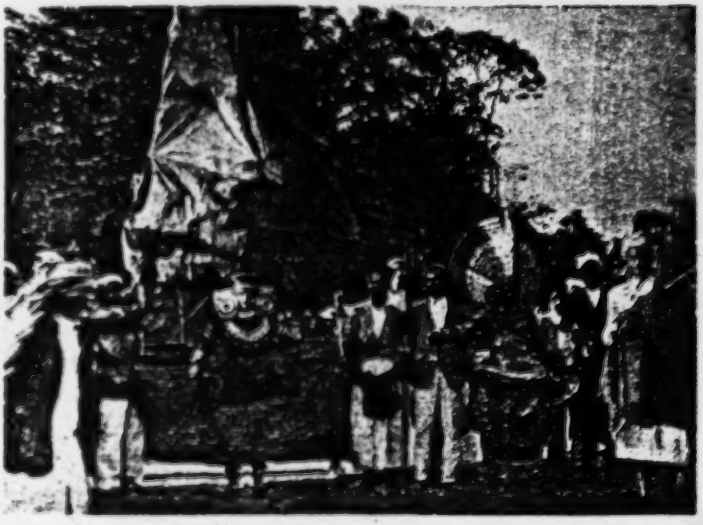

A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

[facing p. 51]

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [521] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and [276] servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [411] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *ch uriguubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [551]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connet, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Tree Worship

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Huttari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

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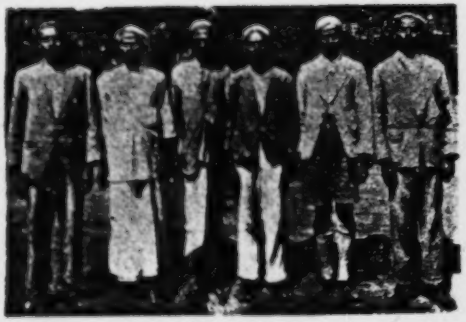
A typical Coorg in his smart attire



Amma Coorg Male Group

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137

An Amma Coorg House

[facing p.65]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 112]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[42] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 493 -- Analyst]

[Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ∂ upon the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after marriage, disfigures their regular features. and blackens their otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck. A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds, which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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COORGS
grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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302

A Coorgman armed.

Photogr by the Rev. G. Richter Lith. by B. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 136]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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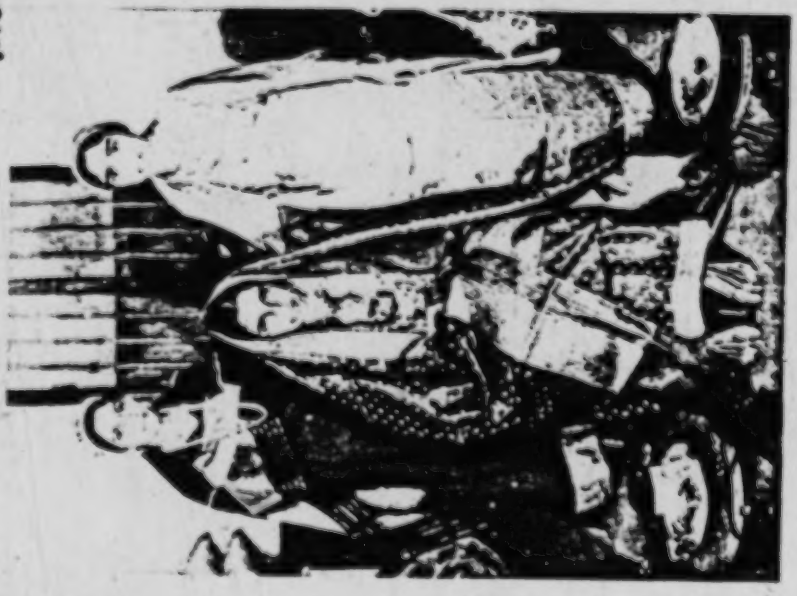
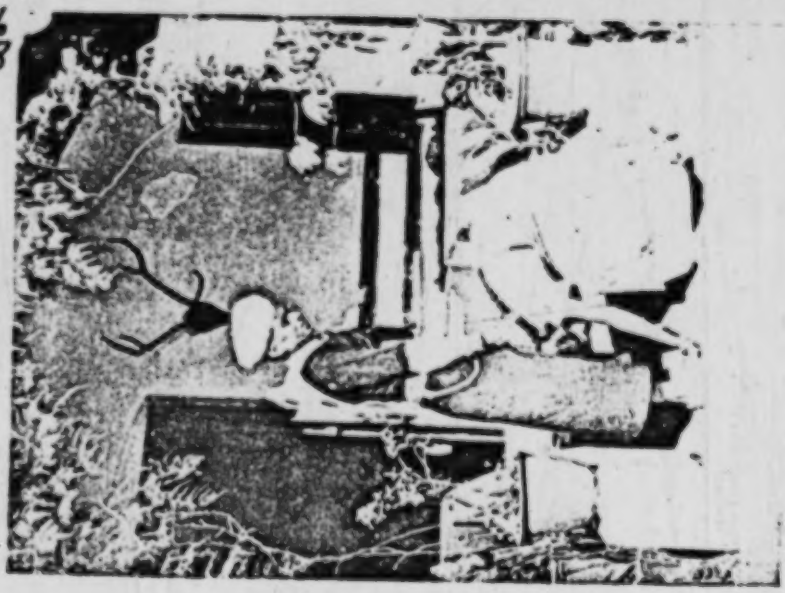


A BRIDE

576
888



A GIRL SALUTES HER FATHER

[Facing p. 48]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity. 823 776

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east. [342]

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun. [782] [243]

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death. [764]

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities. [184]

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here. 796 305 292

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath. [584] [783]

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

1: Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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THE RITE OF THE BRIDE CARRYING WATER INTO THE GROOM'S HOUSE

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A COORG HOUSE, RECENTLY BUILT

[Facing p. 80]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *pīché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni maṇḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the [764] underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[784] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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AN ELDER

142
292

A WIDOW

[Facing p. 208]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585

[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older
[602] than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were
[515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls
[602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office
[292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger
[301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth
[292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been
[342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the
[778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house
[178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of
[533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front
[782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between
[605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are
[834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna-
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by [326]
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ಶ upon the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after marriage, disfigures their regular features. and blackens their otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck. A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds, which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 [556] The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] [562] [554] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, discussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata: This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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*643

slaughter, game without distinction or number being killed on these occasions. He is a good marksman, uses his spear with dexterity, is an excellent mahout and skilful rider; it is difficult to say, whether he takes an active personal share in the administration of his affairs—I am led to think not—nor is it easy to state what are his usual occupations or the ordinary distribution of his time, when not exposed to public view; much of it, however, is devoted to frivolous and childish pursuits.

[292]
[411]
[301]

"Lingarája is now in his forty-fourth year, about the middle size and actively formed, but in no way remarkable for any particular symmetry of features; he is rather dark complexioned and the general expression of his countenance is not disagreeable, though not indicating the habit of peremptory authority and acknowledged command; he is plain in his dress, being usually habited in a loose gown, reaching to his ancles; to this is added a black silk cape, and a cap of similar materials substitutes the place of a turban; on great occasions, however, this simplicity of dress gives way to the splendour of an English general's uniform; a string of pearls to which some jewels are affixed suspended round his neck forms the only ornament of his person, a Codagu sword is always placed on the table before him (it appears one of the ensigns of his authority) or carried with him, when he moves.

"The forms of his court exhibit but little pagentry, presenting nothing of that cumbrous and barbaric pomp in which Native Princes of whatsoever rank so much delight; indeed it is remarkable that he seems always surrounded by menials rather than men of rank. There is, however, an appearance of permanent regularity and economy, the reverse of that gorgeous improvidence for which they are remarkable. About 90 elephants and half as many horses together with some troops of dancing girls—without which Hindu greatness would be incomplete—serve to maintain the rustic splendour

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
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(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought after and eaten by the natives. 137 314 [262]

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pandanus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farinifera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms before the hot season in January presents the appearance of, what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee estate. 137 [285] [293] [262]

At Frasrpet in the compound of the Coorg Superintendent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading, and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13 a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enterprise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open, but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several representatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

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seed. The seed paddy is heaped up on the north side of the house, watered for 3 days, then covered up with plantain leaves and stones, till it begins to sprout. The nursery ground has meanwhile again been ploughed and harrowed, and the water allowed to run off, so that the grain when sown is just imbedded in the soft mud. After 20 or 30 days the blades have attained a height of about one foot and the seedlings are ready for transplanting. Beautiful as are corn and clover fields in Europe, there is no vegetation there that surpasses in beauty the brilliant green of a rice nursery. The eye is irresistibly attracted to these bright spots and rests upon them with the utmost delight! 243

Regulated by the monsoon rain the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women, covered with leaf-umbrellas, called Goragas, that rest on the head and protect the whole of the body, pull out the plants from the nursery, tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled with the Tawe, "till the soil is soft as treacle, white as milk the foaming surface," when all the men of the house, placed in a line and standing almost knee deep in the muddy fields, begin the transplanting in which women are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited over the field; each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left and with the right hand presses with great rapidity 6 or 8 seedlings together into the mud, keeping a regular distance of about 6 inches. Before the completion of the largest field an open space of about 10 feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorgs' race-ground and offers right good sport which greatly exhilirates their monotonous task. All the men engaged in the work—and 15 are reckoned for a 100 butties of land—may run, but 4 or 5 only obtain a prize. Wearing merely a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run, for which their powerful [293] 243 461 526

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood. 328 304

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification. 296 292 783

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions. 305 783 [302]

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *vōṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore. [564] 285 [538]

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground. 357 765

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste. 357 585

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[p. 70]

III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

881 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *hemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist [301] for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 [515] [602] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were [515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls [602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office [292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger [301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth [292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been [342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the [778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house [178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of [533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front [782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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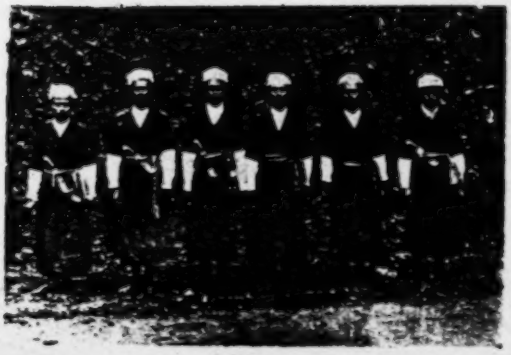
[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mammā, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between [605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are [834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.



291

A Coorg Male Group

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301

A Coorg Married Couple

[facing p. 41]

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken
care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women,. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *chauri-gubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [551]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. [825] The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

142 distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the pre-
[302] sent military regulation, they shave their chin but sport
[554] mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than
might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life
[186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of
manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained
by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

291 The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white
[411] or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It
reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white,
short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour
extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash
of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist
and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or
silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief
or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at
the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms
the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light
[301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus
ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver
and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete
their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the
Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not
fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the
front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a
more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing.
714 His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and
411 shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti),
he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved,
broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the
[147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand
[527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young
Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to
decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 493 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the ker- 531 chiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata: This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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COORGS
grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175
*643

slaughter, game without distinction or number being killed on these occasions. He is a good marksman, uses his spear with dexterity, is an excellent mahout and skilful rider; it is difficult to say, whether he takes an active personal share in the administration of his affairs—I am led to think not—nor is it easy to state what are his usual occupations or the ordinary distribution of his time, when not exposed to public view; much of it, however, is devoted to frivolous and childish pursuits.

[292]
[411]
[301]

"Lingarája is now in his forty-fourth year, about the middle size and actively formed, but in no way remarkable for any particular symmetry of features; he is rather dark complexioned and the general expression of his countenance is not disagreeable, though not indicating the habit of peremptory authority and acknowledged command; he is plain in his dress, being usually habited in a loose gown, reaching to his ancles; to this is added a black silk cape, and a cap of similar materials substitutes the place of a turban; on great occasions, however, this simplicity of dress gives way to the splendour of an English general's uniform; a string of pearls to which some jewels are affixed suspended round his neck forms the only ornament of his person, a Codagu sword is always placed on the table before him (it appears one of the ensigns of his authority) or carried with him, when he moves.

"The forms of his court exhibit but little pagentry, presenting nothing of that cumbrous and barbaric pomp in which Native Princes of whatsoever rank so much delight; indeed it is remarkable that he seems always surrounded by menials rather than men of rank. There is, however, an appearance of permanent regularity and economy, the reverse of that gorgeous improvidence for which they are remarkable. About 90 elephants and half as many horses together with some troops of dancing girls—without which Hindu greatness would be incomplete—serve to maintain the rustic splendour

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
●302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Coorgs in National Costume

622
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142
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A Village Takka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [250] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals 231 and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (now palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- • [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

*The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

[Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, 101
I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues.

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side 142
of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often [302] [554] distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

142 distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the pre-
[302] sent military regulation, they shave their chin but sport
[554] mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than
might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life
[186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of
manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained
by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

291 The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white
[411] or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It
reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white,
short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour
extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash
of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist[1]
and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or
silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief
or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at
the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms
the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light
[301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus
ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver
and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete
their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the
Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not
fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the
front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a
more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing.
714 His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and
411 shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti),
he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved,
broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the
[147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand
[527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young
Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to
decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 473 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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COORGS
grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Coorgman armed.

Photogr by the Rev. G. Richter Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 136]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

791 compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages
787 are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaṇiya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the
[782] patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

792 The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from
[564] Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western
[769] world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

322 Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and
325 goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and
328 carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

328 The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-
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[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *võṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 70]

III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

881 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *hemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

l:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyaṅdira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 428 [884] his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 597 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 [178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-houses, to a feast. [304] [335] The youths would have their ears pierced by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the [574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 [17] In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for [335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood. 328 304

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification. 296 292 783

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions. 305 783 [302]

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *võṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore. [564] 285 [538]

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground. 357 765

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste. 357 585

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305] defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782] the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764] *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372
783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

783 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means
'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and
827 objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle.
827 Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in
539 search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown
827 far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
[491] *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extent of actual cultivation is difficult to estimate, owing to the survey being incomplete. The land under coffee cultivation on the 1st April 1870 was 5,222 acres less than on the same date in 1869, when 55,750 acres were held by Europeans and 29,930 acres by natives, or a total of 85,780 acres, yielding a landtax of Rs. 91,251 whilst the acreage in 1869-70 produced only Rs. 89,942. The assessment for each holder is, after an exemption for the first 4 years, from the fifth to the ninth year 1 rupee per acre and rupees 2 ever after whether cultivated or uncultivated land. The planters, however, hope that Government will reduce this landtax to 1 rupee per acre in consideration of the sore disappointments and losses from unforeseen causes, under the pressure of which 204 acres have already been resigned by planters and, to recover rupees 3,497 for assessment due, several estates amounting to 3,702 acres have been resumed and sold by Government.

245 311 245 651

Chinchona cultivation, has been initiated on a small scale by Government in 1863 in a favourable locality 3 miles to the east of Mercara. There are now several hundred trees in a thriving condition, that yield quantities of seed for distribution and for rearing new plants in the hothouse, which was erected for the purpose on the premises of the Central School. Plants have already been distributed to those taluq cutcherries, in the compounds of which they were thought likely to grow, and the experiment has to some extent proved successful. Seed and plants have also been given to private persons. On several coffee estates small patches have been planted with chinchonas for estate use; but the special cultivation on a large scale has not found favour with any planter, though there is little doubt, that, wherever in the open coffee grows, which belongs to the same natural order viz: Chinchonaceæ, the Chinchona will also thrive. There is some diffidence as to its success as a financial speculation, seeing that the Govern-

249 [245]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 565 701 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards, escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 651 433 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660⅓, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

● 311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 731 423 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

423 643 648 [567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,872¼ butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

311 651 423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,		311
35 „ 50 „	four „	„	651
above 50 „	five „	„	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—,it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [841]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Kanada AW10
Coorg AW5
Tamil AW16

K
C
133

[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

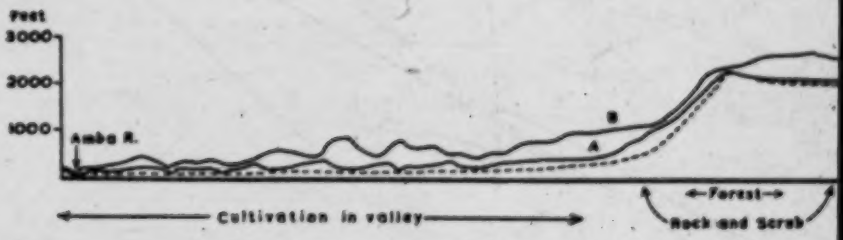

Fig. 125.—SECTION ACROSS THE GHATS. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, 8 interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggtn 2·1.

000
K
C
132

station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

K
C
133
[N 37]
132
311
K
C
161
563

Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[1] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

T

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

[1] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JGJ* XXII (1947), 157–225).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character.

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [312] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built [343] with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW

two rude stone structures, with the customary imprint of two feet (páda) of celestial origin!

C 133 I [178] [211]

Amongst the many ridges that branch off from the Subramanya range of the Ghats the most remarkable is that, which attains its greatest height in Kóte-betta, about 9 miles north of Mercara. Its elevation is over 5000 feet, and its base covers a very large extent of country. Its summit, which is divided into two peaks, one rather pointed – the Harangal-betta—and the other broad, forms a comparatively flat table-land, while its sides are clothed with forest, and innumerable cultivated valleys occupy the recesses. Close to the apex there are two reservoirs of water, one for the use of the Brahmins and one for the Coorgs, which all the year round retain a constant supply. Close to the summit on a spacious platform is a small temple of rough granite slabs dedicated to Shiva. This hill as well as the Nárokal-betta offer, on account of their height and central position, the finest general view of Coorg, and even to the lover of nature, familiar with mountain glories in Scotland, Switzerland or Italy, no more delightful excursion could be recommended than that to these hills.

C [312]

From Kóte-betta to the north is another ridge running parallel with it, the Shanthalli hills, and beyond them is a bluff hill with almost a precipitous declivity on its western face—the Múkri-betta (máku, nose) with a fine coffee plantation at its base.

C [245]

The last remarkable range, that extends from the northern frontier of Coorg down to the Kávéri almost due south, is the Yélusávira hills with the Málimbi and Kanangala peak. The former is distinguished by its beautifully conical shape which strikes the eye in every part of Coorg.

The Geological formation of the Coorg mountains is indicated by the sharply defined outline of the Western Ghats, a feature characteristic of granitic rocks. The constant action

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of 135
it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many 134
places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes [137]
of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region.

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that 316
except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. [135]
The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz.

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the 133
country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean.

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or [312]
depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains [487]
and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts. 183 103

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarábád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps. [134]

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál- 312 793

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

312 703 guna in the year Párthiva. This was written by Venkadasya Mallia Bomarsia at the time of Basawalinga Déva Rája Vodea."

The legend is shortly this: "A merchant Malla Shetty of Yelusávirashíme vowed to build this tank. When it was [782] finished, there was no water forthcoming. Animal sacrifices were suggested by the tank diggers and offered, but in vain. In this distress the goddess Ganga appeared and demanded the little finger of the Shetti. Unwilling to make this sacrifice, he offered the life of Akkony, his daughter-in-law instead, whose husband was away on a journey. Akkony agreed, took an affectionate leave of her child and parents, who were ignorant of her intentions, and amidst great solemnities she stepped into the tank; when Ganga made her appearance in rushing water. Akkony's parents, hearing of the impending sacrifice, hastened to rescue their daughter, but she refused to leave the tank, uttered a curse upon her father and mother-in-law and disappeared in the rising water. She then appeared in a dream to her husband, who speedily returned home, and, on hearing what had happened, killed his parents, and with his child in his arms rushed to the tank and in despair threw himself into it, when both were graciously received by Ganga."

312 Besides the small public tanks, there are only private wells, that yield, if dug deep enough, everywhere sweet and clear water; but it appears, that the natives of Coorg do not bestow enough attention on the great blessing of wholesome water, and are often satisfied with the muddy contents of a hole, carelessly dug by the side of their paddy-fields, though from their own experience they assert, that most of their diseases are owing to the bad quality of their drinking water.

137 *Forests and their general flora and fauna.*—In Coorg extensive forests clothe every mountain range almost up to the summit and bamboo jungles, cover the more level eastern districts,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of a crocodile. Under the knotty swellings of the bark of the Matti tree small quantities of water are hidden, which the lynx-eyed Kuruba readily discovers in his jungle-wanderings during the hot season and from which providential fountains he draws a thirst-quenching draft.[1] The *Hony* or Kino tree (Pterocarpus marsupium) yields an excellent yellowish timber fit for exposure and a valuable brownish gum, the kino, which oozes out from the wounded stem. Chunam brought in contact with it turns bright yellow. 137 313 [312]

Teak or Tectonia grandis occupies a distinct girdle along the eastern boundary of Coorg, within the basin of the Lakshmanatirtha and in Nanjarájpatna and Yélusávirashíme taluq; but, with the exception of the Amali-topu in Kiggatnád, the teak forests in Coorg are neither so dense, nor so stately as those in Burmah, where trees of enormous size and height are found. The large and strongly nerved leaves, rough above, whitish and downy beneath, and the numerous white flowers in terminal branches on the high and many branched trunk, mark the beauty and strength of the tree. Both for house and ship building teak is the best of woods, easily worked and almost indestructible by climate or insects owing to its oily nature. Coorg teak is of most excellent quality, oily and free of heart-shake. It is a Government monopoly and sold from wood-yards at the rate of 12 Annas per cubic foot. [655]

In close proximity to teak and in an equally limited tract of dry and elevated slopes grows the *White Sandal-wood*, (Santalum album) scattered between other trees and on cultivated land. It is rather a small tree of a more or less crooked stem, but its spreading branches with tiny, light-green leaves and yellow or purple coloured small flowers give it an elegant appearance and a marked feature in the landscape. The wood is close-grained and hard, especially the duramen or heart-wood, which for these qualities and for its agreeable scent is highly prized and employed for ornamental boxes, [322]

[1] [Errata: This should read "draught." See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

long yellow legs and straight yellow bill. It keeps in small flocks. The little green Heron (Butatrides Javanicus; *Kg.* kiru-pôle = small crane), the Indian Waterhen (Gallinula) and the Plover or Peevit (*Kg.* uppa-tîte, imitating its cry) are found in marshy places, likewise the Snipe (Gallinago stenura; *Kg.* bandu-koneya = mud squatter) whose flesh is in great estimation with the Coorgs and Europeans; also the green Sandpiper (Aclitis Ochropus) may occasionally be seen. 136* [262]

As there are no large tanks in Coorg, few of the *Natatores* or *swimming birds* are to be found. There is only the Wild Duck or Teal of a larger and smaller species, which the Coorgs call Kôku and Yerande-pakki; the latter dive under the water, as soon as they observe a hunter and remain submerged for a long time. Geese and Turkeys are kept domesticated, but the cold and wet monsoon weather does not agree with turkeys. [312] [231]

A rapid glance over the remaining portion of the Coorg Fauna will be arrested by but a few species of general interest. The *Reptiles* are represented by two kinds of Tortoises, a variety of Lizards, Snakes and Frogs.

The *Tortoises* are found in paddy-fields and small tanks. The shell of one in my possession is 11 inches long and 7 inches broad, but of a bony nature, unfit for ornamental use. Since the devastations of the coffee-borer common Lizards, Bloodsuckers, and Chameleons, all of them insect-feeders, have become of greater importance to the agriculturist. Alligators are occasionally seen in the Káveri, especially near Rámaswámy Kanawé. Last year one of 9 feet in length was caught in Beppunad with a woman's nose-ring and a silver bracelet in his stomach.

Snakes are rather plentiful in Coorg, but the subject has not yet received sufficient attention, to enable me to give the correct name of the different species. Classifying them as poisonous and harmless snakes, the native name may at least

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pdmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 [312] On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled [825] Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

796 For seven days before the Tuláaankramana in the village 788 Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole [532] nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

788 The *Pálár játre* in Kuyingherinád in honor of Pálárappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in [778] the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[55.] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children. Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 masts. By its side may be seen the black Dammer tree or
137 (*Can.*) Dúppa-mara (Canarium strictum) which attains a great
314 height and may be recognised at a distance by the peculiar red colour of its foliage. The resin obtained from this tree has a brilliant black lustre, when adhering to the ash colored bark, but when held up to the light, it is of a rich brownish yellow tint.

Another resin producing tree is the white Dammer tree (Vateria indica). When an incision is made into the bark of this tree and fire applied to it, the charred trunk yields an increased quantity of the fluid resin.

The Calophyllum inophyllum or Alexandrian Laurel supplies a fragrant resin, and from the seeds is extracted by pressure the Pinnay oil of commerce.

The beautiful order *Guttifera* is also frequently represented by at least 2 species. The *Garcinia pictoria* yields a very superior kind of gamboge, and the other species an inferior sort. The gamboge is obtained from the fruit of the tree by pressure and maceration. A very common tree of the dense forest is the wild cinnamon (Cinnamomum iners) the bark of the branches of which is supposed to form part of the Cassia bark of commerce.

137 The following trees are noted for the excellence of their
313 timber or other useful qualities: The Sampige—(Champak) Mi-
314 chelia champaca—with its beautiful and sweet scented flowers; the perfection of beauty in the poetical fancy of the Coorg bard, the Ebony—(Diospyros ebenaster) *Can.* Kari-mara, the Wood-oil tree (Dipterocarpus laevis), the Kanagala tree (Dillenia pentagyna), the Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolius—*Can.* Halasina-mara). The Iron wood (mesua ferrea) with large white fragrant flowers and very hard wood; the Indian Mahogany or White Cedar (Cedrela toona—*Can.* Bellandi-mara), the Red Cedar or Chittagong wood (Chickrassia tabularis), the timber of both trees is little inferior to Mahogany; the wild

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia). 137 313 314 [273] [262]

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's 137 314

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes, [415] 137

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and ap-
C [262] [735] [823] pearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above
Y 313 the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet
• 313 in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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⁄ [Errata: This should read "draught." See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
●313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
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to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
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marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
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245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

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313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valuelessness. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. 137 314
Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The [313]
Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and [372]
sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Heddle-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" [386]
furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut* [388]
tree (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it [386]
is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts [333]
bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes. [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* [313]
(Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On [245]
account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to [271]
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Preserved in sugar.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 masts. By its side may be seen the black Dammer tree or
137 (*Can.*) Dúppa-mara (Canarium strictum) which attains a great
314 height and may be recognised at a distance by the peculiar red colour of its foliage. The resin obtained from this tree has a brilliant black lustre, when adhering to the ash colored bark, but when held up to the light, it is of a rich brownish yellow tint.

Another resin producing tree is the white Dammer tree (Vateria indica). When an incision is made into the bark of this tree and fire applied to it, the charred trunk yields an increased quantity of the fluid resin.

The Calophyllum inophyllum or Alexandrian Laurel supplies a fragrant resin, and from the seeds is extracted by pressure the Pinnay oil of commerce.

The beautiful order *Guttifera* is also frequently represented by at least 2 species. The *Garcinia pictoria* yields a very superior kind of gamboge, and the other species an inferior sort. The gamboge is obtained from the fruit of the tree by pressure and maceration. A very common tree of the dense forest is the wild cinnamon (Cinnamomum iners) the bark of the branches of which is supposed to form part of the Cassia bark of commerce.

137 The following trees are noted for the excellence of their
313 timber or other useful qualities: The Sampige—(Champak) Mi-
314 chelia champaca—with its beautiful and sweet scented flowers; the perfection of beauty in the poetical fancy of the Coorg bard, the Ebony—(Diospyros ebenaster) *Can.* Kari-mara, the Wood-oil tree (Dipterocarpus laevis), the Kanagala tree (Dillenia pentagyna), the Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolius—*Can.* Halasina-mara). The Iron wood (mesua ferrea) with large white fragrant flowers and very hard wood; the Indian Mahogany or White Cedar (Cedrela toona—*Can.* Bellandi-mara), the Red Cedar or Chittagong wood (Chickrassia tabularis), the timber of both trees is little inferior to Mahogany; the wild

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia). 137 313 314 [273] [262]

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's 137 314

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. [415] A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On 137 open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 and the Brambles: Rubus Lasiocarpus or country raspberry, R. Rugosus a scandent, prickly shrub and R. Wallichiana
[245] which yields a delicious fruit. The Conocephalus nivens appears here in great abundance, and proves a troublesome
• [314] weed on some coffee plantations. Its stem yields a beautiful fibre much resembling that of the Rheea or China grass plant.

The forests in the Ghat region are so dense and tangled by thorny underwood and creepers, that they can only be penetrated by beaten paths and under the guidance of one familiar with their formidable mazes. The many densely shaded mountain rills and torrents are generally lined with a great variety of ferns, prominent amongst which is the stately *Tree fern*. In other places delicate reeds (Wette) stud the more humid banks of streams. Stout ratans with terrible spines and slender flagelli lashing the air to keep, as it were, intruders at a distance, climb in all directions and surmount with their feathery leaves the highest trees. Favored by the constantly moist atmosphere the stems of many of the trees are speckled with lichens or covered with rare orchids, mosses, and other parasites especially the Mandali-parasite with its large glossy leaves, irregularly cut on one half of the limb. Festoons of wild pepper and gigantic creepers, which again support the more slender herbaceous vines of Convolvulus, Thimbergia,[2A] Ipomoea, &c. stretch from tree to tree in the most fantastic interlacings and gorgeously decorate the grand timber trees verdant with their foliage and many hued flowers.

[134] The soil, almost everywhere covered with a humid rich stratum of vegetable mould, highly favors the growth of moisture-loving plants, such as the Indian Arrowroot (Curcuma angustifolia), the long rooted Turmeric (Curcuma longa), the Wild Ginger (Zingiber cassumunar) and especially the highly valued Cardamom.

Wherever the hills are denuded of forest, they are clothed

[2A [Errata. This should read "Thunbergia". See corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa),
314 though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its
[386] scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg Laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of
[298] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia.
137 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave
245 Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. The re-
137 cognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has
314 brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Spones Wightii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-mdsina-mara*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

(Xanthochymus pictorius?) forms a striking contrast to the former. Its branches commence near the ground, and covered with elongated dark green glossy leaves form as they ascend a gently inclined cone. The fruit of the size of an orange and beautifully yellow is rather acid, but it is eagerly sought after and eaten by the natives. 137 314 [262]

A graceful vegetable beauty of a different character is presented to view by the *Bilwára tree* (Mimosa) which with its spreading airy crown of tiny pinnate leaves and small white fragrant flowers is a graceful jungle ornament. The wood is very hard and strong. Near banks of streams and water courses the Coldera bush or *Fragrant Screwpine* (Pandanus odoratissimus) is commonly found and much used for making mats and umbrellas. In many arid places in the east and north of Coorg the *Dwarf date palm* (Phoenix farinifera) nearly monopolizes the ground. Its leaves are made into mats and baskets and from the small stem a farinaceous substance is prepared for food. A hillock of date palms before the hot season in January presents the appearance of, what we hope may be a thing of the past, a bored coffee estate. 137 [285] [293] [262]

At Frasepet in the compound of the Coorg Superintendent's Bungalow there are a few trees of the valuable *Divi-divi* or Shumach tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria). It is a small umbrageous tree and would do very well for coffee-shading, and its incurved oblong pods contain about 50 per cent of tannin, the price of which varies in Europe from £8 to £13 a ton, so that its cultivation might pay as a commercial enterprise.

Thus these eastern jungles contain a number of useful trees. I would now add a few trees, growing in the open, but thriving re.....kably well in Coorg, viz: the several representatives of the Ficus tribe, especially the Banian tree (Ficus Indica), of which there are some beautiful specimens near

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 Fraserpet to which the elegant lines of Southey so truly apply:—

"It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree.
For over the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swang.
Others of younger growth, unmoved, were hung
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor
And through the leaf-cope which bower'd it over
Came gleams of checkered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer."

(*The Curse of Kehama*, Book 13.)

The *Pippal* (Ficus religiosa) is likewise a large tree and found nearly in every temple in Coorg, but growing best in the drier districts. This tree proves most destructive to neglected buildings; when once rooted in crevices, nothing can withstand its progress. More common than both preceding trees [262] is the *Atti-mara* or "Ficus glomerata" with fruit much like the common fig and which is eaten by the natives. The *Indian Caoutchouc tree* "Ficus elastica" also occurs and is not only a useful but highly ornamental tree. The milky juice [314] obtained from incisions into the bark is exposed to the air, when the *Caoutchouc* or elastic substance spontaneously separates, leaving a foetid whey-coloured liquid.

[655] Almost a stranger to Coorg and growing only in several places along the Káveri between Fraserpet and Sómawarpet,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

To facilitate reference to the vegetable products of Coorg jungle trees and plants, they are here enumerated under the classification of 314

a. Gums. (soluble in water)—They are obtained from the cashew-nut tree (Anacardium occidentale), the Ambate-mara or hog-plum (Spondias mangifera), the Atti-mara (Ficus glomerosa), the Gambali-mara, the Halumatti-mara, the jack tree (Artocarpus hirsutus), the elephant or wood-apple tree (Feronia elephantum), the bastard teak (Butea frondosa) and the Babul tree (Acacia Arabica).

b. Caoutchouc—or elastic gum is supplied by "Ficus elastica" and "Isonandra acuminata".

c. Gum-resins—the produce of Garcinia pictoria (gambogo), Pterocarpus marsupium (kino), Boswellia glabra (kundricum), Odina wodier (odina gum), Neem tree and Bombax Malabaricum.

d. Oleo-resins—obtained from the Canarium strictum (black dammer), Shorea robusta (rál), Vateria Indica (Indian copal), Dipterocarpus laevis (wood-oil), Calophyllum Inophyllum and Terminalia coreacea.

e. Oils—extracted from the seeds of the Neem tree, the Alexandrian laurel, the Powali, the Nirala and the Kákorate tree.

f. Fibres—obtained from the Kóli, Antupurle, and Bendé-mara, the Indian fig, pippal, banyan and red wooded fig tree (Ficus racemosa), the variegated American aloe, the long aloe (Agave vivipera), the Indian hemp (Crotalaria Juncea), the bow-string hemp (Sanseviera zeilanica). The plantain (musa paradisiaca and textilis), the paddy straw (Oriza sativa), the mat-rush (Cyperus textilis), the broom grass (Aristida setacea), the cotton plant (Gossypium Herbaceum), the silk-cotton tree (Bombax Pentandrum), the Conocephalus nivens, the Sponia Wightii or Charcoal tree,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•314 the Nerium grandiflorum and the Isora corylifolia or sham hazel.

g. Tannin—the produce of the bark of the Babool tree, the Neem tree, the Bauhinia variegata, the Buchanania latifolia, the Hymenodyction excelsum, of the pod of the Divi-divi tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria), and of the nut of the Alalimara (Terminalia Chebula).

[386] *h. Dyes—Red*, obtained from the Rottleria tinctoria, the Indian madder (Hedyotis umbellata), Indian mulberry (Morinda citrifolia) the red sandal (Pterocarpus Santalinus). *Yellow*, from the bastard teak (Butea frondosa), the gamboge tree (Garcinia pictoria), the Xanthochymus pictorius and the Berberis tinctoria.

[388] *i. Saponaceous matter*—yielded by the bark of the Babool tree, the pods of Mimosa saponaria and the fruit of the Soapnut tree (Sapindus).

*136 *General fauna of Coorg*—It may be easily imagined, that a country, so well watered and wooded and with a vegetation abounding in nourishing produce, will sustain a great variety of animal life. This was still more the case ere the resounding axe of the planter and the still more frequent echo of the sportman's rifle have disturbed the animals' secluded abodes and driven them to remoter regions.

A brief grouping of the more prominent representatives of animal life in Coorg will be all that can be attempted within the small space allotted to the subject. Descending in the scale of zoological classification, it is the monkey tribe, that first claims our attention and there are 3 species for inspection: the black, the grey and the brown monkey. The black monkey or "Wanderoo" (Silenus veter. Linn)—*Kg.* Karingódo—is rather scarce and only found in the Male-kádu or Ghat forests. It has greyish whiskers, chest and belly, and is of small size. Its intelligent look and playful disposition render it a favorite with the natives, but like other monkeys,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of 135
it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many 134
places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes [137]
of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region.

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that 316
except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. [135]
The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz.

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the 133
country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean.

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or [312]
depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains [487]
and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of a crocodile. Under the knotty swellings of the bark of the Matti tree small quantities of water are hidden, which the lynx-eyed Kuruba readily discovers in his jungle-wanderings during the hot season and from which providential fountains he draws a thirst-quenching draft. ⁄ The *Hony* or Kino tree (Pterocarpus marsupium) yields an excellent yellowish timber fit for exposure and a valuable brownish gum, the kino, which oozes out from the wounded stem. Chunam brought in contact with it turns bright yellow. 137 313 [312]

Teak or Tectonia grandis occupies a distinct girdle along the eastern boundary of Coorg, within the basin of the Lakshmanatirtha and in Nanjarájpatna and Yélusávirashíme taluq; but, with the exception of the Amali-topu in Kiggatnád, the teak forests in Coorg are neither so dense, nor so stately as those in Burmah, where trees of enormous size and height are found. The large and strongly nerved leaves, rough above, whitish and downy beneath, and the numerous white flowers in terminal branches on the high and many branched trunk, mark the beauty and strength of the tree. Both for house and ship building teak is the best of woods, easily worked and almost indestructible by climate or insects owing to its oily nature. Coorg teak is of most excellent quality, oily and free of heart-shake. It is a Government monopoly and sold from wood-yards at the rate of 12 Annas per cubic foot. [655]

In close proximity to teak and in an equally limited tract of dry and elevated slopes grows the *White Sandal-wood*, (Santalum album) scattered between other trees and on cultivated land. It is rather a small tree of a more or less crooked stem, but its spreading branches with tiny, light-green leaves and yellow or purple coloured small flowers give it an elegant appearance and a marked feature in the landscape. The wood is close-grained and hard, especially the duramen or heart-wood, which for these qualities and for its agreeable scent is highly prized and employed for ornamental boxes, [322]

⁄ [Errata: This should read "draught." See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features, and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. 137 314
Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The [313]
Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and [372]
sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Hedde-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" [386]
furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut* [388]
tree (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure [386]
black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpas Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts [333]
bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes. [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* [313]
(Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On [245]
account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to [271]
many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is [251]
Preserved in sugar.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious
[178] mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

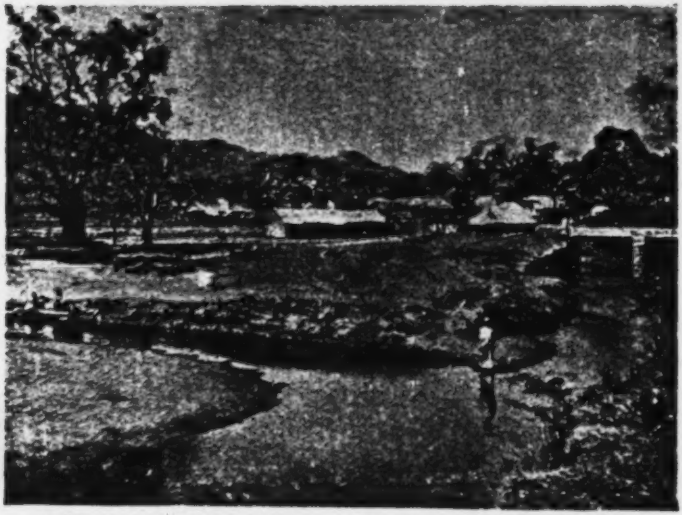
In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

A View of Talai Cauvery



The junction of the Kanaka and the Cauvery at Bhagamandala

[facing p.2]

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467 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[244] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[528] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

342 596 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding [628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

596 423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some [383] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A [764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead [351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[778] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children. [591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a 596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned 587 earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanda *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

1: Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

292
142

THE RITE OF THE BRIDE CARRYING WATER INTO THE GROOM'S HOUSE

342

A COORG HOUSE, RECENTLY BUILT

[Facing p. 80]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior
622 agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one
622 woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till
829 death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a
[342] Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to
572 another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 778 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanié), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 [515] [602] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were [515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls [602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office [292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger [301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth [292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been [342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the [778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house [178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of [533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front [782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mammé, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between [605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are [834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A View of a Coorg House and its sylvan environment

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A Front View of a Coorg House

[facing p. 40]

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

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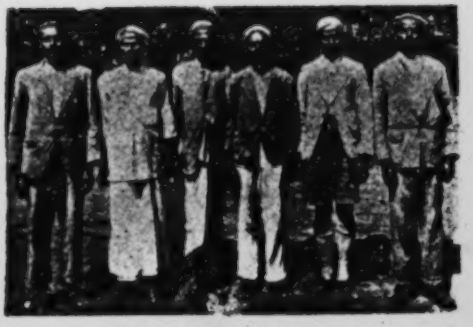
A typical Coorg in his smart attire



Amma Coorg Male Group

●342
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An Amma Coorg House

[facing p.65]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

a. The Coorg house.

The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan. In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built [343] with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing [821]
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

kádili) is of a brownish colour; in its provident care against the rainy season it commits great damage to the ripening paddy-fields and stores considerable quantities of grain in its subterraneous burrows, to the great satisfaction, however, of the lynxeyed Wotter (tank digger) who searches after the little granary and carries away in triumph the owner and its property for his own meal. A formidable rat for its destructive burrowing habits is the Bandicoot (*Mus bandicota Can.* Heggana). It grows to the size of a sucking pig, is of a blackish colour and lives near houses. To protect their rice against these enemies, the Coorgs store their grain in enclosures, called pattáya, which are raised 2 feet from the ground with an open space all round. It undermines walls and causes buildings to tumble down. Its flesh is eaten by the Holeyas, Kurubas and Yerawas. 136* [251] [343]

Of squirrels there are 4 species: the striped, the grey, the red and the flying squirrel. The first species (Tamias striatus) is very common in the open and warmer districts of Coorg, especially in Fraserpet, where it familiarly runs along the thatched roofs of the European bungalows and amuses their inmates with its little squeak. It is a pretty tiny creature; with its tail it measures about 9 inches. Its body is of a greyish colour, whitish below and 3 brown longitudinal stripes and 2 white ones on the upper parts. In Hindoo fable, this little animal is said to have been rewarded by Ráma for its services in constructing his bridge over the sea to Ceylon. Passing his hand over its back he said: "Shábás" (well done) and behold, it was marked with indelible streaks!

The grey squirrel is somewhat larger than the former, without stripes, and lives on trees. The red squirrel (Sciurus maximus, *Can.* kenjari) is a remarkably lively and handsome animal, when enjoying its native liberty. In length over two feet, of which its bushy tail measures half, it surpasses its European cousin in size and beauty. All that can be

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[197] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
779 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
177 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

344

7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "the Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 413 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

was built by Dodda-Virájender in 1794 and formed in those 344
days an almost inaccessible small mountain-fortress, defended by strong barriers along the steep approaches. Now it is partly turned into the nád Cutcherry and the upper rooms are reserved for visiting Government Officials. In front of the palace near the right corner stands in tolerable preservation a handsome little pavilion (Dáremandappa), which was erected for the celebration of Dodda-Virájender's second marriage with Mahadévamma in February 1796. Under proper management the land belonging to the palace might be turned into fertile and profitable vegetable gardens or other plantations. The palace at Halerinád is built after the plan of other Coorg houses on a larger scale only and secured by breastworks and barriers.

The Palace in Mercara, thoroughly repaired during the last two years and an iron roof put on at an expense of 80,000 Rupees, is a conspicuous building of modern date. According to an inscription on a metal plate in one of the palace-rooms it was commenced on the first day of the new moon of the Bhádrapada month (15th August—15th September) in 1735 of the Sálivâhana era i. e. in 1812 and completed in 2 years and 1 month by Lingarájendra Vodeya, the younger brother of Dodda-Virájender. The inscription concludes: "The pious, who praise Almighty God, by whose grace this "magnificent palace was constructed after the removal of the "rugged hill-top, shall enjoy eternal happiness in this world "and in the world to come."

The ground plan of the palace is that of a Coorg house [177]
with a superstructure in European fashion. It forms a large square of 200 feet with an open space in the centre, is 2 stories high and presents a fine front. A range of arches runs nearly along the whole extent of the bottom part, the upper having a contiguous row of windows shut in by glass sashes and venetian blinds, the centre window projecting into a small

[Errata: This should read "Kachéri." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•344 balcony supported by two upright horses formed of masonry. Along the ridge of the roof runs a balustrade of ornamental masonry. The other three sides of the building present nearly a blank space varied only by a few irregular apertures to admit air, for they can hardly be called windows. The rooms which have been adapted to European convenience as best they could, are tenanted by the officers of the Native Regiment, stationed at Mercara. The whole palace is built of brick and excellent mortar and altogether finished with solidity and elegance, such as characterise no other modern buildings in Coorg. In one of the lower rooms the strongly secured *Provincial Treasury* is located.

A reception house for English visitors to the late Rajahs formerly stood on the site of the present Government Central School, in the midst of a plantation of orange and other trees. It owed its existence to the gratitude of Dodda-Virájender who had a warm attachment for the English. It was a handsome building in the form of a square with four turrets at the angles and 2 stories high. Both as to architecture and furniture it was executed in European style, and nothing was forgotten, that could render it a comfortable abode to travellers, accustomed to the luxuries of civilized life. It is referred to with high praise in the Memoranda of English visitors in those days. With the advent of the British Government it fell into disuse which did not justify an expensive up-keep, and being abandoned it soon became a ruin, and was demolished, its stones being partly used in the erection of the Central School.

349 **b. Mausoleums.**

The most remarkable modern buildings in Coorg are the *Mausoleums* of *Dodda-Virájender* and *Lingarájender* and their favourite Queens. These edifices are exactly alike and stand close to one another. The first was erected shortly after Virájender's death in 1809 by Lingarájender, and the other

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

349 *Nanjunda Arasu*, who had ruled over Periapatam. Shortly before his death, whilst on a visit to his nephew, the Coorg Rajah Dodda-Vírappa Vodeya, the fortress fell through treachery into the hands of the Mysoreans with the loss of all his remaining family. In his affliction he addressed the Coorg Rajah thus: "As old age had come upon us, we intended with your permission to have placed our son in the Government of Periapatam and, renouncing the desire of this world, to have given ourselves to constant adoration of Siva. At such time of old age the great God has shown us a misery, we ought never to have looked upon. Do you take possession of the country which has passed from our hands? ⅟ Build and give us a house to live in till our life come to a close, and a temple for Vírabhadra, our household god. Besides, it is our mind, to consecrate a Linga in our name. For this purpose let a temple be built on the banks of the Kávéri river, in it a Linga be consecrated in our name after the close of our life, our grave be made in front of that temple, a stone portico be built over it and a Basavéshvara consecrated in it." In compliance with this request Dodda-Vírappa had a palace built near the river on the spot chosen by him at Holesálhalli, surrounding it with a ditch, settled him there and gave it the name Nanjaráyapattana. For his bodyguard he appointed 700 Coorgmen. He built also Vírabhadra's temple, erected another stone temple over the Linga, called Nanjundéshvara, and after Nanjunda's death he laid him in a grave constructed according to his wishes and made a grant of some lands for the perpetual performance of a religious service.

[344]

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c. Antique Sepulchres or Cairns and Monumental Stones.

Cairns, those mysterious prehistoric tumuli, which are found all over the old world from Scandinavia to the far East and which puzzle alike the simple peasant and the astute

⅟ [Errata: This should read "hands." (Period), rather than "hands?". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of ● 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Gaṇēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvti respectively. The services of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sārtāvu of Makki is referred to as Makki Sārtāvu, and so on. Frequently, the name by which a deity is popularly known gives no clue as to his Sanskritic affiliations: the deity Pālūrappa is said to be 'really' Vishṇu, but he is ordinarily referred to by the former name. Kuṭṭatammé means the 'Mother of Kuṭṭa' (a village in south Coorg), and this is the name by which the deity is popularly known. The deity's 'real' name is Karīn Kāḷi (Black Kāḷi), who is identified with one of the manifestations or forms of Parvati, wife of Shiva.

But it is not always that the popular name hides the Sanskritic affiliations of a deity: Bhadrakāḷi, Chāmuṇḍi, Povvedi (Bhagavati), Mādēva (Mahādēva), &c., have obvious Sanskritic affiliations, though such affiliations may not be known to all or even most of the devotees.

Nowhere in India are the village-deities regarded as gentle. This applies to Coorg too. The deity Madērappa settles down in the village Madé, and immediately flowers wither, sown seeds fail to sprout, and babies die in cradles. Another village-deity says that she will reward those who propitiate her and shoot an arrow at those who refuse to. In return for propitiation the deities keep away from the village and *nāḍ* epidemics such as plague, cholera, and smallpox, and grant children, good crops, and longevity. They also offer protection from ghosts and minor spirits who possess and harm human beings. The oracle of the deity acts as exorcist at the festival of the deity.

Sanskritic Hinduism, which is also All-India Hinduism, makes out village gods to be manifestations of Shiva, and village goddesses to be manifestations of Shiva's wife, Pārvati. The implications of such a systematization will be considered later.

III

The domestic and temple architecture of Coorgs seems to have been modelled on that of Malabar. This is only natural as most of the artisan castes in Coorg Proper are immigrants from Malabar.

While Coorg houses are extremely substantial structures, temples dedicated to village-deities are usually small and unimpressive buildings. But the well-known temples dedicated to Brahminical or Sanskritic deities are substantial, as formerly rich devotees liked building solid and massive temples for their patron-deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

346 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhagaṇḍēshwara temple in Bhāgamaṇḍla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

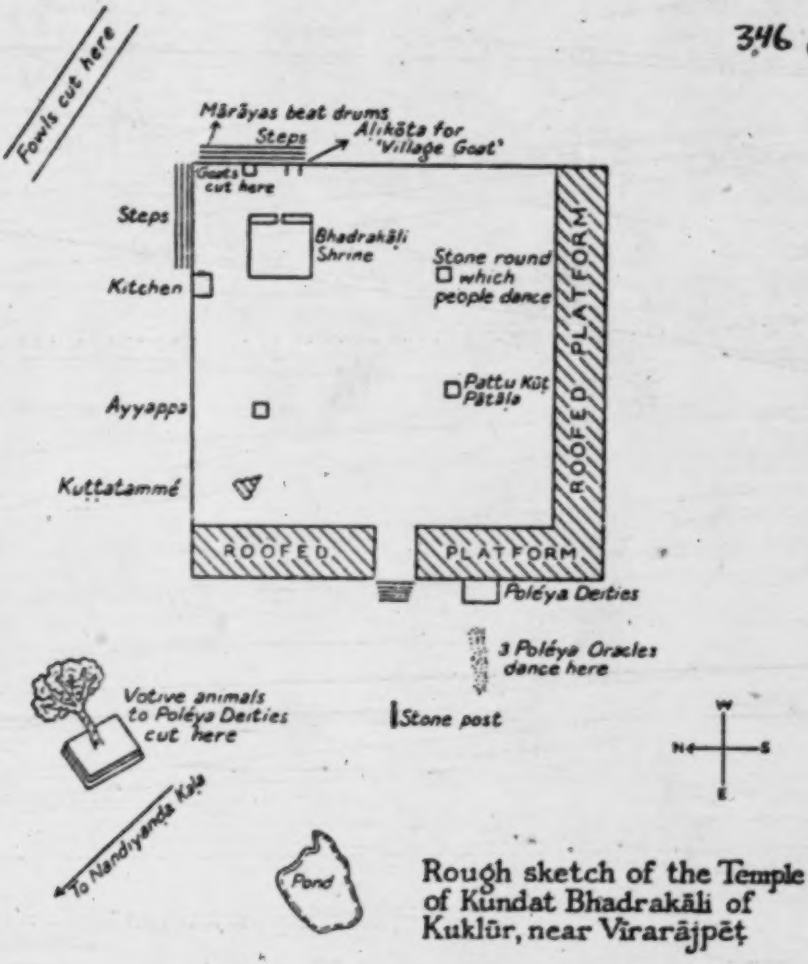
The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate
346 ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of
793 this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar
793 who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship
796 is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest.
[776] Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5



Rough sketch of the Temple of Kundat Bhadrakāli of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ

4. Plan of the temple of Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 614 537 ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood ?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammē: nd(ɯ) ēṇṇuvē kannina kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapē: nd(ɯ) ēṇṇuvē baymbēṇgɯ tandu: bendu: parandituɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yituɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭituɯ inde:kētɯ dinatɯlɯ maṇgɯla kuricituɯ indɯ maṇgɯl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammē: nd(ɯ) ēṇṇuvē kannina ka:ḷapē: nd(ɯ) ēṇṇuvē baymbēṇgɯ sammanda koḍɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammē of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapē of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammē to the man called Ka:ḷapē, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kē:kɯ nindē gurumane na:lɯ kō:ṭ(ɯ) aramane ni:rɯ balipē kaṇataro nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ṇe upē:ḷa ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib ?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually pattu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynammane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

[346]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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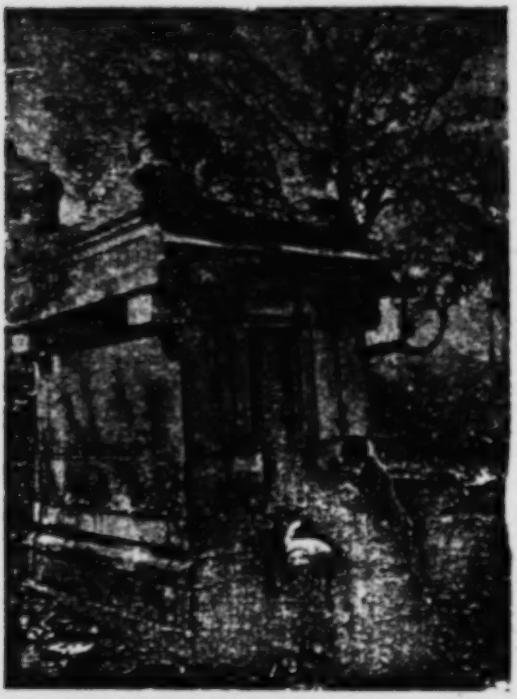

A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)

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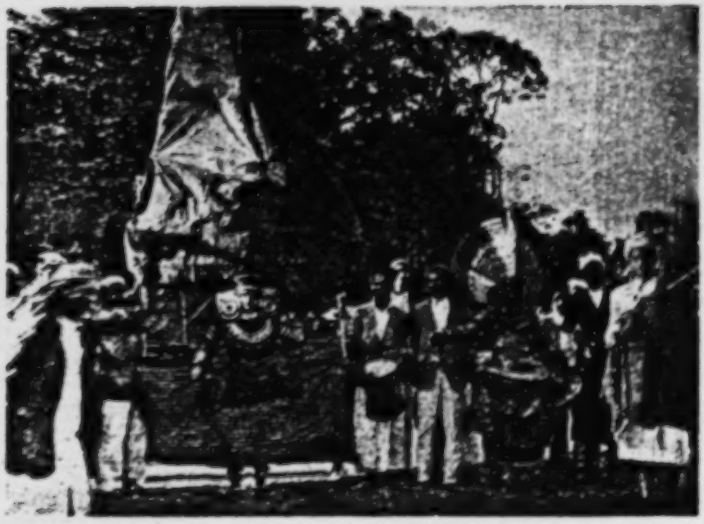

A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

[facing p. 51]

[P 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Berung*. 769 782 787

Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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3. Rice, Lewis : "Imperial Gazetteer of India, Mysore and Coorg", 1908.
4. Thurston, Edgar : "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India".

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Náráyana* and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized.

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs púja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pújári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

712 8 feet thick and outside from 15 to 20 feet high with parapets 2 feet thick and 5 feet high. The fortress is an irregular hexagon and nearly conforms to the shape of the hill top, leaving enough space for a ditch all round and on the north side for a glacis. At its 6 corners there are bastions and the whole is built of strong masonry. The entrance on the east is intricate and circuitous and guarded by 3 successive gates, which close in the space, that is now occupied by public buildings the Jail, the Taluq-Subadar's, the Assistant Superintendent's and the Superintendent's Courts with the local Treasury. On the left side of the third gate there is a shrine erected against the wall, dedicated to Ganapati, the lord of hosts, whose image is daily worshipped by a Brahmin and who gets the first offerings, flowers and cocoanuts by Hindu devotees, because all who wish to prosper should begin their undertaking in Ganésha's name, and in former days it was not so dangerless for a Coorg to present himself before the Rája, as it is now before the British Superintendent! The fantastic superstructure has been added about 20 years ago by a devoted ministry who had been engaged in the building of the Fraserpet-Bridge, and who must have made large profits, to spend his money so lavishingly. Within the fort itself, there is in the centre the palace, to the left and in front of it the English Church, to the right the Quarter-guard and armoury and behind the palace the powder magazine. The English Church stands near the place which was formerly occupied by a temple dedicated to Vírabhadra and which was demolished in 1855 to make room for the Church. The latter was built by the Rev. A. Fennell in 1856-57 by private subscriptions, the Church Building Society and Government assistance and consecrated in April 1858 by Bishop Dealtry. It is a remarkably neat structure in plain Gothic style, having a tower surmounted with a low spire. From its position and elevation it is a conspicuous object from whatever side Mercara

[178]

346 712 797

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is viewed. Its interior is light and chaste, the fittings,—chiefly the handiwork of the Rev. Mr. Fennell—in remarkably good taste and the whole much set off by ground glass windows, with apex and borders of coloured glass, that at the east end being of larger size, of a more elaborate design and extremely elegant. The interior contains also an ornamental monument in white marble by Westmacott to the memory of the late Major Frank Vardon and a circular tablet in memory of Mrs. Barclay, the wife of Dr. Chr. Barclay.

346 712 797

The *Fort at Kushálanagara* (Fraserpet) built by Tippu Sultan was taken by the Coorgs in June 1789 under Dodda-Virájender, who sacked and burnt the place. When in 1846-1848 the fine bridge over the Kávéri was constructed, the ruins of the Fort supplied excellent building material.

712

The *Fortress at Arméri* in Beppunád was razed to the ground in August 1789.

Bhágamandala Fort, where Tippu seized some 5,000 Coorgs with their families whom he sent into Mysore in 1785 and forcibly made Mussulmans, was invested by Dodda-Virájender in 1790 and taken after 5 days' siege. The Rája himself fired the first cannon from the hill of Mumbáratu. During the bombardment 3 copper tiles of the Dévastána were destroyed by a cannon shot, but Dodda-Virájender replaced them by 4 tiles made of silver.

The *Pápáre Fort*, (Pálu-páre) on the Kire river, a tributary of the Lakshmanatírtha, in Hatgatnád in Kiggatnád taluq, in which there are also the ruins of a temple, is said to have been built by *Kolli-Ninga* and *Benne-Krishna* of the Bedaru or hunter-tribe. It was destroyed by Tippu Sultan's armies and its ruins are extensive.

8. THE COORG LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE.

197

The prevalent and official language in Coorg is Canarese, but this small mountain clan, the Coorgs, with their former

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2¼ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 972

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

344 balcony supported by two upright horses formed of masonry. Along the ridge of the roof runs a balustrade of ornamental masonry. The other three sides of the building present nearly a blank space varied only by a few irregular apertures to admit air, for they can hardly be called windows. The rooms which have been adapted to European convenience as best they could, are tenanted by the officers of the Native Regiment, stationed at Mercara. The whole palace is built of brick and excellent mortar and altogether finished with solidity and elegance, such as characterise no other modern buildings in Coorg. In one of the lower rooms the strongly secured *Provincial Treasury* is located.

A reception house for English visitors to the late Rajahs formerly stood on the site of the present Government Central School, in the midst of a plantation of orange and other trees. It owed its existence to the gratitude of Dodda-Virájender who had a warm attachment for the English. It was a handsome building in the form of a square with four turrets at the angles and 2 stories high. Both as to architecture and furniture it was executed in European style, and nothing was forgotten, that could render it a comfortable abode to travellers, accustomed to the luxuries of civilized life. It is referred to with high praise in the Memoranda of English visitors in those days. With the advent of the British Government it fell into disuse which did not justify an expensive up-keep, and being abandoned it soon became a ruin, and was demolished, its stones being partly used in the erection of the Central School.

● 349 **b. Mausoleums.**

The most remarkable modern buildings in Coorg are the *Mausoleums* of *Dodda-Virájender* and *Lingarájender* and their favourite Queens. These edifices are exactly alike and stand close to one another. The first was erected shortly after Virájender's death in 1809 by Lingarájender, and the other

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

349 [532] [354] [793] [796]

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is sorrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

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Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•349 *Nanjunda Arasu*, who had ruled over Periapatam. Shortly before his death, whilst on a visit to his nephew, the Coorg Rajah Dodda-Vírappa Vodeya, the fortress fell through treachery into the hands of the Mysoreans with the loss of all his remaining family. In his affliction he addressed the Coorg Rajah thus: "As old age had come upon us, we intended with your permission to have placed our son in the Government of Periapatam and, renouncing the desire of this world, to have given ourselves to constant adoration of Siva. At such time of old age the great God has shown us a misery, we ought never to have looked upon. Do you take possession of the country which has passed from our hands? ⅊ Build and give us a house to live in till our life come to a close, and a temple for Vírabhadra, our household god. Besides, it is our mind, to consecrate a Linga in our name. For this purpose let a temple be built on the banks of the Kávéri river, in it a Linga be consecrated in our name after the close of our life, our grave be made in front of that temple, a stone portico be [344] built over it and a Basavéshvara consecrated in it." In compliance with this request Dodda-Vírappa had a palace built near the river on the spot chosen by him at Holesálhalli, surrounding it with a ditch, settled him there and gave it the name Nanjaráyapattana. For his bodyguard he appointed 700 Coorgmen. He built also Vírabhadra's temple, erected another stone temple over the Linga, called Nanjundéshvara, and after Nanjunda's death he laid him in a grave constructed according to his wishes and made a grant of some lands for the perpetual performance of a religious service.

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c. Antique Sepulchres or Cairns and Monumental Stones.

Cairns, those mysterious prehistoric tumuli, which are found all over the old world from Scandinavia to the far East and which puzzle alike the simple peasant and the astute

⅊ [Errata: This should read "hands." (period), rather than "hands?". See Corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

342 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[33] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
• [351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A View of Talai Cauvery

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The junction of the Kanaka and the Cauvery at Bhagamandala

[facing p. 2]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulu or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [777] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna, Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

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614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

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Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or niradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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788
796
793
[245]

their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like 769
a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. 596
But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavanḍa, Biddanḍa, and Kaliyāṭanḍa *okkas* have [778]
separate shrines for *bīras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the 769
ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called 353
kaimaḍa, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round 778
the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river
353 Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal posses-
778 sions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *pīché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An
[776] unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

769 Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east
353 Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in
194 common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, [352] resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372
783

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
[354] ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

[P. 56]

CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On [354] an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [772] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been col-
243 lected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and
[354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they
[782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2½ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [237]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [351] •
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almands. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[241] the housepeople under the management of the master of the house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood. 328 304

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification. 296 292 783

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions. 305 783 [302]

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *vōṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore. [564] 285 [538]

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground. 357 765

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste. 357 585

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

must be carried by a member of another *sib* along with that of his own *sib*. It is the *sibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *sib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
621 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[56] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages
[46] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 112]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 [556] The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] [562] [554] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, discussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata: This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

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[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

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591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 574 [357] furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs, chandeliers, settees, etc. etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Colonel Ridgway Mealay, and a dozen active servants, who very speedily produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's ware, with every kind of European liquor; and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes good bread!

*175 *643 *648 "After all our exertions of this day, it may readily be supposed we slept soundly; and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes an usual, a custom which I most strenuously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Rájah's stud and elephants; and amongst the latter found a young white one, about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes, and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance. After breakfast, we were astonished by a visit from the Mahá Swámi, in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels; and *certes*, in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us, this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and our shooting apparatus; and, on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Rájah himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck, with a hook in the right hand and a knife in the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. 'Such a man,' thought I, 'at the head of his followers, must be invincible.' So perfectly different from the effeminate grandeur of most eastern

*175 *643 *648 224

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar.

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs.

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages.

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

162 Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

[361] There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

197 All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

[212] Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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View of Mercara, (from the East.)

Lith. by R. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[frontispiece]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In vain, however, the eye searches for towns and villages, churches and castles or other indications of civilized life. Only here and there in nooks and corners, ensconced amongst groves and clusters of cultivated trees and betrayed by a wreath of smoke, can one discover the thatched houses of the Coorgs, who love a solitary abode near their fields. 361

The want of permanent sheets of water, such as extensive tanks or prominent rivers somewhat detracts from the picturesqueness of the landscape, but during a heavy mist or in the monsoon fancy may easily transform the whole country into innumerable islands emerging from a vast agitated sea. 133 132

The general appearance of the country varies considerably in the different districts. In the vicinity of Sómwárapet, in the north of Coorg, the hills are gently rounded alternating with sloping glades, interspersed with clumps of forest trees, resembling the finest park scenery in Europe. Near Mercara the hills are closer together and more abrupt, and the ravines deeper and more wild. Towards Fraserpet the country assumes the champaign character of the Mysore plateau, with scattered solitary hills. South of Mercara, in the direction of Virajpet, especially in Beppunád, Katiednád, the country is open, the woods are neither dense nor high, and beautiful grassy doures rise from extensive rice valleys. 133

The eastern frontier between the Kávéri and the Lakshmana-tírtha river exhibits an almost uninterrupted and impervious forest, inhabited in January, February and March by Kurumbers and Lumbánies and other wandering tribes.

Mountains and their Formation.—The most prominent ridge of mountains in Coorg as to height and extent, is that which culminates in the summits of the Ghats. It stretches in its main outline from Subramanya to the furthest point of the Brahmagiris over or upwards of 60 miles. Seen from the Western Coast near Cannanore the abrupt ascent with the

[Errata: This should read "downs", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan. In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see
[726] memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice,
361 all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Punchâyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little
[563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and
[534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahâdéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre,
[796] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahâdéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The
526 whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

raised the most violent opposition, but in vain. Upon that he falsely stated, that Coorg had paid him a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000, which he would transfer to the Company. 175* 643* 648*

5. In opposition to this falsehood the Rájah of Coorg asserts, that he has never paid such a tribute; but he is quite willing to pay of his own free will the sum of 8000 Pagodas (24,000 Rs.) to the Company every year for their friendship and protection.

6. The Company on the other hand, engages, to give no molestation to the Rájah and in no wise to interfere with the government of Coorg; for the Rájah is quite competent, to take care of his own affairs.

Cannanore,
31st March 1793. | Signed: *Robert Abercromby.*

P. S. The above 8000 Pagodas, 3 Rupees being an equivalent for 1 Pagoda, are to be paid annually at Tellicherry.

From this time to the end his life, [2] Vírarája remained the trusty friend of the Company and his affairs prospered.

On the place where he had first met with General Abercromby on his march to Seringapatam in 1791 the Rájah founded the town Vírarájendrapet in 1792. In April 1795 Vírarája took up his residence in the new palace built at Nalknád. Meanwhile Tippu, maddened with revenge against the Chief, who had so long alarmed his fears and so successfully defied his power and resisted his arms, resolved on his destruction by the basest means, gaining over Lingrája, [2] a relative of Vírarájendra, and some Coorgs to undertake the foul plot of shooting the Rájah at a favourable spot in the jungle on his way to Mercara. The first attempt failed; but Tippu, little controlled by feelings of compunction, concerted with Lingarája more effective measures to accomplish his design. Two of his best marksmen were to lie in ambush in [361]

[2] [Errata: This should read "end of his life." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 36 [712] [491] [764]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 ●361 764

a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Rájah to the memory of his late brother and his wife. It is much in the style of Mahommedan edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball, with a weathercock above it, and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

*175 *643 *648

"On this spot, by appointment, we met the Mahá Swámi, at half past three in the evening. He was dressed in a Major-general's uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with very handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us, and desired us to be seated, after a short conversation in Hindustáni, which he at first addressed to an interpreter, until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language; he then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoanuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely, splitting every nut he fired at in the centre, while we either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him; a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieutenant Williamson, and he himself also rode a very fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour, when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves; and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horseback, with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted, and proceeded with him to the fort; the Rájah insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances, played on two fiddles; and the Mahá Swámi shewed us various portraits of himself, the King, the Prince of Wales, General Wellesley, &c. He then took us into another apartment, and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Frank Vardon, the intrepid companion of Dr. Livingstone in
361 South-Africa. He died on the 21st June 1860. At the
junction of the three Ghat-roads rises the *Roman Catholic*
[485] *Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further
on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but
badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native
shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat,
stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the
road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where,
though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever
present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site
of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here
and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on
knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding
[205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front
[697] of the Superintendent's Kacheri is the *Post-Office* and the *Jail-*
garden, and below it the dome of the *Onkáréswara-temple* with
its gilt orb peeps out from a hollow round which the dwell-
ings of the Coorg officials and of Brahmins are clustered amid
a dense mass of vegetation. Some of these houses are two
[206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the
fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building
of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis
into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house,
attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance
and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a
broad bund, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or
Mahádévapet in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni
of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of
which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the
left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines.
An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by al-
lotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme
has not made much progress since. The new portion was

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, seasmum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

632 361 [362] [162] [764] [177] [364] [312] 632 443 438 439

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
● 361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Nádu. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments. 635 563 [177]

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.) [137] [243] [245] [273] [262] [222]

Frasérpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasérpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site 632 [361] [485]

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632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

[131] *Sómawárpet* in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[362] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[162] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[241] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[437] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91 Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

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635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

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[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38¼ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[236] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest. 621 796 776

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village. 622 [364] [363] [485]

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter. 622 829

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a proverb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances. 622 623 [539] [367] [344]

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485]
tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622
From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829
conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622
nāḍ), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623
headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539]
verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367]
in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344]
(*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623
681

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukrvárasante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

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The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
● 368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol? which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattár.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codágas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

? [Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 999 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

133 487 and trade have been N/S, or between the interior and the nearest accessible coast, not across the root of the Peninsula.

I 133 Structure has been described in Ch. I. We may note briefly the extraordinary maturity of the Peninsular rivers, graded almost to their heads in the Wn Ghats, but cutting through the En Hills or descending precipitously from the high Mysorean plateaus in gorges. The major relief features are usually no more than the flanks of plateaus or of fault-troughs, or residual crests on the heights of land between the main river-basins; but there is a good deal of local diversity, the mesas and buttes of the Deccan Lavas, I the fantastic tors and gnarled ridges of the Archaeans.

132 Climatically the entire area, except for the En Hills, the Wn Ghats, and the rain-shadow of the latter, could be described as Tropical Savannah with monsoonal modification. There is a broad distinction between the NE, with 40 ins. plus and considerable humidity, and the drier (20–40 ins.) and more variable W and S, which in the lee of the Ghats receives less than 20 ins. in places.[1] The boundary between these is a line running roughly along the lower Godavari and produced to the NW. Temperatures practically everywhere range from means of 65–75° F. in January to 85–95° in May; except, of course, where modified by high altitude.

The Western Ghats and Coorg

A C 133 The astonishing contrast between the scarp and the plateau faces of the Ghats is brought out by Fig. 125: on the one side deep ravines and canyons, on the other flat-topped spurs intersected by mature valleys. The spurs lose height to the E fairly rapidly, becoming mere flat-topped relic ridges on the watersheds, with outlying mesas and buttes; the actual dissected belt, the Ghats proper, is only a few miles wide as a rule; generally 2500–3000 ft A C high, it reaches 4500 or more in the culminations whence spring the transverse spurs, such as the Tryambak massif at the root of the Balaghat 137 Hills. It is a negative area: in some places, as the Peint forests and the Dangs (S of the Tapti) and behind Ratnagiri and Goa, a tangle of dense jungle, including teak on terraces and valley-floors; elsewhere it carries more open forest with not a little bare rock on the flanks of the more massive lava flows. On spurs E and W are the great hill forts, bases whence the 'mountain rat' Sivaji gradually extended his power over the Konkan and the more A C open Maharashtra country. Except in the Kanara sub-region already discussed (pp. 617–26), there is little economic activity apart from jungle 137 agriculture, forestry, and the increasingly important hydro-electric development around the Bhor Ghat and Gersoppa. The only places of much im- 369 portance are the little gap towns and sanatoria behind Bombay (Igatpuri, Lonavla, Khandala; above, 616–17) and Mahabaleshwar (5000), a hill-

[1] For a more detailed analysis see E. Simkins, *The Agricultural Geography of the Deccan Plateau of India* (n.d., ?1926), 13–22.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305] defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782] the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372 ●
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764] *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372
783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character. 776 372 171

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning. 783 846

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen. [312]

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother. [778]

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. 137 314
Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The [313]
Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and [372]
sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Heddle-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" [386]
furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small [388]
fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it [386]
is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts [333]
bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes. [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* [313]
(Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On [245]
account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to [271]
many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is [251]
Preserved in sugar.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India AW1 Kanada AW10 Coorg AW5

and trade have been N/S, or between the interior and the nearest accessible coast, not across the root of the Peninsula.

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[1] For a more detailed analysis see E. Stephens, *The Agricultural Geography of the Deccan Plateau of India* (n.d., ?1926), 13–22.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

so short as to render this so-called cotton commercially valueless. The wood is soft and spongy and of little value. Another red cotton tree of smaller size and with a prickly trunk is the Salmalia Malabarica (*Can.* Mulu yelava). The Dindul or "Conocarpus latifolius" is a fine timber tree and very frequent in the deciduous jungles. The heart-wood is of a chocolate colour and exceedingly durable. The Kurubas use it for axe-handles. When burning it emits an intense and sustained heat and is therefore highly prized for lime kilns and distilleries. The *Heddle-mara* or "Nauclea cordifolia" yields a beautiful close-grained wood resembling box; but it cannot withstand exposure to damp. Its small yellow flowers appear in November and December. The "Rottleria tinctoria" furnishes an orange dye—the kapela ranga. The *Soap-nut tree* (sapindus) which is here rather common, produces a small fruit, the pulp of which is saponaceous and used by the natives for washing. For marking their cotton clothes the pure black acrid juice of the shell of the "marking nut" is used; it is the fruit of a tree about 50 feet high, the Semecarpus Anacardium. The native ink is chiefly manufactured with the fruit or galls of the Alali-mara and sulphate of iron. This tree, the Terminalia chebula, yields excellent galls produced by insects puncturing the tender leaves. The astringent nuts bruised and mixed with molasses and chunam produce a very strong mortar. They are also largley used for tannin purposes.

137 314 [313] [372] [386] [388] [386] [333] [281]

On the outskirts of bamboo jungles the *Indian Coral tree* (Erythrina Indica) with its brilliant scarlet flowers may be frequently found; its soft wood is much used for toys. On account of its prickly bark the branches make good fences, and where the betel vine is cultivated this tree offers an excellent support. A very pretty tree with spreading pinnate foliage and gooseberry like seeds is the *Nelli-kai-mara* or "Emblica Officinalis." The fruit though hard is welcome to many for its thirst assuaging properties. Sometimes it is Preserved in sugar.

[313] [245] [271] [251]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 preserved in sugar. The Bastard Teak (Butea frondosa),
314 though common, is a very beautiful tree when in flower. Its
[386] scarlet flowers dye cotton yellow, and from the bark when cut a gum "Palas-kino" is obtained. A fragrant resin called "Kundricum" is furnished by the Gugula-mara (Boswellia glabra) an erect tall tree covered with greenish ash-coloured bark.

On the table-land of Mercara the Kake-mara or the Coorg laburnum (Cathartocarpus fistula) is particularly conspicuous in April and May by its beautiful long pendulous racemes of
[298] yellow flowers. Its long cylindric legumes of dark brown colour and nearly 2 feet in length contain a mucilaginous pulp, which is a valuable laxative when mixed with Cassia.
137 On the same plateau is found the American Aloe (Agave
245 Americana) with its high flower stem and long thick leaves, which might be turned into excellent fibre, but beyond a few experiments no manufacture is carried on. The plant serves for making fences only. It has been superseded, however, by the Lantana shrub (Lantana Aculeata), which within a few years has spread over the whole of Coorg. Its square stem and branches are prickly, its ovate leaves when bruised have a strong smell of black currants, and its orange coloured flowers are more or less in blossom throughout the year, and the shrub when kept within proper bounds makes an excellent fence. But this plant whose vitality is most obstinate, threatens to overrun many a tract of land in Coorg and elsewhere that might be far more profitably occupied. The re-
137 cognised necessity of shading exposed coffee plantations has
314 brought to notice a tree, chiefly distinguished for its quick growth and shady crown—the *Charcoal tree* (Sponea Wightii) It springs up spontaneously on every new clearing after the burn and mostly so in the eastern districts. Its wood produces a fine charcoal and its bark an excellent fibre. For beauty of shape and foliage the solitary *Nela-mdeina-mara*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

314 the Nerium grandiflorum and the Isora corylifolia or sham hazel.

g. Tannin—the produce of the bark of the Babool tree, the Neem tree, the Bauhinia variegata, the Buchanania latifolia, the Hymenodyction excelsum, of the pod of the Divi-divi tree (Caesalpinia Coriaria), and of the nut of the Alalimara (Terminalia Chebula).

[386] *h. Dyes—Red*, obtained from the Rottleria tinctoria, the Indian madder (Hedyotis umbellata), Indian mulberry (Morinda citrifolia) the red sandal (Pterocarpus Santalinus). *Yellow*, from the bastard teak (Butea frondosa), the gamboge tree (Garcinia pictoria), the Xanthochymus pictorius and the Berberis tinctoria.

[388] *i. Saponaceous matter*—yielded by the bark of the Babool tree, the pods of Mimosa saponaria and the fruit of the Soapnut tree (Sapindus).

*136 *General fauna of Coorg*—It may be easily imagined, that a country, so well watered and wooded and with a vegetation abounding in nourishing produce, will sustain a great variety of animal life. This was still more the case ere the resounding axe of the planter and the still more frequent echo of the sportman's rifle have disturbed the animals' secluded abodes and driven them to remoter regions.

A brief grouping of the more prominent representatives of animal life in Coorg will be all that can be attempted within the small space allotted to the subject. Descending in the scale of zoological classification, it is the monkey tribe, that first claims our attention and there are 3 species for inspection: the black, the grey and the brown monkey. The black monkey or "Wanderoo" (Silenus veter. Linn)—*Kg.* Karingódo—is rather scarce and only found in the Male-kádu or Ghat forests. It has greyish whiskers, chest and belly, and is of small size. Its intelligent look and playful disposition render it a favorite with the natives, but like other monkeys,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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interspersed with such trees, as are peculiar to these localities. 137
The flora of Coorg is almost identical with that of Southern India. It is of course beyond the scope of this Gazetteer and equally beyond the knowledge of the compiler, to attempt anything like a full description of the Coorg flora; we can only glance at its distinguishing features and enumerate a few species, that are of practical value, reserving those which fall under the care of the agri-horticulturist for a special consideration.

The first collection of Coorg plants appears to have been 114
made by Captains Munroe and Gough, who probably placed 137
their collections at the disposal of the famous botanist Dr. Wight. Mr. Metz, a German missionary on the Nilagiris, also collected a good many plants about Mercara, which were afterwards distributed in Germany by Hohenacker and named by Miguel. In Major Heber Drury's book on "Useful Plants" and Dr. Bidie's "Timber Trees of India" (1862) much information is given about the principal timber trees in Coorg.

Looking upon Coorg with the eye of the forester, rather 137
than that of the general botanist, the most superficial survey will not fail to discover invaluable treasures of timber trees and their produce, scattered all over the province. Small as the country is, there are nevertheless distinct tracts with trees peculiar to them. The two prominent zones are by the Coorgs called Male-kádu or Hill-forests and Kanive-kádu or Hillock-jungles (Kanive, a ridge between paddy-fields, hillock). Botanically they may perhaps be determined as evergreen and deciduous forests, the former clothing the Ghats, the latter the eastern hill-tracts.

All along the slopes of the Ghats the Poon spar—"Calophyllum angustifolium"—rules as king of the forest. When 396 ●
full grown, it is often upwards of 100 feet in height, its wood 824
is clean, tough and elastic and there is perhaps no other tree so well suited in every respect for making ship's spars and masts.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
[354] ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
431 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
[576] including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the blossoming, hence the importance of spring rains. The 245
leaves are oblong, lanceolate, dark green and glossy on the 137
upper, paler on the lower side and form a striking contrast with the snowy flowers or red berries. After a fertile blossoming the ovaries, if favoured by a few showers, swell rapidly and the green berries resemble olives. In October they become hard, turn yellow and, when mature, red. They now resemble cherries. We open one. A sweet aromatic succulent pulp encloses 2 beans, which are surrounded by a parchment like skin, which, when dry, easily drops off. A thin silky skin called the "silver-skin" is the last coating of the bean which, if of good quality, is long, of a bluish green colour and of a peculiar aroma. In some cherries there is but one bean developed which fills up the whole space. It is round and called Peaberry, and fancy assigns to it a higher price in the market than to ordinary coffee.

The separation of the fresh pulp from the beans is effected 245
on the estate by a machine called "pulper," after which the [407]
parchment coffee is washed and slightly fermented to remove all saccharine and gummy matter, carefully dried and sent to the Coast, where it is peeled, garbled, sized, packed and shipped for the market.

Considering that every crop takes a certain amount of 245
nourishment out of the soil, it is clear, that something in the 134
shape of manure must be given to it in return, and it is 241
generally acknowledged, that according to the chemical analysis of the coffee bean, the Coorg soil wants phosphate of lime, carbonate of magnesia and potash as the principal ingredients of the requisite manure, and a mixture of superphosphate of lime and Peruvian guano or stable-manure.[1] Lime and ashes may be the nearest approach to it. Experiments with different proportions of these materials on a number of trees of equal growth soon show which is the most effectual mixture for each locality.

[1] [Errata: This should read "stable-manure," (comma) rather than "stable-manure." (Period). See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'gatti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

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Coorgs in National Costume

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A Village Takka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
[533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[787] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then
[526] proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thodusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [521] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some [276] are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [411] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers, each holding as high as his face, an immense billhook or knife, the blade of which near the extremity could not be less than three inches wide and diminishing gradually towards the hilt. This formidable instrument, well known in Indian warfare under the name of the "Coorg knife", is often used as a sword, and when handled by men, who are not afraid to close with their antagonist, is said to be a most efficient weapon. 136* 231 411 ●

"On a signal given by the Rajah a folding door was thrown open on one side of the court, and in stalked two immense royal tigers, held by several men on each side by long ropes, attached to collars round the animals' necks. These beasts appeared very tractable, for they allowed themselves to be led very close to us. I confess, I did not much like this degree of propinquity and eyed the slender cordage with some professional anxiety. Meanwhile the Rajah and his son and the officers of the household appeared quite unconcerned, though the tigers passed within a few yards of them, and, as it seemed to me, might easily have broken loose. 136* 231

"What degree of training these animals had undergone, I know not, but after a little while, the Rajah, probably to increase the surprise of his guest, directed the men to let go the ropes and to fall back. There we sat in the midst of the open court with a couple of full sized tigers in our company, and nothing on earth to prevent their munching us all up! The well fed and well bred beasts, however, merely lounged about, rubbed their noses together and then tumbling on the ground, rolled about like a couple of kittens at play. I could, however, detect the Rajah spying at me out of the corner of his eye and half smiling at the success of his trick. After a time the men were recalled and the tigers dragged off.

"A pair of lionesses and two furious looking buffaloes were then introduced, but nothing could be more innocent or more respectful to the Rajah and his son. Like Falstaff, in-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[42] [302] [554] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life [186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

[291] [411] The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist[1] and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light [301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. [214] [411] The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the [147] [527] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 493 -- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna-
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by [326]
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ⌀ upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features, and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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411
302

A Coorgman armed.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter Lith. by B. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 136]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

accompany him to the house of the astrologer. They enquire of the wise man, what will be the most propitious day for the celebration of the Keilmúrta. By the sage's answer the day of joy for the village-youth is fixed. The hard labours of ploughing, sowing and rice-transplanting are over, there is a lull in the monsoon, and now and then a most lovely day spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and valleys, forests and fields of Coorg. The people have long been at labour in their fields and houses: a holiday is now most welcome. On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is collected in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to some room or to the centre-place, the Nadumane, and there placed in a corner. They wait now for the muhúrta, the propitious time, assigned by the astrologer. At the right moment incense is burned before the weapons, sandalwood-paste is dotted upon them in profusion, and a show-offering of rice and other food (nevédya) is made to them, as to idols. As soon as this ceremony is over, a mat is placed before the weapons, and the whole house sits down to dinner. After the meal, the men take their arms and proceed to the Urumandu (village-green) to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark, and in athletic exercises. When the cocoanut has been hit, some of the company jump over a rope extended four or five feet from the ground. After this exercise, plantain-trees are fixed upon the ground, standing three deep. Now the strength of arms and the goodness of knives are tried. He who succeeds in cutting through three plantain-trees at one stroke, carries away the palm. Then round, heavy stones, placed on the Mandu for the purpose, are lifted and thrown, or put as in Scotland, over the head by such as are strong enough. The evening has now set in, and the company disperses. On the following morn-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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slaughter, game without distinction or number being killed on these occasions. He is a good marksman, uses his spear with dexterity, is an excellent mahout and skilful rider; it is difficult to say, whether he takes an active personal share in the administration of his affairs—I am led to think not—nor is it easy to state what are his usual occupations or the ordinary distribution of his time, when not exposed to public view; much of it, however, is devoted to frivolous and childish pursuits.

[292]
[411]
[301]

"Lingarája is now in his forty-fourth year, about the middle size and actively formed, but in no way remarkable for any particular symmetry of features; he is rather dark complexioned and the general expression of his countenance is not disagreeable, though not indicating the habit of peremptory authority and acknowledged command; he is plain in his dress, being usually habited in a loose gown, reaching to his ancles; to this is added a black silk cape, and a cap of similar materials substitutes the place of a turban; on great occasions, however, this simplicity of dress gives way to the splendour of an English general's uniform; a string of pearls to which some jewels are affixed suspended round his neck forms the only ornament of his person, a Codagu sword is always placed on the table before him (it appears one of the ensigns of his authority) or carried with him, when he moves.

"The forms of his court exhibit but little pagentry, presenting nothing of that cumbrous and barbaric pomp in which Native Princes of whatsoever rank so much delight; indeed it is remarkable that he seems always surrounded by menials rather than men of rank. There is, however, an appearance of permanent regularity and economy, the reverse of that gorgeous improvidence for which they are remarkable. About 90 elephants and half as many horses together with some troops of dancing girls—without which Hindu greatness would be incomplete—serve to maintain the rustic splendour

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at s 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Deván of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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perched on a tree keep up a continual chirping. Its pending retort-shaped nest, which is over a foot in length, is woven of long fine grass. The entrance is from below and formed by the two inches wide neck of the retort, the main body of the nest is laterally compressed and divided by an open partition wall into 2 compartments, of which the lower one is occupied by the hatching bird that lays 2 or 3 white little eggs.

There are several species of larks rather common in Coorg. They have much the same plumage and habits as our European warbling lark, and are sometimes caged by the natives.

One of the largest birds here is the Hornbill (Buceros cavatus; *Kg.* Malérapa, malé forest, arapa sound, i. e. the forest resounding bird). It is upwards of 4 feet in length; black on the belly, chin, wings and back, with one band across the tail, the rest of which is white, as also the neck and parts of the wing. The curved, large bill, which now lies before me and which belonged to a male bird, is vermillion above, with a black central line, and yellowish on the sides, the lower mandible is whitish and the base below the eye black. On the upper mandible there is an extraordinary prominence of vermillion colour, 4 inches broad and 8¼ inches long, terminating behind in a black curvature and the concave front uniting its dip with the ridge of the beak, so that the two sides rise to a narrow ledge 2 inches above the true bill, from which they are distinguished by a black triangular stripe. The appendage looks as if 2 horizontal horns were superadded to the bill, which from point to gape is in a straight line 11¼ inches in length, and from point to the end of the protuberance I measured 16¼ inches. The Coorgs make powder flasks of its hollow bill and the quills they use for writing. The noise of its wings, when flying, is very loud and its progress is so slow, that a man can follow it. In its prey it is omnivorous.

[237]
[413]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 which is kept on the stool before the subject. The lamp rests on a thin bed of rice spread inside the dish. A few betel leaves and areca-nuts are also kept alongside the lamp. The dish, rice, lamp, and betel leaves and nuts are all collectively referred to as '*taḷiyakki-boḷuk*' which literally means 'dish-rice-lamp'. It will be referred to as 'dish-lamp' in future, and a dish-lamp is considered essential on all ritual occasions.

At *mangala*, in addition to the earthen lamp, a *kiṇḍi* full of milk [415] is kept on the dish-lamp. A *kiṇḍi* is a bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side. At *mangala* every relative performs *vis-à-vis* the subject a series of solidarity rites collectively called *mūrta*, and one of these rites consists in giving the subject a little milk to drink. This is done by the relative holding the *kiṇḍi* in such a way that the tip of the spout touches the subject's mouth. The subject sucks in a few drops of milk through the spout.

Each of the assembled relatives singly performs *mūrta*, described below, towards the subject of *mangala*. Three married women, close relatives of the subject, are required to perform it before anyone else. If the subject's mother is alive and not a widow, she is entitled to be one of the three, and what is more, perform it first, even if the other two are her seniors.

The mother, or senior married woman, begins by sprinkling rice on the two bell-metal lamps on either side of the subject, and then salutes them. The sun-god is saluted next after throwing some rice backwards, over the shoulders. This is followed by the relative depositing a little rice successively at the joints of knees, elbows, and shoulders, and on the head of the subject. The relative then holds the spouted vessel before the subject and he sucks in a little milk through the spout. After this she presents the subject with a gold or silver coin. The subject salutes her by touching her feet with both his hands and carrying the latter back to his fore-head. This is done thrice. The married woman blesses him by [788] touching his head and saying, 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'.

III

796 It has been mentioned before that *mangala* is an auspicious or 777 good-sacred ceremony and that it has to be performed on an auspicious day. All over India, among Hindus, it is believed that certain

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice [415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the [534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It [535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad [533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous [526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and [721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are [782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then [526] proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the [533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

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The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Nutmeg (Myristica); the wild Cashew-nut (Anacardium occidentale—*Can.* Géru-mara); the Indian Gutta tree (Isonandra acuminata), a large tree with beautiful foliage and oil yielding nuts; the Bastard Sago (Caryota urens—*Can.* Beini-mara) from which an agreeable toddy is drawn while from the pith sago may be prepared; the Hog-plum tree (Spondias mangifera—*Can.* Ambatte-mara); the wild clove tree (Eugenia). 137 313 314 [273] [262]

A most remarkable and truly majestic forest tree is the Lepurandra Saccidora, which deserves to be classed with Thomson's 137 314

> "Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,
> The noble sons of potent heat and floods
> Prone-rushing from the clouds."

It flowers in October in very peculiar catkins, something like a common mulberry. The fruit is in size and shape like a small fig, covered with a beautiful purple coloured down. The Coorgs manufacture very curious sacks from the bark. [415] A branch is cut corresponding to the length and diameter of the sack wanted. It is soaked a little and then beaten with clubs until the liber separates from the wood. This done, the sack formed of the bark is turned inside out and pulled down close to the extremity, where the wood is cut off leaving a thin piece to form the bottom of the sack. These sacks were formerly much used for carrying rice, some of them may be seen in the Mysore Museum. Very different in size, but of far greater importance than the sack tree, is the Poison-nut tree,—"Strychnos nux vomica"—which may be found near it. The wood of this tree is hard and durable, its leaves oval and glossy; the small greenish white flowers appear in February; the fruit is of the size of an orange and in its white harmless pulp are embedded many round flat seeds, from which the powerful poison "Strychnine" is obtained. On 137 open sunny woodsides grow Lobelia nicotianifolia, a stout annual plant with showy white flowers in terminal racemes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757]
use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umalcs, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nfradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*.

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown.

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays.

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground.

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
596 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
421 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few
178 educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

593
596 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
586

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the ● 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannaran-dachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[604] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come
587 down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

would allow him to go with pleasure, and said, I would immediately ask his Highness; but he begged me not, as he was sure the Rájah would allow him to go, if it were really for his advantage; here the conversation dropped, and being reported, it had a capital effect. 175* 643* 648*

This forenoon we took our leave of the Rájah, who received us in his palace, where he was amusing himself shooting blunt, but very heavy headed arrows, at different men, armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time, and then dismounted. I had been informed, that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliárapah, a gold-mounted Coorg knife, and sandalwood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandalstick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness, I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps, has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rájah of Népaunee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindustáni, Kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Mahá Swámi; as the finest flowers of their gardens are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India. [431] [422] [784]

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From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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423

classification of all cultivated land in Coorg. In 1812, during the reign of Linga Rāja II, a general settlement was made and this was recorded in a book called *Hukum Nāma*. All cultivated land was divided into farms (*vargas*), and every farm was entered in the register along with the type of tenure it was held under.

The *jamma* system of land tenure under which most Coorgs held (and even now hold) land was the basis of their military tradition. It was an hereditary right passing from father to son, and was for this reason called *jamma*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *janma* which means 'birth'. It was not, however, confined to Coorgs. Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gaudas, smiths (Airis), potters (Kumbāras), and Māpiḷḷa immigrants from Malabar enjoyed the privilege and prestige of holding land on *jamma* tenure. The Rājas occasionally offered *jamma* tenure as a bait both to induce certain artisan and trading castes from outside to settle down in Coorg and to induce local people to reclaim forest or waste land.

The *jamma* tenure was a very light one in terms of money, being only five rupees or a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land. A hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land means an area of land producing a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. The area of land required to produce that amount varies according to the fertility of the soil, and arable land is classified into seven grades for purposes of assessment.

Along with the assesssed rice-field went two unassessed stretches of land: one was *bāṇé*, the highland adjacent to the rice-field and clothed with jungle from which the cultivator's joint family obtained its supply of fuel, timber, and forest produce; and the other was *bariké*, low-lying pasturage for the cultivator's cattle.

Legally, *jamma* land was impartible, inalienable, and could not be sublet without the permission of the Rāja, and, most important of all, people holding land on the *jamma* tenure were liable to be called up for military service. Richter writes in 1870 that 'the *jamma* ryots [cultivators] are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all police- and treasure-guards, escorts, &c., in time of peace'.[1]

Every family holding *jamma* land had to perform guard duties for fifteen days in the year, during which time the guards were maintained at public expense though not paid. Not all the men of a joint family were employed on guard duties at the same time.

[1] Op. cit., p. 402.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

Jamma tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in
423 addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
735 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
●423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

started by freeing the slaves on the royal farms, and this was later extended to include all slaves. 587 648

There was a landslide in the general economy of the country when the slaves suddenly left their masters to work on the coffee plantations. The masters then found that they were unable to cultivate all the wet land in their estate, but under the conditions of *jamma* tenure they were required to pay an assessment of five rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land on all wet land irrespective of whether it was under the plough or not. It was then that the government permitted them to sublet not more than a fourth of the wet land.[1] 587 423

[1] 'No remission of *jamma*-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the *jamma* ryots [peasants] are allowed to pay Rs 10 per 100 *bhaṭṭis* for the quantity of land which has been cultivated, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole* farm. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house to permit the whole of the *jamma* lands to be sublet on *vāra* tenure [division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord] for periods ranging from one to five years according to the particulars of each case.' Richter, op. cit., pp. 402–3.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

312 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

596 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
● 423 grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle
[33] provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
[351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 423

Until the beginning of the last century the immovable property of an *okka* was regarded as impartible, and property descended from one generation to another without being split up in the process. In this respect Coorgs differed from other Hindus and, consequently, Coorg agriculture escaped the two great drawbacks of agriculture elsewhere in India, the subdivision of land into minute holdings and fragmentation or scattering of holdings over a wide area.

All earlier writers on Coorg—Connor, Moegling, Cole, and Rice[1]—are unanimous in holding that the immovable property of a Coorg *okka* is traditionally impartible. But some time after the defeat of Tippu in the closing years of the eighteenth century, some Coorg *okkas* were permitted by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas,[2] used to the Hindu idea of partition, to divide off. The example of these Coorgs was followed by many others. Consequently, 'in 1858 the *takkas* [social heads] and headmen of the Coorgs represented that the loss and ruin occasioned to their ancient houses by this innovation [was very great], and the Judicial Commissioner in additional Special Appeal Suit No. 117 of 1858–9 passed a decree declaring that division was contrary to the ancient custom of Coorg'.[3] The fact that the ancestral property was impartible was responsible to a great extent for preventing the *okka* from splitting.

596 423 178

The British also encouraged, although indirectly, the idea of partition of the ancestral property. They granted, for instance, *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to Coorgs who had taken part in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837. These *jagirs* were granted to individuals and not to the *okkas* of which they were members.

Coorgs who were government officials under the British bought farms and coffee- and orange-gardens with their savings, and the law courts established by the British permitted these to be regarded as the property of the individual acquirer and not of the *okka* of

[1] Connor, *Memoirs of the Codagu Survey*, pt. ii, Bangalore, 1870, pp. 29–30; H. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, 1855, p. 30; R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, secs. 115–17; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] Rice tells us that the Lingāyaṭ Rājas encouraged the idea of partition in order to break up the huge joint families of Coorgs. The Rājas wanted to increase the area under cultivation and also, according to Rice, they disliked intensely the fraternal polyandry of Coorgs. Rice remarks, 'Coorgs still viewed any deviation from this ancient custom [of polyandry] with the greatest abhorrence.' Op. cit., p. 329.

[3] Cole, op. cit., secs. 160, 165, 182.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*.

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown.

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays.

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground.

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p 228]

VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^n), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 423 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment. 591 423 178

b. Prescriptive law of inheritance. 428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of 429 428 [884]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable or neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: this should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be
423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660⅔, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 buttics *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 buttics called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 buttics of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 567 648 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

423 427 648

1st to the holder of the farm,

2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,

3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 423 427 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

423 643 648 [567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,8724 butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

311 651 423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,		311
35 „ 50 „	four „	„ „	651
above 50 „	five „	„ „	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—,it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [184]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 at the rate of Rs. 2—8 per 100 butties, the whole extent of
423 Umbali-tenure would be about 448,900 butties.

An addition, at least in name, to these Umbali-holdings
651 has been lately made at the recommendation of Capt. Cole,
423 who proposed "that a fixed remuneration in the shape of a
622 reduction in the assessment on the land, held by each Patél, be allowed to him as a "*Gaud-Umbali*" for the large additional work thrown on the Patéls by the effects of advancing civilization, by the opening out of the country and by the settlement of Europeans." This measure was hailed with satisfaction by the Patéls; most of them fixed the Umbali on the hereditary lands of their houses and in some cases the Umbali amounted to the entire assessment on their lands, which by this remission became virtually Jhágir or free, so that the "Gaud-Umbali" should be classed with the Inám-lands or freeholds.

651 The *Jódi-tenure* (from the Can. jódi, a favourable quit-
423 rent) is the holding of land which has been alienated to the office of the Patéls in the Yélusávirashíme- and Nanjarájpatna-taluq and for the maintenance of religious establishments, in all parts of Coorg. Half of its original assessment having been relinquished in favour of the holders, the Sirkar receives only Rs. 5 per 100 butties as from Jamma-land. Like this the former cannot be sublet and, if left uncultivated, it is at the disposal of the district officers and may be given by them to any ryot on Ságu-tenure, when 5 Rs. of the land-tax are paid to Government and the other 5 Rs. to the religious establishment to which it belongs. The revenue of the Jódi-tenure in 1869-70 was Rs. 5,930—5—7.

All these different holdings were liable to three additional taxes payable to Government viz: ghee-house- and Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The *ghee-tax* amounted to half a seer of ghee for every 100 butties of land and was paid in consideration of the Sirkar's expense on feasting the Coorgs, who assembled at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the Huttari- and Gauri-feast at the Rájah's palaces for exhibiting their national dance, accompanied by singing and instrumental music. At the general request of the people it was abolished, as the English Government neither fed nor gave the dancers presents on these occasions. 651 423

The *house-tax* is paid by every farmer at the rate of 9 As. 7 P. per family, Pariahs paying only half that sum. Merchants and other classes pay according to their caste or trade from 3 As. 2½ P. to 3 Rs. 10 As. 10 P. per house. 243 423 651

The *Dhúli-paddy-tax* was originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily given to the Haléri-Jangam who first pretended to be satisfied with an offering of the refuse paddy (Dhúli *Can.* dust) but, who on having usurped the Coorg Samsthán, imposed the tax by right on all ryots, vide p. 230. Since 1834 the rule was, that ryots, cultivating from 25 to 50 butties of wet land, had to pay ¾ of a butty of paddy—but no refuse!—and for 50 and upwards 1¼ butty of paddy to Government. In Gadinád and Yedavanád the ryots paid three Hannies or six seers in addition to every rupee paid for the land rent instead of the Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The paddy thus collected amounted in 1835 to 3,323 butties and in 1868-69, when this impost was commuted into a money payment of Rs. 3—3—7 per 1¼ butty or 120 seers,—this being the average market price of paddy for the 5 previous years—, it yielded Rs. 18,304—6—3 which at the above rate represents 8,516 butties, an increase of nearly 2¼ times and a considerable item in the land revenue!

The *Inám-holdings*, or rentfree lands, are either granted to religious institutions or for service rendered to the State and represent a nominal land-tax of Rs. 17,298—8—4. For *Dry-cultivation* the land is divided into fields and pieces of ground, denominated in the Registers respectively "Sargas" and "Tundus," each of the latter measuring from one to two cawnies and the former comprising from one to eight tundus. 423 651

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 Though the name, situation, size and extent of each tundu is minutely specified in the Registers, no mention is made of their estimated produce. Practice has, however, established the rule, that Government should receive one sixth of the gross produce, which in 1869-1870 effected a revenue of Rs. 9,362—3—5. When several families unite in cultivating pieces of dry land, each ryot contributing his share of labour and agricultural stock according to his means and receiving a corresponding proportion of the produce, such a farm is called "Hola-kula" or family field. The house-tax is, however, collected from each ryot.

423 651 245 With the year 1866-67 a new source of land revenue arose from the *assessment on land* taken up *for coffee cultivation*. After much deliberation and correspondence on the part of the "*Coorg Planters' Association*" and *Government*, the latter finally resolved in October 1863, to abolish the "Halut" or excise duty of 4 as. per maund of 28 lbs., or one rupee per hundredweight of clean coffee and to substitute on acreage rental on the following terms:

From the first to the fourth year the land is rentfree from the date of acceptance by the District Officer of the tender for the grant.

From the fifth to the ninth year one rupee per acre on the whole area, except a certain proportion of waste grass land.

From the tenth and subsequent years two rupees on the same area.

The Planters' Association (in September 1864) expressed itself entirely satisfied with these Rules which on the whole were considered both "just and liberal." A six years' experience, however, under adverse circumstances of bad seasons, Bug and Borer convinced the Planters, that the assessment, having been fixed upon too sanguine expectations of coffee-produce and therefore wrong premises, had turned out to be unjust and illiberal, and in some instances had become actually

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

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shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold. 423 425

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and bounderies of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{16}$ less than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency beyond $\frac{1}{16}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{16}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{16}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the _____ day of _____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of _____ of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. _____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of _____ in _____ of the _____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: _____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

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And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area. 648 656 423 425

And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the.... day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____ duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____ in the taluq ____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

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The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

651 423 245

Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

[249] VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 5th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over. 651 423 245

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Nádu, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Báne-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Nádu, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is 651 423 244

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government
423 was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!
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General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagárs of Nádu bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close,
423 we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue
635 and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

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Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Nádu and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Nádu. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhógs shall visit the villages and Nádu and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

as"

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 (kai-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Hezur."

635 634 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee	of assessment	in January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

651 423 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal ● 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *karakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,				311
35 „ 50 „	four	„	„	„	651
above 50	„ five	„	„	„	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—, it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [184]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656 423 425

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold.

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and boundaries of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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648 A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{16}$ less
656 than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded
423 a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency be-
425 yond $\frac{1}{16}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{16}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{16}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the ____day of ____between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of ____of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. ____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of ____in ____ of the ____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: _____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area. 648 656 423 425

And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the..... day of _____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____ duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____ in the taluq _____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

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Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

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VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 8th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in such case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

651 423 731 [427] 651 425 423

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of
567 British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question
648 to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by
423 the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then
427 prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-
648 lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

1st to the holder of the farm,

2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,

3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by
423 the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had
427 availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

113, 185, 427 Coorg AW5

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Coorg see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, p. 350.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*. 596 423 178

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown. [421]

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays. [594]

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*. 596 585

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground. 596 428

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

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was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

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V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the okka of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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makka parijé alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*. Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin' (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and

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848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

596 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kūl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is 606
told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal house- 596
hold that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the 582
ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the 428
chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much 596
stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of 582
south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
848 596 5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*:				
	(*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
596 428 6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

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428

Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
6 (contd.)					
	(*c*) Adoption.	The boy to be adopted.	In his natal *okka*.	In the adoptive *okka*.	Only when there are no agnatically-related males may a stranger be adopted to continue the *okka* threatened with extinction owing to lack of heirs. The adoptive son loses his membership of his natal *okka* and becomes a member of his adoptive *okka*. The consent of all the adult males of the natal *okka* of the adoptive son, and the consent of the caste-elders is necessary for the adoption to be valid.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised. 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[174 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

764 **Disposal of the Dead**

783 The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

241 The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They
771 worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior
42 to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now
262 trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They
582 marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment. 591 423 178

b. **Prescriptive law of inheritance.** 428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of 429 428 [884]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 428 [884] his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 597 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 [178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced [335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the [574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 [171] In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for [335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648

In the same year, at the suggestion of Major Mark Wilks, then Acting Resident at the Mysore Durbar, the boundary between Coorg and Mysore on the Subramanya side was finally adjusted by Mr. Peile and Major Mackenzie to the Rájah's entire satisfaction. 190 stones were ordered to be erected with the Company's mark on the top, that of Mysore on one side and that of Coorg on the other.

Before the end of 1805 Rájammáji, the Ráni of Sóde was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sadáshivarája.

Vírarája was now left in the free and full possession of his principality; he lived on the most friendly terms with the Mysore Residents, the Madras Governors, Sir George Barlow and Lord William Bentinck, and the Governor General, the Marquis of Wellesley, from whom he received a splendid sword of honor. About the time his first grandson was born to him at Sóde he was fondly attached to his new wife, Mahadévaráni, who had born him two daughters, and might have lived and died a happy man, if he had had a son and heir, if he had not distrusted his nearest relatives and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in constant dread of poison and it is difficult to say, whether the frenzy which seemed at times to seize him was not caused by drugs administered to him in spite of all his caution.

The Rájendranáme, in its conclusion affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear, which agitated the poor Rájah's heart.

*175 *643 428

Vírarájendra's last will.

The English translation by Lieut. Abercromby, made from the Canarese original of the Rájendranáme in 1808, at Mangalore brings in two additional pages the last will of Vírarájender, which is not contained in the extant copy, that was found in the Mercara archives in 1834, and the suspicion lies

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

near, that the Canarese original was destroyed and the Testament omitted in the copy by Vírarájender's successors. 175* 643* 428

His last words are:—"On the 7th of the Pushya month (Dec.—Jan.) Ractáxi year (1805) Capt. Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal and fastened it round the Rájah's waist. In the Mágha month (Jan.—Feb.) 1806 Vírarája told Capt. Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ráni, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had born him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rájashékarappa, Shishushékappa and Chandrashékarappa should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been born by Mahadévaráni who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday the 7th day of the month Jéshta (May—June) 4909 Prabhava year (1807). As by her death the Rájah's hopes of having a son by her were blunted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful queen, the Rájah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named: Dévammáji, Muddammáji, Rájammáji and Mahádévammáji, the eldest should be married and whatever son she might have, he should be named Vírájendra, receive the Rájah's seal and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters according to seniority should be the successor and so long as the line of any of his four above named daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons or their posterity should suc- [595]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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ceed. The Rájah, sensible of the instability of human life and all other things, has thought proper now to determine and record this matter, in order that no wrong may hereafter occur; and he requests, that the English Sirkar will be the guardian of his family and see the execution of the above written will attended to.

"In order that the Rájah's heirs may be acquainted with his resolution, he has written a copy thereof, to which he has affixed his seal and signature and which is lodged in the palace treasury."

Here ends the Rájendranáme.

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+643

5. THE LAST YEARS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF COORG 1807—1834.

A. DODDA-VĪRĀJENDRA'S MELANCHOLY END. 1807—1809.

With the death of Mahádévaráni commenced the last act, full of blood and horrors of the drama of poor Vírájendra's life. With her his hopes of a son and heir were buried. He had loved her, it appears, passionately. She may have turned and softened the savage nature of the wild Border-Chief. Her loss almost drove him mad. When the paroxysm of his grief had passed, he was alone in the world. There was no one to love him, no one in whom he could confide.

Mahádévaráni had left him four daughters, the eldest of whom was eight years old, when the mother died. They succeeded to whatever remained of human affection and sympathy in the breast of the woe stricken father. He had formerly intended to choose for his successor one of his sons by another wife, if Mahádévaráni had no male issue. Now he changed his mind. One of Mahádévaráni's daughters, if they lived to woman's state, might have a son. That son was to succeed him. The eldest of them, Dévammáji, was betrothed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives 428
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582 **c. Wedding and married life.**

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In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 177 766 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

671 177 429 768 53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the deceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the headman of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

gift on the occasion of giving him (or her) a name. In fact, a relative who is seeing an infant for the first time must give a money-gift. On the second day of marriage, when the bride visits the groom's house, she gives a money-gift to every infant in her conjugal *okka*. Later the groom does the same in the bride's *okka*.

It is hardly necessary to state that the giving of a money-gift does not always constitute a solidarity rite. It may be given in return for a service, which, however, might be purely nominal. A guest to a wedding gives a *paṇa* to each of the two girls holding a dish-lamp in his honour at the entrance to the bridal house.

At the wedding the elders of the groom's village publicly examine the box containing the bride's trousseau. They are collectively given five *paṇas* (fifteen annas), and this money is called 'witness money' (*sākshi paṇa*). Subsequently, if there is a dispute as to the contents of the bride's box the elders will be called upon to give evidence. Such disputes do not normally occur, however, except in the event of the woman wanting to return to her natal *okka* on becoming a widow, or after being divorced. Again, when the bride's family friend consents to hold himself responsible for her good behaviour in the groom's house he is paid a *paṇa* as 'witness-money'. The groom's family friend is paid similarly for holding himself responsible for the good behaviour of the groom's relatives.

In the above instances the passing of money from one hand to another has the effect of sealing a contract. It may also be interpreted as payment in advance for some service to be rendered in the future. An occasion might not, and usually does not, arise requiring the elders or either of the family friends to render the service expected of them or him, and the strictly nominal character of the payment might be attributed to this fact. Such an interpretation is plausible, but does not appear to us to be true. In the instance just mentioned the emphasis seems to be much more on the fact of the acceptor of the money binding himself to a particular course of action in the future rather than on the services to be rendered in the future.

A gold coin is placed in the mouth of a dead man if the latter was a married man. This coin is referred to as 'money for the road'. It probably refers to the expenses which the dead man's soul incurs on its journey. No gold coin is, however, placed in the mouth if the dead man was a bachelor, or had the reputation of being very wicked. In such a case a very bitter fruit called '*kānyaṇat kāyi*' is

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431 602

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kinḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

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The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both
602 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koṇḍavanu*
431 *koḷtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between
[582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man'
585 (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist
602 of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice
431 yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are
585 expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
● 431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[799] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each [431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral [783] lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her [765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves [589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] [574] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 [654] Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] [789] [825] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

potentates.* Arrived at the spot, which was only about a mile off, we dismounted, and, while the people were preparing seats on trees for our reception, amused ourselves shooting arrows at a mark, in which, as usual, the Rájah beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Rájah between us, and sat in a snug little wicker-box with three guns of the Rájah's each, and two of his eunuchs to load our pieces. The Rájah had a single rifle carrying a twelve ounce ball, and two double ones, of one ounce each....The creature rolled over instantaneously, carrying away several small trees, as he extended his enormous bulk upon the ground....It stood ten feet high, and was in excellent condition; the tusks were two feet outside, and nearly three feet long when extracted; and the length of the body was very nearly the same as its height.....Here, supposing our day's work was concluded, we proposed to take leave, but we were yet to learn something further of the kind attentions of this excellent Prince. He told us, that having kept us so long from our own tiffin, it being then three o'clock, he had ordered a dinner to be brought out for us; and, to our surprise, we found a small house built of leaves, a table and chairs, a dinner, consisting of pillawe, mutton cutlets, curry, &c. all ready for us. Nor was this all: the Rájah followed us in, and begged us to excuse him, as he was not very well; but left his servants with guns, powder, shot, &c. and four elephants, desiring us to amuse ourselves after dinner as we pleased. We accordingly dined, and then beat a thick jungle for game, though without success, it being the dry season, when they retire into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. At five P. M., we returned to our palace, well satisfied with the adventures of the day.....On the 25th of March, we

175* 643* 648* 224

175* 643* 648* 431 ●

* Sorry shall I be, in the sequel, to reverse this most delightful, though airy vision; but truth, with me, is the first maxim, and it will force me to dispel the delightful romance which was here intruded on us by the most plausible appearances.

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*175 paid our parting visit to the Mahá Swámi, and received from
*643 him the following presents: two gold-handled Coorg knives,
*648 two panther-skin caps, two sandalwood sticks, one royal tiger-
[431] and two panther-skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Rájah informed us, that the present indifferent state of his health, and not being certain of finding game immediately, had alone prevented his taking us into the country to shoot, but promised, if we would return at the same season next year, we should be amply gratified with field sports. Thus ended my first trip to Coorg.... I shall anticipate a period of my Journal, and extract the next trip at once. Accompanied by Lieutenant Meredith, I set out on the 17th of October 1812, and reached Siddhéshvara, the first village in his country; after which my Diary regularly proceeds as follows:—

"Here we were regaled with curry and rice, by the Coorg Rájah's guards, who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockade seems newly finished. We had some very unpleasant heavy rain in the evening, and saw many wild fowl
[491] in the tank. The whole road from Periapatna is extremely bad, and would require much repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night, succeeded by a fog.

*175 "On the 18th of October we set forward, still in our
*648 palanquins, in a dense fog.....The road the whole way was very bad. The last four miles, in particular, through swamps and paddy ground, intersected by deep water-courses.

"We arrived at Vírarájendrapett at twenty minutes past three P.M., and took a walk to look at a Christian church building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half finished, and will be a grand edifice for the Romish Christians to erect in a Pagan country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap-stone on the Malabar Coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a dis-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

sport did not commence till eleven A. M., the jungle being amazingly thick and game rather scarce. I fired and wounded an elk, which Meredith killed, and I killed a junglee buckrah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the same colour and size of a deer, having exceedingly short legs, and therefore its swiftness must proceed from the length and strength of its body; it had short branching antlers, and was so extraordinary an animal altogether, that I preserved the head and antlers.....It was the only animal of the kind, I ever saw in my life. A panther was started, but he escaped, from the density of the jungle. We got into our palanquins at sunset, and moving in great state, with every one of our three thousand beaters carrying a lighted fire-stick, arrived at our pavilion at half-past eight P. M., actually illuminating all the country through which we passed. Our total game killed this day was one wild hog, seven elks, and one junglee buckrah. It matters not to what distance we ramble, the Rájah's attention and kindness extend all over his dominions. We never sit down to a meal, but in pops a large basket of fruit, or some sweetmeats from his own table, and his people are the most orderly, obliging, willing creatures I have ever met in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward, which in general will go a great way with the natives of India; but these people reject, with apparent horror, every proffered present, even when alone. There is certainly something very uncommon, indeed unfathomable, in this.

"On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way to Mercara, but had no sport, killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile occasionally, is marked out into a kind of fortification; having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman,

175* 648* [643]* [574] [431] ● [712]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

would allow him to go with pleasure, and said, I would immediately ask his Highness; but he begged me not, as he was sure the Rájah would allow him to go, if it were really for his advantage; here the conversation dropped, and being reported, it had a capital effect. 175* 643* 648*

This forenoon we took our leave of the Rájah, who received us in his palace, where he was amusing himself shooting blunt, but very heavy headed arrows, at different men, armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time, and then dismounted. I had been informed, that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliárapah, a gold-mounted Coorg knife, and sandalwood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandalstick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness, I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps, has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rájah of Népaunee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindustáni, Kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Mahá Swámi; as the finest flowers of their gardens are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India. [431] [422] [784]

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [481] [482] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 425 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 177 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at £ 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Devân of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be
423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660¾, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

433 Coorg AW5

[For additional information on the growth of plantation agriculture see category 311, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannaran-ḍachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[606] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl
587 entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Peram-
177 badi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya found-
ed Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country!
474 Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the
245 example of the European planter, and opened up large estates;
177 private and public companies were formed to embark in the
434 lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampaji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249]

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moon-
[435] light nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 Of almost equal importance with manuring is the pruning of the trees, whereby the extravagant elaboration of the sap is checked and the fertility of the soil economised. It is this operation which makes the planter most familiar with his trees and which impresses upon the appearance of an estate as decided a stamp, as the system of training characterizes a school. It is amusing to hear a planter call one's attention to this and that "dear little tree", which he has "brought round by pruning"; but these are often the men who do justice to a plantation and who eventually succeed!

245 439 435 The export of coffee for the last 12 years, as will be seen from the subjoined table, has with the exception of the last two years been steadily increasing.

Statement of exports of Coffee from Coorg

from 1857—1869 in maunds of which 4 are equal to 1 Cwt.

Year	Coffee in maunds	Avoirdupois weight			Value at Rs. 500 per ton
		Tons.	Cwts.	Qrs.	
1857—58	46,336	579	4	0	289,600
1858—59	66,862	835	15	2	417,850
1859—60	1,11,768	1,379	2	0	689,550
1860—61	1,28,412	1,605	3	0	802,550
1861—62	1,53,781	1,922	5	1	961,125
1862—63	1,40,113	1,751	8	1	875,700
1863—64	2,34,182	2,927	5	2	1,463,625
1864—65	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1865—66	2,50,000	3,125	0	0	1,562,500
1866—67	2,60,000	3,250	0	0	1,625,000
1867—68	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1868—69	2,20,700	2,758	15	0	1,379,375
	20,92,154	26,133	17	2	13,066,875

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

248 the stem of the fibre. When all is ready for removing the stalks, cutting more than can be immediately attended to, should be avoided. When the sticks are cut, they should be stripped of the leaves on the ground, which is done by passing the hand down them from top to bottom, after which they are handed over to women or boys to be treated as follows:

The workers should be in couples, one to take off the bark or thin outer coat, the other to strip off the fibre. The [412] barker being provided with some coir fibre and a wooden knife, proceeds with the former to rub the stick in one direction, from top to bottom, or vice versa, which, if the plant be fresh, is easily accomplished; if the bark be obstinate, she uses the wooden knife, scraping in one direction, when the fibre is thoroughly exposed. After removing the bark, she hands the stick to another cooly, who breaks it an inch or two at either end or in the middle by which a portion of fibre is separated and which enables him to lay hold of it and to strip off very carefully the entire fibre. Should any mucilaginous matter still adhere, it is scraped off with a blunt wooden knife and the clean fibre hung up in the sun for a day to dry, when it is ready for the market. Perhaps drying the cut sticks in the sun and exposing them to the dews for several days and then beating out the brittle herbaceous part with a wooden apparatus as they treat hemp in Germany, may be a cheaper and more expeditious mode of separating the fibre.

248 As to the return, 88 lbs. are calculated upon one acre for
245 one crop, and if the field allows three annual cuttings, the
433 yield is 264 lbs. or a little more than one-tenth of a ton,
435 valued 80 rupees at ₹ 80 a ton, whilst an acre of coffee producing 5 cwt. would yield at 70 shillings per cwt. Rupees 175, all expenditure excluded in both cases.

245 The *Chocolate tree* or Theobroma Cacao has been successfully reared by me from seeds received from Sir Madava Row, the Devân of Travancore. The cultivation of this most use-

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8. *Forest Conservancy.*

A glance at the Coorg Forests and their general Flora, as stated in page 16 ff., will show, that the formation of a Forest Conservancy Department in 1864 was an absolute necessity, and it is only to be regretted, that it was not five years earlier in operation, before some of the finest forests fell under the Planters' axe. There is, however, still scope enough for the energy and talents of a well trained Forest Officer in Coorg, and the more a scientific system of working the reserved forests is introduced such as was originated by Dr. Brandis and carried out in Burmah and other parts if India, especially in the Madras Presidency under the able direction of Dr. Cleghorn and Major Beddome, the better will be the prospects of an ever increasing revenue from this department, which seems not yet to be in a very flourishing condition. Being left without rules fixed by law, the Forest Officer cannot act with that authority which is due to his position and necessary to the interests of Government. 654 185

Of the trees reserved by Government, Sandal and Teak are its monopoly, the Kuve or Poonspar is sold at the rate of Rs. 20 per tree, Blackwood and Anjili are sold at Rs. 10 and Ebony, Hone and Irupu at Rs. 6 per tree. All other timbers, bamboos and firewood are allowed free to the ryot paying land revenue to Government and also to all Government servants in Coorg whose pay does not exceed 10 Rs. per mensem, without written permission or any prohibition whatever, except that only mature trees must be cut and that the timber must be used solely for bona fide agricultural and building purposes and not for sale. For the same kind of trees which are free of charge to the ryots, traders have to pay from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4—8 per tree and Rs. 6 per 1000 bamboos, whilst non-ryot residents, if for their own use, pay only half price. 655 185 654 [435] [435]

[Errata: This should read "of India": see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

781 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three [778] castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at [788] Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

793 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every 437 house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence 793 of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling 754 wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.
787 Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka*
[621] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.
[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them.
171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explain-
533 ing' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became
• [437] culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song. 796 621

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg. [437]

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress 796 564

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity. [793] [437]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta); the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

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VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravárasante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation.

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

231 222 237 [431] [432] Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night. cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat [578] swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. LeHARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Módu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 to the hut before sunset. After a hearty meal, they pick the capsules from the branches, an operation that keeps them up till late at night. With the dawn of day the men set out again for the plantation. The master remains. At noon the women of the house arrive; the picked cardamoms are measured into bags which they carry home to the drying ground. In the Gade-males the cardamoms are dried on the spot on a bamboo mat in the open but near a sheltering hut in case of rain. They are thinly spread and require but 4 days' hot sun to dry; further exposure would cause the capsules to burst, which is avoided. Before the capsules are ready for the market, the fruit-stalks are rubbed off, and all impurities [251] removed. When assorted according to size and colour, they are stored away in closed baskets in a dry room, to preserve [439] their aroma. Mopla traders or their agents visit the Náds at this time with a stock of bright handkerchiefs and other attractive finery for the Coorg women and make many a good bargain.

Some Coorgs gather from 30 to 50 maunds in weight of dry cardamoms, one maund (equal to 1,100 rupees in weight) is worth from 50 to 65 rupees in Coorg. The average produce of one garden of a quarter of an acre in extent may be estimated at 10 seers of dry cardamom. The contingent expenditure is insignificant. With more systematic cultivation seedlings and roots might be transplanted, and by trenching, manuring and irrigation, the produce might be greatly increased in quantity; but the owners of cardamom jungles require to have them on a longer lease, to make such extra expenditure remunerative.

245 *Coffee cultivation.*—There are but few Europeans and 177 natives in Coorg, who are not interested in coffee cultivation. [167] As the rush to the Ceylon Coffee-districts before the memorable years of 1847 and 1848, so has been the influx of European settlers to Coorg for the last 8 years. Their number is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 Of almost equal importance with manuring is the pruning of the trees, whereby the extravagant elaboration of the sap is checked and the fertility of the soil economised. It is this operation which makes the planter most familiar with his trees and which impresses upon the appearance of an estate as decided a stamp, as the system of training characterizes a school. It is amusing to hear a planter call one's attention to this and that "dear little tree", which he has "brought round by pruning"; but these are often the men who do justice to a plantation and who eventually succeed!

245 439 435 The export of coffee for the last 12 years, as will be seen from the subjoined table, has with the exception of the last two years been steadily increasing.

Statement of exports of Coffee from Coorg

from 1857—1869 in maunds of which 4 are equal to 1 Cwt.

Year	Coffee in maunds	Avoirdupois weight			Value at Rs. 500 per ton
		Tons.	Cwts.	Qrs.	
1857—58	46,336	579	4	0	289,600
1858—59	66,862	835	15	2	417,850
1859—60	1,11,768	1,379	2	[illegible]	689,550
1860—61	1,28,412	1,605	3	0	802,550
1861—62	1,53,781	1,922	5	1	961,125
1862—63	1,40,113	1,751	8	1	875,700
1863—64	2,34,182	2,927	5	2	1,463,625
1864—65	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1865—66	2,50,000	3,125	0	0	1,562,500
1866—67	2,60,000	3,250	0	0	1,625,000
1867—68	2,40,000	3,000	0	0	1,500,000
1868—69	2,20,700	2,758	15	0	1,379,375
	20,92,154	26,133	17	2	13,066,875

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ಶ upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features, and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!

439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramára, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

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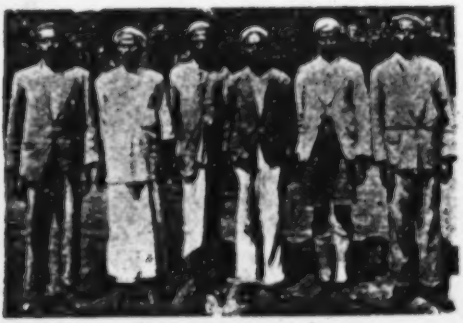
A typical Coorg in his smart attire



Amma Coorg Male Group

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An Amma Coorg House

[facing p.65]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[464] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

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to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
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[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
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want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorga, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-nduvé (village-jungles)

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávira-shíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálk-nád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38¼ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[567] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages [461] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

3:lyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted. [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [189]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

seed. The seed paddy is heaped up on the north side of the house, watered for 3 days, then covered up with plantain leaves and stones, till it begins to sprout. The nursery ground has meanwhile again been ploughed and harrowed, and the water allowed to run off, so that the grain when sown is just imbedded in the soft mud. After 20 or 30 days the blades have attained a height of about one foot and the seedlings are ready for transplanting. Beautiful as are corn and clover fields in Europe, there is no vegetation there that surpasses in beauty the brilliant green of a rice nursery. The eye is irresistibly attracted to these bright spots and rests upon them with the utmost delight! 243

Regulated by the monsoon rain the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women, covered with leaf-umbrellas, called Goragas, that rest on the head and protect the whole of the body, pull out the plants from the nursery, tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled with the Tawe, "till the soil is soft as treacle, white as milk the foaming surface," when all the men of the house, placed in a line and standing almost knee deep in the muddy fields, begin the transplanting in which women are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited over the field; each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left and with the right hand presses with great rapidity 6 or 8 seedlings together into the mud, keeping a regular distance of about 6 inches. Before the completion of the largest field an open space of about 10 feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorgs' race-ground and offers right good sport which greatly exhilirates their monotonous task. All the men engaged in the work—and 15 are reckoned for a 100 butties of land—may run, but 4 or 5 only obtain a prize. Wearing merely a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run, for which their powerful [293] 243 461 526

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they
461 scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars
526 of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moon-
[435] light nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

462 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[533] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

585 when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband.
591 Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

585 After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

[778] Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *gaṅga pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

[462] The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 [556] The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

• 462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata: This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabitants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. In the time of the Rájahs.

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchayat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Musulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 ***Mercara-taluq*** with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
● [464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873 At the request of Government, "Botany" has been added to the list of lessons of the first class. Singing is a general lesson for the musical boys and upwards of 60 Canarese and English songs are practised. The Gymnasium engages twice a week the whole School and the exercises are very popular. A library and some philosophical apparatus are aids for evening lectures for the further instruction of studious youths who left the School.

873 157 On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which generally distinguishes Brahmin youths. They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound common sense. In a competitive examination, the quick-witted Brahmin, though not half so well informed, will outstrip the Coorg lad; but give the latter time and he will maintain his place due to his real worth. Coorg 873 lads and others, trained in the Central School, are now found ●464 in every office of the various departments of Government in Coorg and some fill important posts; but it is to be regretted, that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them. Some time ago the openings in the offices were so many, that the young men could not resist the temptation of well paid employments under Government and relinquished their studies. For the same reason none of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the Matriculation examination, though, in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, "if these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the Matriculation test of the Madras University." (vide his Report of 1869-70.)

873 658 Foreseeing the difficulty of permanently supporting the boarding-houses without the aid of public charity or Government assistance, the general speculation in coffee in Coorg

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[For additional information on the growth of business and industrial organization see category 433, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

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245 the Sampáji Ghat in 1855, Dr. Maxwell opened up the Peram-
177 badi Ghat estates in 1856, and in 1857 Mr. Kaundinya found-
ed Anandapur village with a most promising plantation in the Bamboo district. Round these first centres of cultivation dozens of extensive estates sprang up within a short time. Every one who beheld a hill-side, covered with the rich, luxuriant coffee shrub was bewitched by its golden promises. Here seemed to have been discovered the Eldorado of honest industry in a delightful climate and home-like country!
● 474 Natives too, enriched by the sale of forest land, followed the
245 example of the European planter, and opened up large estates;
177 private and public companies were formed to embark in the
434 lucrative speculation; forest land was to be had either from Government for the mere asking or by purchase from native holders. Cooly labour flowed in plentifully. Thousands of acres of the finest forest land fell under the planter's axe. Every new settler was hailed as a lucky fellow, whose lot was cast in pleasant places. Lacs of rupees were spent in the expectation of a cent per cent return. With the approach of the looked for fabulous income, the excitement rose apace. Envy had fixed an eye upon the fortunate planter;—but never before stood he more in need of pity and sympathy than at that time. A succession of bad seasons disappointed his prospects year after year; then the "Bug" infested the finest estates on the Sampáji and Perambadi Ghat, and scarcely had it left, when the terrible "White Borer," whose acquaintance we have already made, threatened to destroy the very foundation of his prosperity. There are but few planters who have as yet escaped either of these dire calamities, and their success makes the loss of others all the more felt. There is however no cause for despair. The soil and climate of the country seem eminently suitable for coffee cultivation. Coffee may yet succeed in Coorg and the undaunted planter may yet have his reward, if the method of cultivation, best

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

suited for each locality, is carefully adopted, and if with the increase of jungle vegetation, especially bamboos, better seasons may be expected to return and the "White Borer" to disappear. 245 [474] [434] [177]

The approved methods of coffee cultivation in Coorg are planting under shade and on the open ground, and an intelligent planter will be guided by his experience of the elevation, exposure, and amount of atmospheric humidity of his locality which method to apply. If shade-planting is decided upon, there is the choice between natural and artificial shade, and in either case due regard is paid to full light and free circulation of air. The former method is but the improved native way of planting already described. For artificial shade-planting the jungle trees are all removed and either burnt or—which seems to be better—piled up and allowed to rot, when of the spontaneous new growth, especially the Sponia Wightii or "Charcoal tree" which springs up like weeds, a sufficient number of trees is allowed to remain. More permanent shade-trees, however, are the jack tree, the Poinciana regia, Bauhinia, the mango tree etc., seeds of which are put down at regular distances on the plantation, and after 5 or 6 years the young trees offer already partial shade. Coffee trees on open ground, that require no shade owing to a moister atmosphere, are evidently in a more congenial habitat; they grow stronger, live longer and yield an earlier and successively more regular and larger crop than trees under shade. Some of the Sampáji Ghat-estates nearest Mercara are of this description and their present appearance leaves hardly anything to be desired in coffee planting.

The soil and elevation best suited for cardamoms is also best adapted for coffee cultivation, hence at first the desire to secure cardamom jungles for coffee plantations. [249]

After a piece of land has been cleared and regularly pitted with holes 18 inches cube and at a distance of 5 or 6 feet from each other, the surface soil is filled in and a peg fixed in the centre. With the first burst of the monsoon, the sturdy

[For additional material dealing with government regulation or the development of industry see category 656 in 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives.

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult.

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged.

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt.

[P.56]

CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On [354] an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-púmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[476] the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

888 their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?'
[576] (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

[516] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male
[481] cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

888 A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate
601 kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

601 There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may
587 address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

601 Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

888 Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that
551 whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 112]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Holeya and his wife.

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[facing p. 112]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 The cardamom grows in the deep and damp recesses of the evergreen forests on the Western Ghats. Many varieties of beautiful ferns and the useful rattan cane creeper and *võṭé* reeds are also found close to the mountain streams flowing in these forests.

136 Coorg fauna is the same as that of the rest of south India. In its forests are found elephant, tiger, bison, panther, boar, bear, porcupine, deer, and wild dog and jackal. The extensive clearing of the mountain-sides for coffee and orange plantations, the general love of hunting, and the possession of firearms have resulted in the decimation of wild life in Coorg.

II

131 The isolation and inaccessibility of Coorg, with its steep mountains, dense forests, and heavy rainfall, contributed to the maintenance and elaboration of the distinctive mode of life and culture of Coorgs. The Lingāyaṭ Rājas, who saw certain political and military advantages in the natural isolation of Coorg, tried to increase it. Richter tells us that they closed down certain roads leading to Mercara, and prohibited travelling by them.[1]

But under British rule the existing roads were improved and new ones were built. Nowadays buses run regularly on all the main roads connecting different parts of Coorg with each other, and Coorg with her neighbours. Yet even now no railway line passes through Coorg and this restricts the amount of contact it has with the rest of India.

The isolation of Coorg in the past was far from absolute. Contact always did exist with neighbours, though such contact was limited and difficult. For instance, Coorgs in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their surplus rice, and to buy jaggery,[2] coconuts, coconut oil, tobacco, and areca-nuts. Coorgs in south-east Coorg bought cattle in Mysore and went on pilgrimages to certain shrines like the Shrikanṭēshwara Temple in Nanjanagūḍ. Coorgs in central and north Coorg went on pilgrimages to the Subrahmaṇya Temple in South Canara.

184 Though Coorg is a very small country, it shows considerable cultural diversity. The areas to the north and east of Mercara, and

[1] Op. cit., p. 426.

[2] Crude brown sugar, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes, made from sugar-cane juice or the saps of various palms.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Kengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

[P C4]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their
[776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs
devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is
not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendra built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 361 Frank Vardon, the intrepid companion of Dr. Livingstone in South-Africa. He died on the 21st June 1860. At the junction of the three Ghat-roads rises the *Roman Catholic* [485] *Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat, stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where, though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding [205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front [697] of the Superintendent's Kacheri is the *Post-Office* and the *Jail-garden*, and below it the dome of the *Onkáréśvara-temple* with its gilt orb peeps out from a hollow round which the dwellings of the Coorg officials and of Brahmins are clustered amid a dense mass of vegetation. Some of these houses are two [206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house, attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a broad bund, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or *Mahádéepet* in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines. An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by allotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme has not made much progress since. The new portion was

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore 632
high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with [131]
the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account [439]
of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western [162]
Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established [175]
in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous [774]
introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, gene- [177]
rously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided [361]
into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which [443]
attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is 632
similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most 368
attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site [485]
of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shiváchárics possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómanadapet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [171]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára-Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 Coorg is crossed by two trunk-roads from east to west
491 and from north to south, intersecting each other at Mercara,
653 and by a branch-road near Vírájpet the western and eastern highroads are connected.

Previous to the occupation of the country by the British in 1834, the roads were in a primitive state, wholly impracticable for wheeled carriges and scarcely less so for bullocks, it having been part of the policy of the Rájahs, to render their country as little accessible as possible, from an idea common to the mountaineers in all parts of the world, that the chance of invasion and conquest was thereby diminished. For the same reason some of the more direct and practicable lines, leading to Mercara were shut up and travelling by them prohibited.

The *Eastern trunk-road* from Mysore enters Coorg at Frasepet, where it crosses the Kávéri, which is spanned by a fine masonry bridge of 7 arches and 516 feet in length. The part of the line between Frasepet and Mercara is 19¼ miles in length and was commenced in January 1835 and completed in 1837 by a detachment of Sappers under Capt. Underwood, Lieuts. Rundall, Doria and Fast. The Kávéri-bridge, however, was built in 1846-48 by Capt. Ch. J. Green with the material of the dismantled Fort at Frasepet. It bears the inscription: "The Most Noble George Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, Major-General Mark Cubbon Commissioner of Mysore. Frasepet Bridge. The first stone of this bridge was laid on the 1st day of January 1846 by Capt. W. G. Onslow, Superintendent of Coorg and it was opened to public traffic on the 12th day of May 1848. Charles James Green, Capt. in the Madras Engineers, Architect."

[485] To break the distance of 19¼ miles, there is a Traveller's Bangalow at Suntikoppa, 9 miles from Mercara. The elevated situation is pretty, but the present condition of the Bangalow wretched.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The upper portion of this road near Mercara has in several places too steep a gradient and should, as the Chief Engineer proposes, be reconstructed. The *Sampáji-Ghat* or the line from Mercara towards Mangalore, which, however, ought to be called "*Fast's Ghat*" in honor to the professional skill of the young Engineer Officer who planned and executed this great work and who fell a victim to jungle-fever, was commenced after the monsoon in 1837 and offered considerable engineering difficulties, as it followed for many a mile through dense jungle. It is for the most part very direct; the soil is generally good and, except in two places, so gentle is the slope down the Ghat of 19¼ miles in length, that for bandy traffic it offers no difficulty. Between the 9th and 10th miles only the gradient for a very short distance is as much as 1 in 12 and 1 in 6 or 7. The total fall in the first 15 miles of this Ghat is about 2900 feet, which gives 1 in 37 for the whole line. From the foot of the Ghat to Sampáji, 4¼ miles, the fall is only 55 feet. The cost of cutting out the roadway of these 19¼ miles, including the removal of rocks, trees, etc. but without bridges amounted to about 3500 Rs. per mile, exclusive of the pay of the Sappers and cost of tools. Whithin a short time the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, whilst the easy access to a market gave stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg and with the advent of coffee-planters, whose extensive estates line both sides of the road, its importance became invaluable. 648 491 653

The stages on this road from Mercara are: 6 miles to Madyanád, 14 to Sampáji, 13¼ to Sulya, 11 to Káu, 10¼ to Puttúr, 15 to Pánemangalore, 7 to Feringapet and 9 to Mangalore with a Traveller's Bangalow at each stage and all in healthy localities except that at Sampáji. 491 [485]

The road from Cannanore into Coorg through the Periambády Ghat and the Anachaukur road were finished some twelve years later, chiefly for military purposes. The line [653]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

491 from Vírájpet to Mercara was made shortly afterwards. A continuation of this line to the north of Coorg from Mercara to Kodlipet was commenced in 1862 and opened for traffic in 1868.

491 485 Considering the *Cannanore-road*, its first 2¼ miles leading out of Mercara are excessively severe, in several places the gradients being 1 in 9. The total fall in this descent of 2¼ miles is about 550 feet, giving 1 in 24 over all. Beyond the 7th mile a high arched bridge leads over the Muttaremutha and between the 9th and 10th miles the well situated, clean and comfortable Bangalow at Murnád invites the traveller. Beyond the 12th mile the river Kávéri is crossed by a ferry and thence to Vírájpet, the road is pretty level and throughout in excellent condition. Four miles from Vírájpet the Periambády Ghat commences which was laid out by Capt. Francis and is down to Urti about 10 miles in length with a fall of 2682 feet. From the head of the Ghat, which is 3141 above the sea level, the descent varies from 1 in 18 and 20 to 1 in 30, but two miles from the head to the Wottekolli public bangalow, a distance of three quarters of a mile, there is a distressing gradient of 1 in 10 and 12. The road after this is easy and level in places to beyond the fourth mile from which it drops down to Urti—6 miles from Wottekolli—with generally far too steep a gradient. On the Coorg frontier the Kalla-hole, a mountain torrent coming down from the western slope of the Ghats, is to be crossed by a good bridge. Urti is 38 miles from Cannanore and 459 feet above the sea. There is no public bangalow, but a pretty one at Gunot, 7 miles further on near the united Kalla-hole (stony-river) and Bara-pole which river flows at a little distance behind the bangalow and offers attractive sport to the lover of the "gentle art." As to a journey down the Ghat, it is replete with ever varying charms, reminding the tourist of the finest mountain scenery of Scotland, Wales or the Black Forest in Baden. And

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

And

such glorious forest trees of Poon, Sampige, Red Cedar Anjili, Hone, etc.! To see them and travel under their shade is worth a long journey. From Gunot to Cannanore or Tellicherry the road runs level and affords easy travelling. Near Ulil or Chávachári, 22 miles from Cannanore, a large wooden bridge resting on high stone pillars crosses the Gunot-river, but a public bangalow is only found at Shalot, 12¼ miles from Cannanore. 491 485 [137]

At the head of the Periambády Ghat a highroad branches off into Mysore by way of Bittangala 5 miles, Hattúr 3 miles, Tittimatti 9 miles, Anechaukur 4 miles, Panchally 6 miles, Honasur 11¼ miles, 4 miles from which place it meets the Mysore-Fraserpet road. Except between Anechaukur and Tittimatti the road is easy and generally in good condition, and since the Gonikoppa-bridge near Hattúr has been finished, at the sacrifice of the life of Mr. R. Hunter, a most promising Engineer Officer, there is no difficulty for wheeled carriages from Mysore to Cannanore, a distance of 113 miles. The public bangalows on this line are excellent in the Mysore country, but very indifferent in Coorg and Malabar.

To cut off two sides of a triangle a branch road, 3 miles long, has been constructed from Vírájpet to Bittangala for the Mysore cart-traffic. It is hoped, that the Mysore railway may yet extend to the eastern frontier of Coorg!

The *Northern highroad*, lately constructed by Mr. Stewart, connects Mercara with Manjerabad by way of Sómawárpet and Kodlipet, 44¼ miles to the latter town. The line having been laid out under stringent regulations in regard to gradient, and the trace receiving great attention by Capt. W. Campbell, the result is a road with uniformly the easiest gradients in the Province. Most of the roadway is 18 feet wide. The smaller streams are all bridged over; for the Choran-hole a three-arched masonry bridge of 65 feet is proposed; for the Mattapúr a single-arched, and for the Hatte-hole a three- 491

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

491 arched bridge. For the present these rivers are crossed in
485 the dry season by rough stone causeways, but during the monsoon no carts can pass. There is no public bangalow on this line. During the last few years avenue trees at regular distances have been planted by the ryots along these high-roads and future generations will enjoy the benefit of this benevolent measure.

A line of equal importance, but unfinished though practicable for carts, is Col. Stuart's (vide p. 339) road from Vírájpet into Mysore by way of Anandapur and Siddápur, whence a branch, traced by Messrs. Stoddard and Gramatzki and opened out by Mr. J. Hunt, leads on the right bank of the Kávéri to Fraserpet. To avoid the steep Mercara ghat-roads for the through-traffic from Mysore to Mangalore, a new trace has been cut by Lieut. Clarke and Mr. Gramatzki to connect the Periapatna-Siddápur road with the Sampáji-ghat-road, placing in its line the iron girder bridge which is to span the Kávéri; but under the present financial difficulties the scheme has been postponed; likewise the opening up of a cart-road through Kiggatnád into Wynád, the trace of which only has been cut by the same engineers. Roads proposed are those from Bhágamandala to Sulya, from Bhágamandala to Nálkanád and Vírájpet and Bhágamandala to Mercara. The Rájah's road from Mercara to Nálkanád is still in use, but it is impracticable for carts. Here and there it is still lined with stately avenue trees.

In addition to the roads, designed and carried out from Imperial funds, others have been constructed by planters from private sources without any Government assistance, so that, for pack-bullocks at least, the country is opened up in every direction, but for the increasing traffic better means of communication are required and the proposed roads would supply every want.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Felspar is very common, and yields a rich soil. Veins of it are laid bare along the banks of the Ghat roads. In many places it is reduced to a white powder, the kaolin or porcelain clay, with which marketable chunam is adulterated. Mica is frequently seen, and here and there the roads glitter with its shining scales. After heavy showers the water channels along the sides of roads which had been metalled with syenite, appear covered with a sparkling blackish sand, the hornblende of the decomposed syenite. Common quartz occurs most frequently in small pieces of uncrystalline form. The considerable amount of carbonate of lime in the ashes of the Matti tree, (Terminalia coriacea) a tree largely distributed all over the eastern parts of Coorg, proves the presence of limestone in the soil of that region. 135 134 [137]

Mines there are none in Coorg, and it would appear, that except traces of iron in the shape of oxydes no metals exist. The gold ore, which a certain adventurer recently claimed to have discovered in Coorg, proved to be only mica embedded in quartz. 316 [135]

Rivers and their course. From the configuration of the country already described, it is evident, that the main drainage of Coorg is in an easterly direction towards the Bay of Bengal; while the mountain torrents of the western declivities of the Ghats flow into the Indian Ocean. 133

The Coorg rivers are not remarkable either for width or depth, but their water supply is everywhere abundant throughout the year. As their sources are high up in the mountains and their courses over steep declivities, the streams are impelled with great rapidity over generally very rocky beds; which render them almost wholly useless for navigation of any kind, and owing to the height of their banks and the unevenness of the country, few of them allow of artificial irrigation, but the rivulets are everywhere laid under contribution. [312] [487]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

133 The minor streams vary only in size, which depends upon the length of their course, their general characteristics being the same. They swell with the freshes in the early part of June and flow with violent and boisterous rapidity till October, when they gradually subside in their normal dimensions.

[132] The south-westerly monsoon floods the uplands of Coorg against which it partially breaks, with such a torrent of rain, that during its prevalence small rills, out of which a thirsty herd does not care to drink, are suddenly transformed into streams that are impassable for many days.

133 103 Of the rivers that flow to the westward the *Barapole* (bare *Can.* empty, bare; pole or hole *Can.* river) is the most considerable. It rises with the *Lakshmana-tírta* and *Pápanáshe* on the same plateau of the Brahmagiri hills in Kiggatnád and flows for several miles in almost a straight line through a deep mountain gorge, where it is joined by a tributary that falls over a perpendicular rock of great height and forms a beautiful cascade near the Kudiál coffee estate. Near the Malayalam frontier the Barapole leaps into a chasm upwards of 200 feet deep, and forms a waterfall that, with the wild gloomy forest scenery around, is remarkably picturesque. Then for two miles this river runs along the Coorg frontier up to the point where the *Kallahole* (kallu *Can.* stone) descending through the Heggala-pass unites with it, when the combined streams enter Malabar and debouch near Chiracal into the sea. [487] The Barapole receives the rainfall of 192 square miles, and is navigable from the sea to within 16 miles off the foot of the Ghats. Near Chávachári on the road to Cannanore it is spanned by a wooden bridge, resting on high stone pillars.

The next stream of importance is the *Nyijkal* which drains the Sampáji valley, and follows the main road as far as Sulya, when it turns to the west, receives a tributary that originates on the western slopes of the Todicána-pass and Tala-Kávéri,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

and falls, under the name of Basavani river, near Kasergóde, into the sea. C 133 103

The *Kumáradhári* (Kumára *Sans.* son, god of war, the son of Shiva; dháre *Sans.* edge, stream) rises near the Subramanya hill and carries off but little of the Coorg waters. For some distance it forms the northern boundary along the Bisilu-pass (bisilu *Can.* heat). A number of tributaries from north and south swell its waters, the largest of them being the *Nétrávati* (nétra *Sans.* eye) which joins it near the village Uppinangadi (uppu *Can.* salt, angadi mart) and thenceforth gives its own name to the rest of the course of this fine river, which near Mangalore meets the sea. The Nétrávati, though useless for purposes of irrigation, is of considerable commercial value. C [487] Boats of large size are safely carried from Mangalore as far as Bantwal or Pánemangalur and smaller craft proceed even beyond Uppinangadi.

The chief of the Coorg rivers, both as to size and importance, is the *Kávéri*; considering the volume of water it gathers during a course of nearly 400 miles through Mysore, along Salem and Coimbatore through Trichinopoly to Tanjore, where it is almost lost in that garden of India; the Kávéri may well be included amongst the principal rivers of the Peninsula. It rises on the Brahmagiri at a place called Tala-Kávéri (tale *Can.* head) on the very verge of the Western Ghats, where they form a sharp angle with the Benganád range. Another stream, the Kánake, starts close by and after a short run joins the Kávéri at the foot of the hill near the village Bhágamandala (bhágia *Sans.* wealth, felicity; mandala, region). At I [778] both places on the top and at the foot of the hill there are [788] temples of great repute for sanctity among the Hindus, which [823] are yearly resorted to by thousands of pilgrims from the adjoining countries. [805] The Kávéri is, according to Brahminical legend, the holiest river in India. Even the holy goddess Ganga resorts underground to the all purifying floods of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

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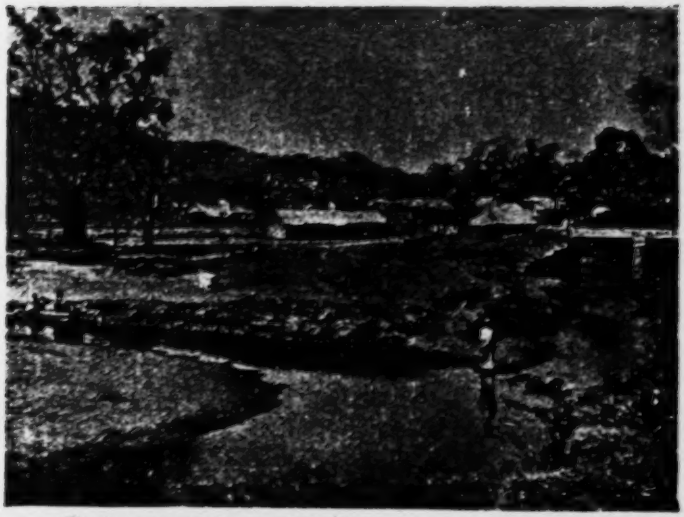
A View of Talai Cauvery



The junction of the Kanaka and the Cauvery at Bajamandala

[facing p. 2]

133 ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Bengunad [491] Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmagiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemala, Iggutappa, Devarabetta, Tadiandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamala. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmagiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyalemale. Many spurs from the Brahmagiris branch off over the whole of Kiggatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittangala, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorg. The Bengunad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara. One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kallurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanagalu hill.

137 Coorg was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was [245] cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorg (South) impenetrable evergreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree 133 is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November [137] morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmagiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kudaremukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilgiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [871]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Virájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 127 [114]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

C 133 103 I [178] [823] [805] C [134] C [49]

Kávéri once a year in Tulámása (tulá *Sans.* the sign of Libra; másа, lunar month) i. e. October, November, to wash away the pollution, contracted from the crowds of sinners, who have bathed in her own waters.

The course of this fine river through Coorg is very tortuous, but below Bhágamandala its current with the exception of a few localities, where it traverses beds of granite rock, is generally tranquil. Its banks which are high and steep are usually formed of rich clay or mould and covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation. The bed over which it flows differs in various places, being alternately sandy, pebbly or rocky, but the latter feature is predominant. In the dry season it is fordable at almost all points, but there is always a good body of water, considering the vicinity of its source.

During the monsoon it rises to an impetuous torrent whose mud-stained waters roll with thundering velocity through its wide channel, floating down shrubs and trees from its crumbling banks and overflowing for a few days the adjoining country. During these freshes the river rises near Fraserpet, where it is spanned by a magnificent stone bridge 516 feet in length, to a height of 20 to 30 feet.

Descending through the great valley between Mercara and Nálkanád, the Kávéri makes a sudden turn near Siddhapur (Siddha *Sans.* a divine person) to the north and flows for 25 miles along the eastern frontier, being swollen in its course by several large tributaries. From the Tadiandamél it receives the Kakabe river which separates for some distance Padinálkanád from Katiednád. In Beppunád it is joined by the Kadanur river; and in Yeddenalkanád by the Kummahole.

The Muttáremutta collects the waters of the southern slope of the Mercara ridge, and the Chikkahole those of the valley of Horúrnúrokalnád. The *Háringi* or Suvarnavati (Suvarna *Sans.* gold) with the Kakehole from Sómawarpet, the Chóvanhole[1] from Shantballi, the Mattapur and Hattehole

[1] [Errata: This should read "Choran-hole". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 seedlings of 3 or 4 pairs of leaves are removed from the nursery with a ball of earth attached to the roots and transplanted into the holes marked by the pegs. This is the surest and therefore cheapest mode of planting.

Weeding is the next operation to be carefully attended to, but where from the nature of the soil or of the lay of the land there is danger of loss of surface soil from heavy rain, no hoe weeding is allowed during the monsoon; but only hand weeding or cutting with grass-knives and, after the monsoon, a breaking [491] up of the soil, to turn the weeds down. Easy roads are laid out to bring every part of the estate within ready access and at the same time to be the means of an effectual drainage.

[342] [361] With the end of the first year's operations, the planter very likely builds for himself a simple cottage on a convenient spot, that commands a fine view and some Bungalows are most beautifully situated. With the third year the estate comes into flower and bearing. In March or April the snowy white of the blossoms, in their copiousness but slightly relieved by the dark green foliage, delights the eyes with its morning freshness and purity, wherever you look, and in their bridal glory the jessamine-like flowers fill the air with an agreeable aroma. Let us examine a three years' old tree of best growth. 245 137 It is 4 feet high of a pyramidical shape with alternately opposite branches (primaries) of which the topmost are 8 inches and the lowest 3 feet long, which are subdivided by secondaries and tertiaries. The flowers are in appearance like jessamines on short stalks, in clusters round the branches and last but 2 days. The tree under examination numbers 20 pairs of branches, and 3 inches from the stem the clusters of flowers begin; the lowest branch contains 22, the middle 8 and the uppermost 2 clusters with an average of 12 blossoms each. These do not all set and produce mature berries, but give an idea of the fertility of the shrub. Gentle showers or heavy mists at this time greatly enhance the fecundity of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 361 [712] [491] [764]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 [431] paid our parting visit to the Mahá Swámi, and received from him the following presents: two gold-handled Coorg knives, two panther-skin caps, two sandalwood sticks, one royal tiger- and two panther-skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Rájah informed us, that the present indifferent state of his health, and not being certain of finding game immediately, had alone prevented his taking us into the country to shoot, but promised, if we would return at the same season next year, we should be amply gratified with field sports. Thus ended my first trip to Coorg.... I shall anticipate a period of my Journal, and extract the next trip at once. Accompanied by Lieutenant Meredith, I set out on the 17th of October 1812, and reached Siddhéshvara, the first village in his country; after which my Diary regularly proceeds as follows:—

"Here we were regaled with curry and rice, by the Coorg Rájah's guards, who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockade seems newly finished. We had some very unpleasant heavy rain in the evening, and saw many wild fowl in the tank. The whole road from Periapatna is extremely bad, and would require much repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night, succeeded by a fog. [491]

*175 *648 "On the 18th of October we set forward, still in our palanquins, in a dense fog.....The road the whole way was very bad. The last four miles, in particular, through swamps and paddy ground, intersected by deep water-courses.

"We arrived at Vírarájendrapett at twenty minutes past three P.M., and took a walk to look at a Christian church building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half finished, and will be a grand edifice for the Romish Christians to erect in a Pagan country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap-stone on the Malabar Coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a dis-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648

The sequel may as well be anticipated here, to connect the whole in one. A few months after, when in my own house at Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearance of Mahomed Sahib, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed, and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet, and told me I have saved his life, that the Rájah had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me, in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of every thing at the last barrier; but that he never would return. I saw him in a good place, shortly afterwards, well and happy. The Rájah, Lingrájender Wodeer died in the year 1820, and was succeeded on the Musnud by his son, whom I had seen an infant in 1810. I have heard of no cruelties committed by the present Mahá Swámi, who is described as a mild, inoffensive young man. [491] The English have had, however, little or no intercourse with that country, since 1811, a road being opened through Wynád to the Malabar coast, and a capital ghaut made by our own pioneers. I have omitted to mention, that as this country [224] abounds with royal tigers, it is absolutely necessary that they [136] should be hunted every season, and the former Rájah seldom killed fewer than there were days in the year; and invariably gave a gold bangle to the first man who should touch the tiger, after he had fired, which must make brave soldiers."

*175 *643

The above extracts give a tolerably correct idea of Lingarájah's character and of the state of Coorg from the death of Vírarájendra to the deposition of the present ex-rájah in 1834. Vírarájendra was impelled to deeds of blood by a naturally savage temperament, hardened by habits of internecine warfare in which he was engaged almost throughout life, and inflamed towards the end of his career by paroxysms of the darkest suspicions, and a melancholy ever hovering on the brink of insanity. His brother, Lingarája, had none of his redeeming qualities. His cruelty was without excuse. He

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of
the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary
peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-
valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and
extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of
graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most
easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy,
and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
• [491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-
Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat
as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the
coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations.
On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the
Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres.
The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north
and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable
estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
[464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may
induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help
to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always
been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol[1] which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 ***Kiggatnád-taluq*** extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[1] [Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kárchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 Coorg is crossed by two trunk-roads from east to west
491 and from north to south, intersecting each other at Mercara,
653 and by a branch-road near Vírájpet the western and eastern highroads are connected.

Previous to the occupation of the country by the British in 1834, the roads were in a primitive state, wholly impracticable for wheeled carriges and scarcely less so for bullocks, it having been part of the policy of the Rájahs, to render their country as little accessible as possible, from an idea common to the mountaineers in all parts of the world, that the chance of invasion and conquest was thereby diminished. For the same reason some of the more direct and practicable lines, leading to Mercara were shut up and travelling by them prohibited.

The *Eastern trunk-road* from Mysore enters Coorg at Fraserpet, where it crosses the Kávéri, which is spanned by a fine masonry bridge of 7 arches and 516 feet in length. The part of the line between Fraserpet and Mercara is 19¼ miles in length and was commenced in January 1835 and completed in 1837 by a detachment of Sappers under Capt. Underwood, Lieuts. Rundall, Doria and Fast. The Kávéri-bridge, however, was built in 1846-48 by Capt. Ch. J. Green with the material of the dismantled Fort at Fraserpet. It bears the inscription: "The Most Noble George Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, Major-General Mark Cubbon Commissioner of Mysore. Fraserpet Bridge. The first stone of this bridge was laid on the 1st day of January 1846 by Capt. W. G. Onslow, Superintendent of Coorg and it was opened to public traffic on the 12th day of May 1848. Charles James Green, Capt. in the Madras Engineers, Architect."

[485] To break the distance of 19¼ miles, there is a Traveller's Bangalow at Suntikoppa, 9 miles from Mercara. The elevated situation is pretty, but the present condition of the Bangalow wretched.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The upper portion of this road near Mercara has in several places too steep a gradient and should, as the Chief Engineer proposes, be reconstructed. The *Sampáji-Ghat* or the line from Mercara towards Mangalore, which, however, ought to be called "*Fast's Ghat*" in honor to the professional skill of the young Engineer Officer who planned and executed this great work and who fell a victim to jungle-fever, was commenced after the monsoon in 1837 and offered considerable engineering difficulties, as it followed for many a mile through dense jungle. It is for the most part very direct; the soil is generally good and, except in two places, so gentle is the slope down the Ghat of 19¼ miles in length, that for bandy traffic it offers no difficulty. Between the 9th and 10th miles only the gradient for a very short distance is as much as 1 in 12 and 1 in 6 or 7. The total fall in the first 15 miles of this Ghat is about 2900 feet, which gives 1 in 37 for the whole line. From the foot of the Ghat to Sampáji, 4¼ miles, the fall is only 55 feet. The cost of cutting out the roadway of these 19¼ miles, including the removal of rocks, trees, etc. but without bridges amounted to about 3500 Rs. per mile, exclusive of the pay of the Sappers and cost of tools. Whithin a short time the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, whilst the easy access to a market gave stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg and with the advent of coffee-planters, whose extensive estates line both sides of the road, its importance became invaluable. 648 491 653

The stages on this road from Mercara are: 6 miles to Madyanád, 14 to Sampáji, 13¼ to Sulya, 11 to Káu, 10¼ to Puttúr, 15 to Pánemangalore, 7 to Feringapet and 9 to Mangalore with a Traveller's Bangalow at each stage and all in healthy localities except that at Sampáji. 491 [485]

The road from Cannanore into Coorg through the Periambády Ghat and the Anachaukur road were finished some twelve years later, chiefly for military purposes. The line [653]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

•491 from Vírájpet to Mercara was made shortly afterwards. A continuation of this line to the north of Coorg from Mercara to Kodlipet was commenced in 1862 and opened for traffic in 1868.

491 485 Considering the *Cannanore-road*, its first 2¼ miles leading out of Mercara are excessively severe, in several places the gradients being 1 in 9. The total fall in this descent of 2¼ miles is about 550 feet, giving 1 in 24 over all. Beyond the 7th mile a high arched bridge leads over the Muttaremutha and between the 9th and 10th miles the well situated, clean and comfortable Bangalow at Murnád invites the traveller. Beyond the 12th mile the river Kávéri is crossed by a ferry and thence to Vírájpet, the road is pretty level and throughout in excellent condition. Four miles from Vírájpet the Periambády Ghat commences which was laid out by Capt. Francis and is down to Urti about 10 miles in length with a fall of 2682 feet. From the head of the Ghat, which is 3141 above the sea level, the descent varies from 1 in 18 and 20 to 1 in 30, but two miles from the head to the Wottekolli public bangalow, a distance of three quarters of a mile, there is a distressing gradient of 1 in 10 and 12. The road after this is easy and level in places to beyond the fourth mile from which it drops down to Urti—6 miles from Wottekolli—with generally far too steep a gradient. On the Coorg frontier the Kalla-hole, a mountain torrent coming down from the western slope of the Ghats, is to be crossed by a good bridge. Urti is 38 miles from Cannanore and 459 feet above the sea. There is no public bangalow, but a pretty one at Gunot, 7 miles further on near the united Kalla-hole (stony-river) and Bara-pole which river flows at a little distance behind the bangalow and offers attractive sport to the lover of the "gentle art." As to a journey down the Ghat, it is replete with ever varying charms, reminding the tourist of the finest mountain scenery of Scotland, Wales or the Black Forest in Baden. And

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

And

such glorious forest trees of Poon, Sampige, Red Cedar Anjili, Hone, etc.! To see them and travel under their shade is worth a long journey. From Gunot to Cannanore or Tellicherry the road runs level and affords easy travelling. Near Ulil or Chávachári, 22 miles from Cannanore, a large wooden bridge resting on high stone pillars crosses the Gunot-river, but a public bangalow is only found at Shalot, 12¼ miles from Cannanore. 491 485 [137]

At the head of the Periambády Ghat a highroad branches off into Mysore by way of Bittangala 5 miles, Hattúr 3 miles, Tittimatti 9 miles, Anechaukur 4 miles, Panchally 6 miles, Honasur 11¼ miles, 4 miles from which place it meets the Mysore-Frasorpet road. Except between Anechaukur and Tittimatti the road is easy and generally in good condition, and since the Gonikoppa-bridge near Hattúr has been finished, at the sacrifice of the life of Mr. R. Hunter, a most promising Engineer Officer, there is no difficulty for wheeled carriages from Mysore to Cannanore, a distance of 113 miles. The public bangalows on this line are excellent in the Mysore country, but very indifferent in Coorg and Malabar.

To cut off two sides of a triangle a branch road, 3 miles long, has been constructed from Vírájpet to Bittangala for the Mysore cart-traffic. It is hoped, that the Mysore railway may yet extend to the eastern frontier of Coorg!

The *Northern highroad*, lately constructed by Mr. Stottard, connects Mercara with Manjerabad by way of Sómawárpet and Kodlipet, 44¼ miles to the latter town. The line having been laid out under stringent regulations in regard to gradient, and the trace receiving great attention by Capt. W. Campbell, the result is a road with uniformly the easiest gradients in the Province. Most of the roadway is 18 feet wide. The smaller streams are all bridged over; for the Choran-hole a three-arched masonry bridge of 65 feet is proposed; for the Mattapdr a single-arched, and for the Hatte-hole a three- 491

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

491 485 arched bridge. For the present these rivers are crossed in the dry season by rough stone causeways, but during the monsoon no carts can pass. There is no public bangalow on this line. During the last few years avenue trees at regular distances have been planted by the ryots along these high-roads and future generations will enjoy the benefit of this benevolent measure.

A line of equal importance, but unfinished though practicable for carts, is Col. Stuart's (vide p. 339) road from Vírájpet into Mysore by way of Anandapur and Siddápur, whence a branch, traced by Messrs. Stoddard and Gramatzki and opened out by Mr. J. Hunt, leads on the right bank of the Kávéri to Frasérpet. To avoid the steep Mercara ghat-roads for the through-traffic from Mysore to Mangalore, a new trace has been cut by Lieut. Clarke and Mr. Gramatzki to connect the Periapatna-Siddápur road with the Sampáji-ghat-road, placing in its line the iron girder bridge which is to span the Kávéri; but under the present financial difficulties the scheme has been postponed; likewise the opening up of a cart-road through Kiggatnád into Wynád, the trace of which only has been cut by the same engineers. Roads proposed are those from Bhágamandala to Sulya, from Bhágamandala to Nálkanád and Vírájpet and Bhágamandala to Mercara. The Rájah's road from Mercara to Nálkanád is still in use, but it is impracticable for carts. Here and there it is still lined with stately avenue trees.

In addition to the roads, designed and carried out from Imperial funds, others have been constructed by planters from private sources without any Government assistance, so that, for pack-bullocks at least, the country is opened up in every direction, but for the increasing traffic better means of communication are required and the proposed roads would supply every want.

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

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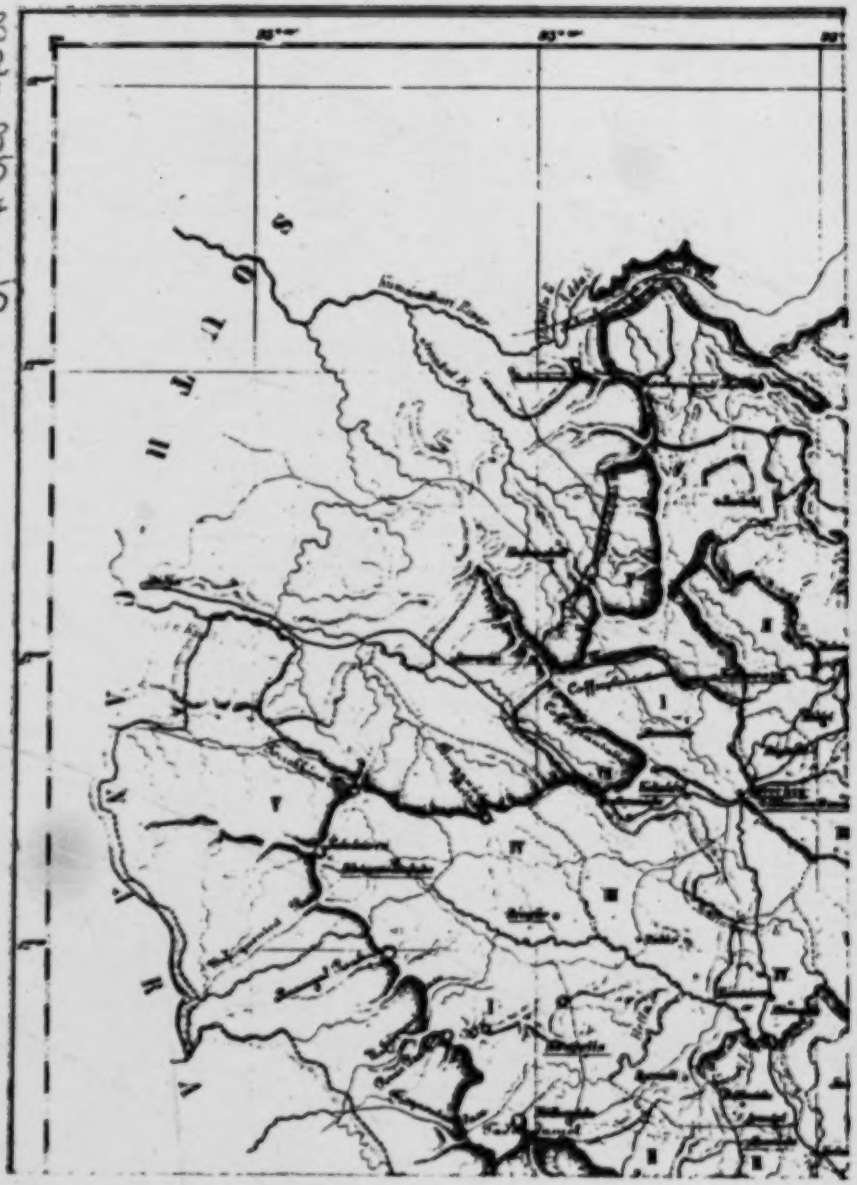

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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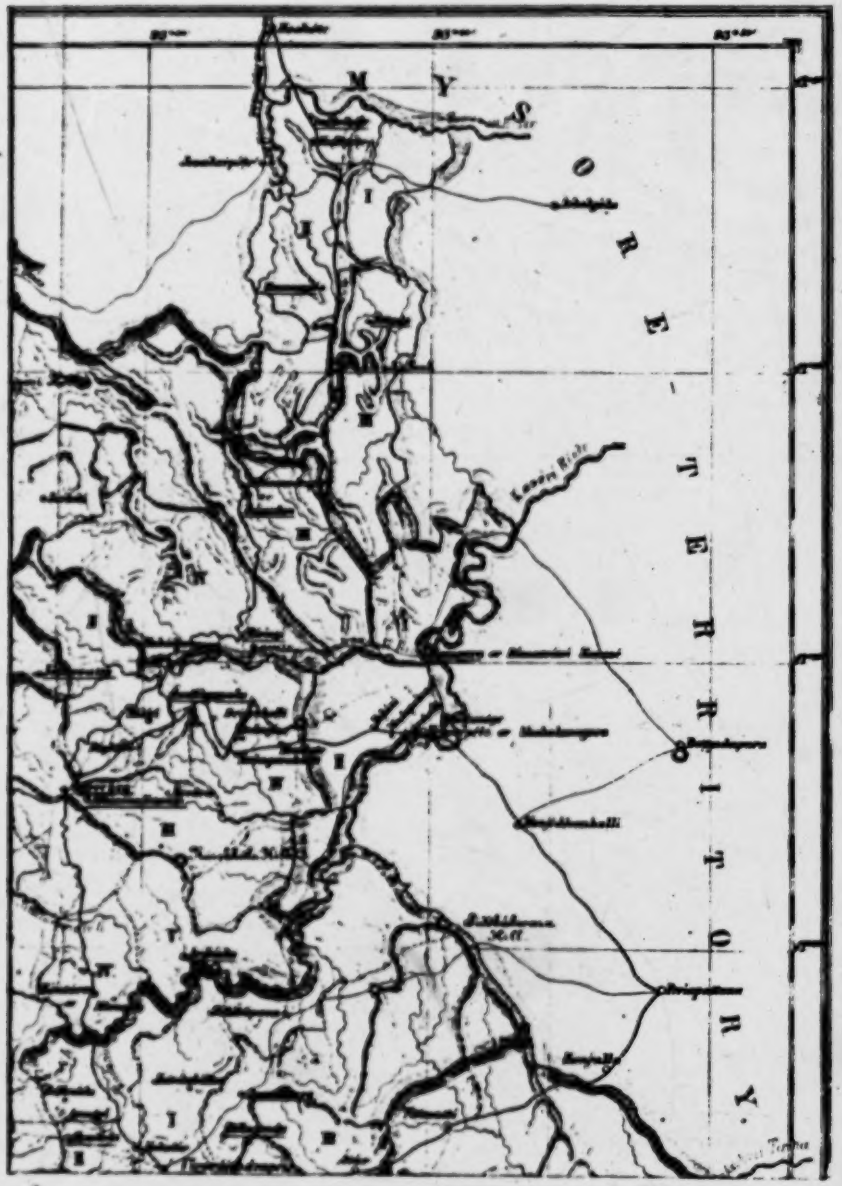

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (c)]

1 [The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercára Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough
492 with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the
[779] day of the bullock's creation.
[825] Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been col-
243 lected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and
[354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they
[782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2½ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is the *Tamaind*[2] *tree* (Tamarindus Indica) which Government has reserved and partly made over without tax to certain Brahmins in Ramaswámy Kanawé, partly formed out on yearly rent. It is a stately tree and yields a dense shade, under which however, many plants do not grow and natives do not like to sleep. 137 [655] [513]

It would lead me too far to enter upon a description of the many shrubs, herbs and grasses of these jungles. Suffice it to say, that there are many and very beautiful ones, but most of them are annually swept away by the periodical fires, the purifying messengers of nature, that run through every jungle from February to April. These fires once established in the high coarse hill-grass rush madly in their onward career to the very tops of the mountains, and beautiful is the sight at night of these distant serpentine lines of flame extending over whole ranges of hills.

Coorg is rich in ferns and as these elegant plants will always attract the lover of nature, it may perhaps prove acceptable, if I append a list of such, as have been collected about Mercara and identified according to Major Beddon's work on Ferns by an enthusiastic admirer of these humble productions of nature:— [127]

Alphabetical list of Coorg ferns.

Names.	Where to be found.
Acrophorus immersus	On trees and at the foot of trees, near Ball-practice ground, Falls, etc. common.
Acrophorus pulcher	On trees and rocks; near Ball-practice ground; abundant almost anywhere.
Adiantum capillus veneris	In a well close to the Fort.
Do. candatum	Near Ramaswámy Kanawé.
Do. hispidulum	Near Ball-practice ground, 3rd milestone, Gonticoppala Road.

[2] [Errata: This should read "Tamarind", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[177] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

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2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanié), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585
[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older
[602] than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were
[515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls
[602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office
[292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger
[301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth
[292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been
[342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the
[778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house
[178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of
[533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front
[782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as maciṇi and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as maciṇi and mamme, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between
[605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are
[834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro
[272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and
[415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The
[252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of
[576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

• 515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance.
858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly
[574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family.
888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de-
576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[476] the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Pilgrims at Bagamandala

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Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bagamandala

[facing p. 3]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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COORGS
grandfather, father and grandsons.

Photogr. by the Rev. G. Richter. Lith. by B. Kaufmann, Lahr.

[facing p. 128]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

 539

Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudike-pare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal. 533 534

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 538 521 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekâga, pireke karikâga
Beppaneke bechaka pireke karikâka
Poppaneke poṭṭaka paṭṭama paḍekâka.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pāje*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [256]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

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796 occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that
● 526 are not destructive of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this
578 part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these
596 festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all
796 the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the
621 harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *nib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *nib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

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the Nandiyanḍa *okka* to get the 'prostitute' ready. Elaborate rules are again laid down as to which *okkas* should help each of the three *okkas* concerned to get the 'horse' ready. The punctilious regard for detail is characteristic of the festivals of village-deities. 796

The Moṇṇanḍra 'prostitute' and 'horse' are conducted by the Poleya oracles to the Moṇṇanḍra rice-fields, and after leaving them there, the Poleya oracles accompany the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to the Māḷeṭṭira house. Together they escort the Māḷeṭṭira 'prostitute' and 'horse' to the Moṇṇandra rice-fields. Finally, the entire body proceed to the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*, where they meet the latter's 'prostitute' and 'horse'. At first, the three 'horses' run a race and then the 'prostitutes' follow suit.

The villagers, oracles, 'horses', and 'prostitutes' then proceed to the temple, where they walk round the shrine thrice. The 'prostitutes' and 'horses' perform a dance and this is followed by the villagers dancing the 'torch dance'.

Tengé pōré or 'coconut scramble' takes place afterwards. The *nāḍ-* or temple-headman holds a coconut aloft in his right hand, and this is a signal for youths to gather round him. He then lowers his right hand and stretches it horizontally before him. This is a sign for the youths to try and snatch it from him. After snatching the coconut, the man in possession of it has to run a few yards to a stone where he should break it, but before he does this, anyone may pounce on him and snatch the coconut from him. He who breaks it on the stone is the winner. He is given a prize. [526]

The Brahmin priest then worships the goddess, using Sanskrit *mantras*, and this brings the proceedings to an end on the eleventh day.

On the twelfth morning there is an elaborate purification rite which the priest performs before the assembled villagers. The accounts of the money-offerings made on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh days are checked. Out of this sum fees are paid to the priest, oracles, cooks, Mārāya drummers, Paṇika, and Mēda, and Poleya musicians. The Bhadrakāḷi oracle then decides how much money should be spent on the evening's dinner.

The 'village goat' is brought down from the tree, cut up, and cooked into curry along with the 'village fowls'. There is a huge dinner at which all the villagers take part. Toddy is also served at this dinner, as at other village dinners.

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their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

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Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preli-
minary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at
sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of
fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those
present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase,
O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a
national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[533] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but
the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance,
which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths
and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of
ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the
monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[727] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The
Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the
astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the
celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house
is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife.
Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When
this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt
before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show
offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
[526] festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then
proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the
afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day
is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed
by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt
on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company.
The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

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seed. The seed paddy is heaped up on the north side of the house, watered for 3 days, then covered up with plantain leaves and stones, till it begins to sprout. The nursery ground has meanwhile again been ploughed and harrowed, and the water allowed to run off, so that the grain when sown is just imbedded in the soft mud. After 20 or 30 days the blades have attained a height of about one foot and the seedlings are ready for transplanting. Beautiful as are corn and clover fields in Europe, there is no vegetation there that surpasses in beauty the brilliant green of a rice nursery. The eye is irresistibly attracted to these bright spots and rests upon them with the utmost delight! 243

Regulated by the monsoon rain the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women, covered with leaf-umbrellas, called Goragas, that rest on the head and protect the whole of the body, pull out the plants from the nursery, tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled with the Tawe, "till the soil is soft as treacle, white as milk the foaming surface," when all the men of the house, placed in a line and standing almost knee deep in the muddy fields, begin the transplanting in which women are not expected to join. The bundles are conveniently deposited over the field; each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left and with the right hand presses with great rapidity 6 or 8 seedlings together into the mud, keeping a regular distance of about 6 inches. Before the completion of the largest field an open space of about 10 feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorgs' race-ground and offers right good sport which greatly exhilirates their monotonous task. All the men engaged in the work—and 15 are reckoned for a 100 butties of land—may run, but 4 or 5 only obtain a prize. Wearing merely a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run, for which their powerful [293] 243 461 526

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
139 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Punchâyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and [534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahâdéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, [796] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahâdéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824]
before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahádéva and Bhagavati. [782] Dances follow, accompanied by the [535] beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [526] another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is • 526 done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
● 526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
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Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

accompany him to the house of the astrologer. They enquire of the wise man, what will be the most propitious day for the celebration of the Keilmúrta. By the sage's answer the day of joy for the village-youth is fixed. The hard labours of ploughing, sowing and rice-transplanting are over, there is a lull in the monsoon, and now and then a most lovely day spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and valleys, forests and fields of Coorg. The people have long been at labour in their fields and houses: a holiday is now most welcome. On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is collected in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to some room or to the centre-place, the Nadumane, and there placed in a corner. They wait now for the muhúrta, the propitious time, assigned by the astrologer. At the right moment incense is burned before the weapons, sandalwood-paste is dotted upon them in profusion, and a show-offering of rice and other food (nevédya) is made to them, as to idols. As soon as this ceremony is over, a mat is placed before the weapons, and the whole house sits down to dinner. After the meal, the men take their arms and proceed to the Urumandu (village-green) to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark, and in athletic exercises. When the cocoanut has been hit, some of the company jump over a rope extended four or five feet from the ground. After this exercise, plantain-trees are fixed upon the ground, standing three deep. Now the strength of arms and the goodness of knives are tried. He who succeeds in cutting through three plantain-trees at one stroke, carries away the palm. Then round, heavy stones, placed on the Mandu for the purpose, are lifted and thrown, or put as in Scotland, over the head by such as are strong enough. The evening has now set in, and the company disperses. On the following morn-

522 [787]
527 411
[787] [782]
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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[324] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

Festivals: (1) Huttari

The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 527 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and voteries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[42 302 554] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life [186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

[29 411] The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light [301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. [214 41] His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the [147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand [527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 493 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ⌀ upon the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after marriage, disfigures their regular features and blackens their otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck. A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds, which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
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527 224 On the following morning the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

778 177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular pája. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs. [776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models [532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance. [793] In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places [782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women,. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *ch wirubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [551]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Conner, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the ker-
531 chiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata; This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)

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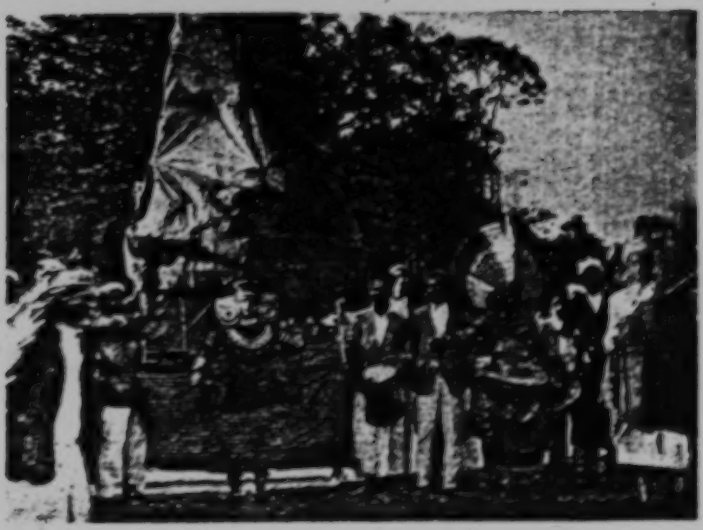

A Ghost Mask (Kernakola)

[facing p.51]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

by the junction of the four inner slopes of the roof, the dripping rain-water from which is collected in a masonry reservoir and drained off in an underground channel. On the side opposite to the verandah two doors communicate with the backyard of the house. 342

The front of the verandah is raised, and covered with a 2 feet broad wooden slab, so as to form a convenient seat; from it rise 3 or 4 wooden pillars, square and tapering and sometimes carved; the floor is of well beaten mud overlayed with cowdung; and the ceiling of wood arranged in small compartments. In some houses the verandah is separated from the inner hall merely by a wooden grating, in others by a solid earthwall with a sort of window, or lattice, made of wood. Like the principal door posts this aperture is often very handsomely carved in flowers and figures leaving small open spaces between, just enough to peep through without being seen, a contrivance chiefly for the benefit of the fair Kodagitis, who are as curious to see and observe visitors as their Mussulman sisters behind the Purdah or screen. [352] [237] [532]

Entering through the principal door, the first compartment to the right is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen from which the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating and preserving the wood-work. While the European rubs his eyes and gasps for fresh air, the inmates of the house feel no inconvenience and only smile at his sensitiveness. The small compartments of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, and the unmarried women; the boys and young men sleep in the hall. From the ceiling are suspended matchlocks and rifles, the wooden bells and trappings for their pack-bullocks, and other domestic utensils, and the space under the roof, which is reached by a ladder, serves for storing bags, baskets, pads, pots, onions, salt, etc. [513] [353]

The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly, 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

529 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular pája. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
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[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
[182] superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

The *Pálúr játre* in Kuyinghcrinád in honor of Pálúrappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Monumental Stones of a more recent date are the Kollekallu (from kollu, to kill—and kallu, stone) tombstones in honour of warriors slain in battle. They are found along the eastern districts of Coorg. One I saw in Tavalagheri-gráma in Kiggatnád, some in Kottecád, 6 miles to the east of Mercara, and many in Fraserpet and near the Sómawarpet; the same kind of monuments occur also frequently in the Mysore country, especially in Nuggur and as far north as Belgaum. In all these localities the stones show a similar character. A large collection of them may be seen in the town of Mysore in an open place opposite the Grave-yard. The slabs are of granite, with rough facings, about 6 feet high, 4 feet broad and 9 inches thick, and frequently the lower half is buried in the ground. The front side is generally divided into three compartments, each containing some figures in relief, the background being chiselled out, so that the figures are level with the frame of the compartments. The objects represented in the top frame are one, two or three central figures seated in various postures on low stools such as the Hindus still use, and two female figures standing by their sides with fans. The central figures are evidently the heroes, they sit sword in hand with consequential dignity. The second compartment is filled with a string of 3, 5 or 7 figures alternately males and females, the latter preponderating and in most lively attitudes, the male figures extending their arms and resting their hands on the shoulders of the females who support their partners' arms near the elbows. The extreme figures who are always females hold fans (or guitars?) in their hands. The third frame encloses a battle scene in which warriors on foot and armed with bows and arrows, swords and shields are engaged in combat, one man lying dead on the ground. In the right corner there is a warrior on horseback with sword in hand making gestures of command or encouragement and in the left corner one or two bulls are represented. The

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana House*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
•[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [177] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [576]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [423] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 504 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

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several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūda request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

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776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them.
171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explain-
533 ing' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became
[437] culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

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epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits 793
and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities pro- 796
pitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had 794
three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a [533] ●
high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēḍas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a 793
number of *ṅāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during 796
the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

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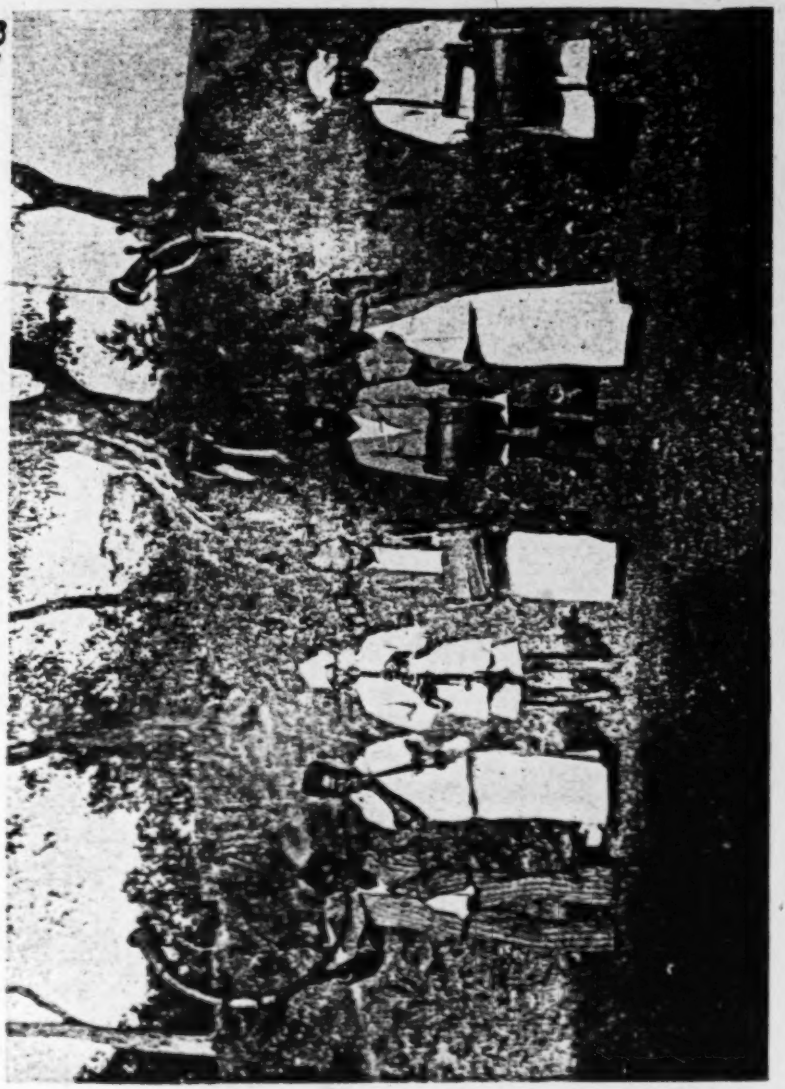

MÊDAS AND POLEYAS PROVIDE MUSIC FOR COORG DANCERS

[Facing p. 192]

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[556] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting of paddy-sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukuṃ maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkuṃ caṇce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some ● 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 778 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanïë), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'katti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
796 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
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[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[533] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
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[721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[722] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
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[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol 585
the names of the principal persons among the assembled re- [574]
latives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. [533]
At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the [788]
bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is 533
heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the 585
glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging [574]
to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot 585
refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song trans- 539
lated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 35;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

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an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déva!" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. 796 [262]

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When [534] [533]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

193 As in Canarese *adverbs* are in Kodagu formed of nouns by adding the affixes áyitā, áyi (Can. ági), e. g. chamáyi (Can. samavági) according to.

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:—

yekkō	when,	ikkō	now,	akkō	then.
yendā	which day,	indā	this day,	andā	that day.
yelli	where,	illi	here,	alli	there.

By the usual affixes these adverbs undergo like nouns of the neuter gender a kind of declension, in which the instr. case indicates motion from and the dative motion to a place; e. g.

Instr.	yellinji	whence,	illinji	hence,	allinji	thence.
Dat.	yellikkā	whither,	illikkā	hither,	allikkā	thither.

Most of the adverbs, however, do not admit of declension.

To advert in a few lines to the Kodagu syntax, it may be remarked, that it is quite in harmony with that of the Dravida languages. A Kodagu or Canarese compound sentence, though it presents a complete reversion of our European structure of sentences, is to the accustomed ear as perfect and harmonious as a Greek period, which is perhaps equally involved by participial constructions. The principal verb (verbum finitum) invariably is placed last in the sentence and as a general rule every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

538 533 *Literature.* Strictly speaking there is no literature in the Kodagu language, as a few indigenous songs of a very limited range of subjects comprise the whole catalogue. These songs are known in every Coorg house, and, commemorating as they do the chief events of social life, marriage, death, and festivities, and the warfare with the Musulman power in Mysore, they are likely to continue to be popular.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Náds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

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Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

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The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

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533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or [191] German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris.

197 533 539 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1. *Kodagu.*	Nóṭi nóṭi kámbakkó
2. *Canarese.*	Nóḍi nóḍi káṇuvágu
3. *English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1. *Kg.*	Bümikelloyandadü
2. *Can.*	Bhúmige yella unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1. *Kg.*	Mahammére parvata
2. *Can.*	Mahammére parvata
3. *Engl.*	Mahaméru mountain
1. *Kg.*	Pú marakkoyandadü
2. *Can.*	Húvu maragaḷige unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1. *Kg.*	Mánjappeya pümara
2. *Can.*	Mahá sampigua húvu mara
3. *Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1. *Kg.*	Dijakelloyandadü
2. *Can.*	Déshagaḷige, yella, unnatavádadu
3. *Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1. *Kg.*	Pommále Kodavápa
2. *Can.*	Honnu mále Kodagu águttade
3. *Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

 539

Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the Sooks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies 533 ●
only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a 534
slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudike-pare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tála* or cymbal.

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd 538
and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with 521
which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekâga, pireke karikâga
Beppeneke bechaka pireke karikâku
Poppaneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍekâku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical
[564] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice.
● [534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chaṇḍés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and
787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

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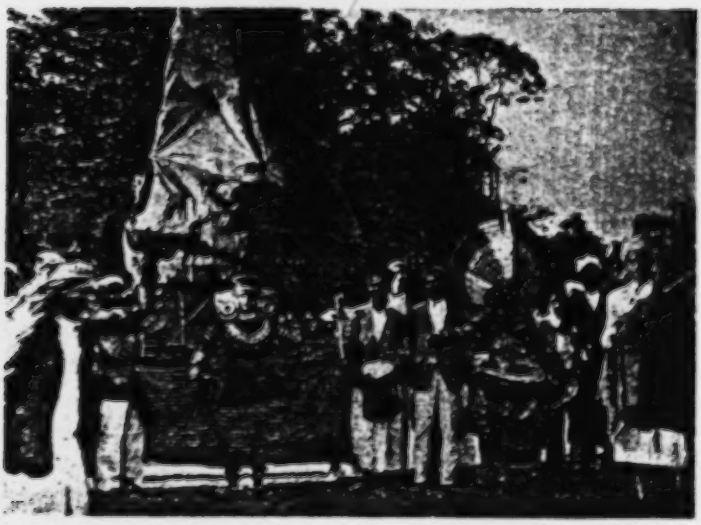
A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)



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A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

[facing p.51]

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voices, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finishedtheir course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

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it is an unsavoury pet, and its capricious and vindictive temper, when getting old, render it a dangerous playmate for children. 136*

The grey or Hanumán monkey (Semnopithecus entellus, Duff)—*Kg.* Kóde—prefers a more open country and does not shun the neighbourhood of native dwellings, where there are Upali trees of the fruit of which it is very fond. Troops of them may sometimes be seen on an open glade near a large tree, gambolling unmindful of the passing by of a native, but quickly disappearing in the dense foliage on the appearance of a European, chattering all the while with their little ones, whose frightened expression is pitiful, clinging to their sides. This monkey is considerably larger than the former species and has a long tail, which is of service in gymnastic feats on slender branches. Its face is bare and rather reddish. It is more docile than the black monkey, but when big more vindictive and dangerous. A case happened in Mercara, where one of these monkeys attacked a baby in its cradle and might have killed it, but for the timely arrival of the parents.

The brown monkey—*Kg.* Mucha—is only found in the Mále-kádu and eagerly hunted by the Coorgs, who eat its flesh roasted and in curry, and consider it a great delicacy. A soup made of its flesh is given to sick and weakly people. When full grown, this monkey is in a sitting posture about two feet high; it has a long tail, a light grey face and chest. It is never kept as a pet by natives. Of the skin of all the three named species the Coorgs make their tom toms or drums. [224] [262] [237] [534]

A little animal of the Lemur kind is the slender *Loris* (Loris gracilis. Linn). The Coorgs call them Chínge-káli or devils of the Chínge or soapnut shrub which grows all over the central and northern plateau of Coorg. Its silent and slow gait, its thin limbs, its closely set and large protruding eyes and pointed visage are enough to frighten on a sudden en-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Puncháyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled [534] for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahádéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, [796] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahádéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déva!" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. 796 [262]

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When [534] [533]

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 539

Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy member,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hare
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies 533
only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a 534
slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudikepare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal.

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd 538
and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with 521
which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 539

1. Paṭṭama pâḍekâge, pirike karikâge
Beppeneke beheke pirike karikâku
Poppaneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍekâku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

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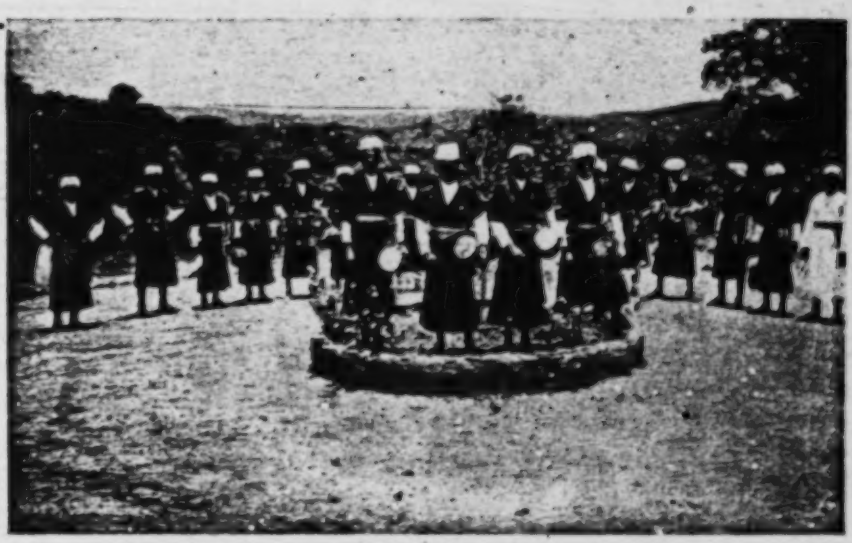
535



DANCERS ABOUT TO BEGIN DANCING

ANOTHER DANCE

[Facing p. 96]

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621
two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). 796
The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776
Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346
whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621
made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796
dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535
villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvti respectively. The services of 791

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*hāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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796 the immense fire that is burning several yards from the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*. The chicken and a little toddy are offered to the *téré* representing Bhadrakāḷi.

[535] The Paṇika dancer gets ready for his performance which begins an hour later. He wears tiny bells (*gaggaras*) round his ankles, paints his face red and yellow, wears a turban, and ties an elaborate red skirt round his waist. He stands there waiting for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive and give him permission to place the circular *téré* on his head. The *téré* is kept flat on the head and held by one hand while the Paṇika dances and sings a song in praise of Bhadrakāḷi.

796 787 Three Poleyas, oracles of deities worshipped only by Poleyas, also wait for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive. The latter rushes into the Nandiyanḍa threshing-yard, stamps on the roaring fire with bare feet, and then touches the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*, signifying that the Paṇika may now place it on his head. He then rushes to the temple, where he starts dancing a very vigorous dance before the shrine of Bhadrakāḷi.

A change is noticeable in the Poleya oracles as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle rushes in. The deities of the Poleyas are regarded as subservient to, and dependent upon, Bhadrakāḷi, who is the deity of the higher castes. And the oracles, who are Poleyas of the deities of the Poleyas, are also regarded as inferior to, dependent upon, the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi, who is a Coorg. Thus the structural distance between Coorgs and Poleyas expresses itself in every sphere.

Two Poleya oracles run to and fro, with swords in their hands, while the third, the oracle of the deity Pūda, writhes on the ground and groans, while the Bhadrakāḷi oracle is stamping on the fire with bare feet. He stops groaning and writhing as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle leaves the threshing-yard.

The villagers place the *téré* on the Paṇika's head. The latter starts singing a song in Maylayāḷam in honour of Bhadrakāḷi. The entire body of villagers, headed by the Poleya oracles marching with their faces to the crowd, then run to the temple. The Poleyas stop outside the temple while the others go in. The votive sheep also may not go in, and they remain outside the temple. They are later sacrificed outside the temple.

The villagers go into the temple and walk round the shrine thrice. The village goat heads the procession inside the temple.

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796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[824] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

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their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
[533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[526] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[727] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[410] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[722] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
[526] festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

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one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824] before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahádéva and Bhagavati. [782] Dances follow, accompanied by the [535] beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. [526] Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

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796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nálukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

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open space before the temple, many of them possessed by 796
devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- 786
lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787]
lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation 796
of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers 782
of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535]
Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788]
the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787]
Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793]
hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

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796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the púJári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálcrinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India

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has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellur in Tavaligeri- 782
Murnad of Kiggatnad taluq, once a year, by turns from [796]
each house, a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but when the turn came to a certain home, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple, and said to the pūjārī 'Kalak Adu,' which has a double meaning, *viz.* Kalak, next year, Adu, we will give, or Adu, a goat, and thenceforth only scapegoats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon; the blood is sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas, dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths, and their faces covered with metal or bark masks, perform their demoniacal dances. In Mercara taluq in Ippanivolavade, and in Kadikeri in Halerinad, the villagers sacrifice a Kona or male buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Mēda (a wandering tribe, who are basket and mat makers), who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree, and the flesh eaten by the Mēdas. In connexion 535 ●
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"In some cases where a particular curse, which can 782
only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, is 754
said by the Kaniya[1] to rest upon a house, stable, or field, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kaniya sends for some

[1] The Kaniyas are religious mendicants, said to be descendants of a Malayali Brāhman and a low-caste woman.

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nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824]
before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahá- [782]
déva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the [535]
beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [526]
another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
võṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

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the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to touch the see-saw.

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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243 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home
788 and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhaganḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignor-
186 ance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by
[723] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

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maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg. 538 186

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar. 538 776 186

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'. 776

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed 776 539

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartanḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

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181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
411 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandal-
782 wood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 241]

APPENDIX

THE KĀVĒRI MYTH

I

THE myth woven round the River Kāvēri forms part of the Skānda Purāṇa.[1] In 1864 the Kāvēri Myth, called *Kāvēri Māhātmya* or 'the greatness of Kāvēri', was translated into Kannaḍa from the original Sanskrit by one Śrīnivāsa Iyengār at the instance of an influential Coorg official, Nanjappa, of the Biddanḍa *okka*. The Myth has also been translated into Koḍagi, presumably from the Kannaḍa translation of the Sanskrit original. 538

The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* as it is found in the *Skānda Purāṇa* is an extremely complicated story, containing many stories within it after the manner of *purāṇic* tales. It is inconsistent in many places, but then a *purāṇa* is intended for the faithful laity who have no disbelief to suspend. Richter, exasperated by the inconsistencies of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya*, has written, 538 177

> 'the extraordinary anachronism of Pārvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlēchchas or Turks [Muslim invaders of India], who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a *purāṇa*; for the *purāṇa* belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis (or the sages) who were long extinct when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honours and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and admonitions of the Kāvēri book, and though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanskrit and Old Kannaḍa expressions, that few do understand it.'[2]

[1] '"The *Skānda Purāṇa* is that in which the six-faced deity (Skanda) has related the events of the Tatpurusha Kalpa, enlarged with many tales. . . . It is said to contain 81,800 stanzas . . . ." "It is uniformly agreed," says Wilson, "that the *Skānda Purāṇa*, in a collective form, has no existence; and the fragments, in the shape of Sanhitas, Khanḍas, and Māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the *Purāṇa*, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number of which it is said to consist."' J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, pp. 300–1.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 216–17.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Urvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel 539
rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamanḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmanḍla, and to these 538
two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, 177
Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād).'[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Skānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudré, a manifestation of Pārvati.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes. 539

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for. [796]

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land. 538 177

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into
778 the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their
[551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an
773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824] before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538] ●
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahá- [782]
déva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the [535]
beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band [526]
outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [782]
another invocation of the three deities concludes the performance.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

193 As in Canarese *adverbs* are in Kodagu formed of nouns by adding the affixes áyitā, áyi (Can. ági), e. g. chamáyi (Can. samavági) according to.

The most common adverbs of time and place are the following:—

yekkā	when,	ikkā	now,	akkā	then.
yendā	which day,	indā	this day,	andā	that day.
yelli	where,	illi	here,	alli	there.

By the usual affixes these adverbs undergo like nouns of the neuter gender a kind of declension, in which the instr. case indicates motion from and the dative motion to a place; e. g.

Instr.	yellinji	whence,	illinji	hence,	allinji	thence.
Dat.	yellikkā	whither,	illikkā	hither,	allikkā	thither.

Most of the adverbs, however, do not admit of declension.

To advert in a few lines to the Kodagu syntax, it may be remarked, that it is quite in harmony with that of the Dravida languages. A Kodagu or Canarese compound sentence, though it presents a complete reversion of our European structure of sentences, is to the accustomed ear as perfect and harmonious as a Greek period, which is perhaps equally involved by participial constructions. The principal verb (verbum finitum) invariably is placed last in the sentence and as a general rule every complement to the subject, object and predicate, whether expressed by a word, a phrase or a clause, precedes the word complemented.

538 533 *Literature.* Strictly speaking there is no literature in the Kodagu language, as a few indigenous songs of a very limited range of subjects comprise the whole catalogue. These songs are known in every Coorg house, and, commemorating as they do the chief events of social life, marriage, death, and festivities, and the warfare with the Mussulman power in Mysore, they are likely to continue to be popular.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies 533
only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a 534
slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudike-pare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal.

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd 538
and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with 521
which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍakâga, pireke karikâga
Beppeneke beohaka pireke karikâku
Poppaneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍakâku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 215]

III. PART.

The History of Coorg.

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1. THE LEGENDARY PERIOD OF THE KĀVÉRI-PURĀṆA.

The ancient annals of Coorg history are the Kávéri-Purána which forms an episode in 4 chapters (11—14) of the Skanda- or Kártikéya-Purána; but in a brahminical legend we must not look for the simple record of a popular tradition. The Brahmins, the creative minds of the old Indian literature, had it in their power to mould any original tradition into whatever shape they pleased for the furtherance of their own interests.

It has ever been their policy, as gods terrestrial, to lay claim to the whole Indian world, their great champion Parshuráma having presented to their Patriarch Kashiyappa as a gift the conquered earth, the Jambudwípa, after the defeat of the Kshetrias and the destruction of their 18 tribes. The primitive gods of the nations of Jambudwípa or India were either turned into Avatáras of Vishnu or incorporated as Demons with the host of Siva, the high mountains were peopled with celebrated Rishis or hermits, and the mightiest and most fertilizing rivers brought into relationship with the principal brahminical deities. Ganga and Kávéri fell to the lot of Siva; Krishna and Gódáveri were sacred to Vishnu.

The Kávéri-Purána or Kávéri-Mahátmya (glorification of Kávéri) describes the sacred river from its source to its union

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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with the sea and enumerates the holy bathing places and the temples on its banks. The Purána had naturally to treat also of Coorg, where the Kávéri rises, and accomplished the task as it would best suit brahminical interests. This was no easy matter. We have seen, how ill the tough materials of the wild world of Coorg suited brahminical taste; how these illiterate and untamable hunters seem to have ever had an instinctive antipathy to, and thorough contempt for, the sanctities and pretensions of the smooth and crafty Brahmins and that these were not slow in returning the compliment has been described in former pages.

The author of the Kávéri-Mahátmya, of which a Canarese translation has been made in 1864 by Srínivásayengar at the desire and expense of the late Head Sheristadar, Biddianda Nanchappa, does not appear to have been very skilful; for anticipating no serious criticism he allowed his fancy to run away with his better judgment.

The story of the invisible river Sujyóti, joining the Kánake and Kávéri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Sarasvati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the desert sands, but joins the Ganges and the Jumna (Yamuna), unseen, at Prayága. The holy Sarasvati must have an end worthy of its sanctity. But here in the Kávéri-Purána the third, altogether invisible, stream Sujyóti is an idle fable introduced only to complete a southern trinity of holy rivers. The extraordinary anachronism of Párvati's blessing given to Chandravarma, the founder of the Coorg people, who is thereby rendered victorious over the Mlechas or Turks, who made their first appearance about 500 years ago, transgresses even the thoughtless audacity of a Purána; for the Purána belongs according to its own account to the age of the Rishis, who were long extinct, when the Turks appeared. The numerous passages, inculcating the duty of the valiant Coorgs, to offer to the Brahmins the honors

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823]
divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvaṇa mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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mined to become a great fighter: he would challenge every village 634
and *nāḍ* to produce someone to fight him in single combat (*otté* 539
poyit). He would defeat them all and this would bring great glory to his *nāḍ*. He travelled about Coorg sitting in a palanquin, challenging every village either to produce someone to fight him or give him a sum of money in acknowledgement of defeat. His technique was to go to the village temple and order the priest to stop worshipping the deity till either his challenge was met or the sum of money asked for was paid. The latter course was chosen by most villages.

His challenge was, however, accepted by a mere boy called Appayya (of the Kaiyandira *okka*) in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. When Appayya's mother remonstrated at his having accepted the challenge of a great fighter like Chondu, the spirited boy replied, 'Until now you were my mother, but from now on my *nāḍ* is my mother.' Appayya defeated and killed Chondu by resorting to trickery: he first of all blinded Chondu by suddenly throwing sand into his eyes and then stabbed him.

Honours were showered on the boy-hero by a grateful *nāḍ*. The ceremony of *mangala* (see Chapter III) was performed for him. He was placed in a position of seniority to everyone in the *nāḍ* and none was allowed to call him by name. He had to be addressed as '*pēriya moli*' which means 'big elder'. He was prohibited from touching anyone's feet in salutation. Also, as he had ensured the continuity of worship at the Choli Povvedi temple in Arapaṭ, certain privileges were conferred on Appayya *vis-à-vis* the temple: he could go there even when under pollution (*polé*), and he could go to the annual festival of the deity sitting in the palanquin in which his opponent had sat during his journey through Coorg.

The office of the 'big elder' was hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka* till the latter became extinct. The headman of the *okka* was the 'big elder', and when he died his successor became the 'big elder'. The honour was conferred at a *mangala* ceremony which was performed in the open quadrangle of the Kaiyandīra house.

Coorg was traditionally divided into twelve *kombus*, but the 634
kombu appears as a shadowy unit beside the *nāḍ* and the village; and the occasional coming together of two or three *nāḍs* under a chief during the pre-Lingāyaṭ days, or to discuss a matter of common interest, cannot be treated as a permanent feature of the structure.

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634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pānḍira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter
628 half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen,
634 that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *maradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore
634 bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between
539 Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

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the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to touch the see-saw.

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Liṅgāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

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783 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means
827 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle.
827 Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in
539 search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown
827 far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[589] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
596 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *heṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1] 586 768

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2] 848 596 627

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity. [539]

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time. [344]

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided. 582

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddaṇḍa *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*. 536 582

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*. 582 601

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is 582 539

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
606 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among
586 the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

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maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg.

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar.

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'.

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed

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the mountains separating Coorg from Malabar by following the Pāḍitora Pass. The pass brought them to a mountain to the south-west of Nālknāḍ, and standing on top of the mountain they saw the whole of Coorg stretching before them. One of the four suggested that they should all shoot arrows from the mountain-top and find out which of them shot farthest. The arrows shot by the brothers fell in Ammangēri village while the sister's arrow fell in Pannangāla. The sister had beaten the brothers decisively.

The sister then asked the brothers, 'Will you eat without salt if I cook food without fire?' Calculating that it was impossible to cook food without fire, the brothers readily agreed to the sister's suggestion. The sister put some rice into a bamboo vessel containing milk and buried the vessel in sand which was very hot from the midday sun. By the time the brothers and sister had bathed and changed into ritually pure robes, the rice had been cooked in the boiling milk.

The sister served the insipid rice to the brothers who sat before the disagreeable food looking up and down. The brothers then took the rice in their hands and threw it up into the air saying, 'O younger sister, this is how hailstones fall during the monsoon.' The sister hit the brothers on their jaws with her ladle saying, 'O elder brothers, this is how lightning crashes in the monsoon.' The infuriated brothers got up from their meal at once, and washed their hands and mouths.

The brothers, beaten in the two contests with their sister, seem to have decided to take revenge by underhand means. I deliberately say 'seem to have', as in the version of the folksong I have secured there is no reference to any premeditated plan on their part. But their subsequent actions make such an inference necessary. There was another contest between the brothers and sister after the unsuccessful meal at the end of which the sister was tricked into putting back into her mouth betel stuff which she had taken out to show everyone. (For details see p. 104.) The brothers then told the sister that she had lost her caste because she had put back into her mouth something she had spat out. The sister was beside herself with grief: she beat her head, rolled on the floor, and wept bitterly. The eldest of the brothers then told her, 'Listen, younger sister, we did not deceive you, you are yourself responsible for your present plight. We are unable to help you. I advise you to settle down in Pannangāla village and become the deity of Poleyas, who will have

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartaṇḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

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181 trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon
539 was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help
821 the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

181 The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent phenomenon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last
701 war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a
785 life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

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538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Ūrvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

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left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel 539
rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamanḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmanḍla, and to these 538
two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, 177
Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

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538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād).'[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Skānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudrē, a manifestation of Pārvati.

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In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes. 539

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for. [796]

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land. 538 177

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkku cakce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

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585 614 537 ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood ?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ tandu: bendu: paranditɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yitɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭitɯ inde:këtɯ dinatɯlɯ maṇgɯla kuricitɯ indɯ maṇgɯl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ sammanda koḍɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumane na:lɯ kë:ṭ(ɯ) aramane ni:rɯ balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ne upëḷa ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib ?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (ayummane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb. [346]

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

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Speaker of bride's party: okuvē kaḷa kaḷatulu bo:ṭi cita:ri(u) aki kommel(u) upu tuyyatu maḷu karavatu puḷi kalatulu pa:ra bindigel(u) ōṇṇe baraṇilu ney allate kaḍacekallu ammikallu bi:juvē kallu meypēl(a) oḷake cavṭuvē ra:ṭe bakatu guḍḍa ka:cuvē gañji ko:tuvē cembu katuvē puḷḷi kuḷipēḷa pa:re atakoṭu kaḍucikoṭu meypē koṭu puḷḷikoṭu ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa puḷito:ṭa ba:ḷoto:ṭa tengutoṭa iñjito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nē:ti ketuvē matu bi:di ketuvē kati maṇgaḷapē guddali euki po:nē co:mē madici po:nē po:ri patukuḍi a:ḷu paytakētu patu karapa paymbaṭi nellu nell(u) aḷapē pa:ni koci aḷapē se:ru aki aḷapē ma:na ne:leḷu to:ku mu:leḷu ba:ḷu a:ṇilu kati ta:kunē taḷia tu:kunē boḷica cu:duk(u) irumbu cuṇḍeku modalu onḍutoṭu nu:ro:ḷa sammanda koḍutadallate ku:tiapḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭul(u) ajjē toṭulu kuññi olekēṭ(u) ajji sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga sammanda koḍutira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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535 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Kw:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa manekw ba:ḷw ba:ke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rw nëḷatwlw iñji mañja naṭitw ko:ḷi pandi ca:kitw w:ḷemba:ḷe ma:ritw në:ḍwnë paṇatwna cepwl(w) wṭw beca:na na:ḷe piniandw niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ëḍwtit (w) allasalla: nd(w) ëṇṇwce:ṇgi idwṇgm javabda:rën a:nantë aṇgënaruvë da:rw.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvë who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

The aruvë of the groom's sib: na:nw.
'I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeda ennw.
'What is your sib-name ?'

Aruvë: tamba:ṇḍa.

Speaker of bride's party: a:ḷwpeda ennw.
'What is your personal name ?'

Aruvë: mutaṇṇë.

Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvëna: ponnaruvëna:.
'Are you the aruvë of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvë ?'

Aruvë: maṇṇaruvënu: aku ponnaruvënu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavë^{a}na: a:ḷwperiavë^{a}na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rë or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

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Aruvē: okaperiavē^{n}nu: aku a:|ɯperiavē^{n}nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnɯ. ē:ra unde:ŋgi taralu. kammi unde:ŋgi kē:tavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: u||ē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnɯ illi hakɯ sta:panekɯ becandi:tɯ.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kanekɯ i: tangammē: nd(ɯ) ēnnuvē kanni ningada tange maka. indɯtotɯ me:vara kɯ:tiand(a) okada ka:|apē: nd(ɯ) ēnnuvē baymbēnda pommaka maka. annane ba:|ike bandē ponnɯ mane ca:-yille: ndu: añci ɯtitille: ndu: pati ja:ruva: ndu: kotɯ to:ruva: ndu: o:nilɯ kete: ndu: ca:nakɯ kayya: ndu: ni:rɯkɯ du:ra: ndu: ma:vē^{n}nda ba:yiguna po:ra: ndu: ma:vi^{n}ra kayguna po:ra:ndu: odeyēnda mayguna po:ra: ndu: macinicira managuna po:ra: ndu: ku:|ɯ kuycatɯ: ndu: kari kaycatɯ: ndu: na:yi kadicatɯ: ndu: pu:ñe ma:ndɯci: ndu: ētɯ kutɯci: ndu: payyu cavtɯci: ndu: kokaci ketɯci: ndu: ba:kemane butitɯ ta:manek(ɯ) o:di olici po:yitɯ a|atitɯ ba:manena pa|andandɯ ta:manena tudicandɯ a|ataka fia:ya^{n} paranditɯ tiddi ni:kitɯ bateku tu:du: ku:tɯk(ɯ) a:|u: kodɯtitɯ ayci tapantē angēnaruvē da:rɯ.

'Until today this girl called Tangammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:|apē of the Kɯ:tianda sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and prāising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nuɯ.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuɯperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuɯkuɯ tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makakuɯ nu:ruɯ bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:ruɯ bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le samo:ta i: okaḍa nellakiluɯ ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭituɯ maṇgul(a) axḷi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakiluɯ ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kē:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi iduɯṇgu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this?'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kalluɯ annane takuɯkuɯ tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taŋgammē became Taŋgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. [114] Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment
587 to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
614 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍa: kaḍe na:ḍo:mu:illavé nu:bendu: aggnaruvénu: ma:ha kaṇi nindire:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvēs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

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The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tw.

'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apōyyē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:lw ba:ke bandalli apōyyē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññira adrusṭa kōṭad(w) a:yitu: patw ka:la baddw ba:vōkw runa illata:naṇgunḍw indaːkaṇe niṇgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(w) ōṇṇitiñjē co:makē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññina poṇṇw kōṭate:ṇgi ta:mane:[1] ndw bayyakw ka:kiaṇḍw po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: kw:na:lw maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apōyyē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:lw ba:ke bapaka aññu:rw bira: nwra poṭilw a:yira bira:nwra ma:luna sa:laḍanga ba:laḍanga terakiaṇḍw bandaːṇḍa uṇḍitw uḍutitw miñjuna:na bayyak(w) ōḍutaṇḍw po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: kw:na:lw maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:tw. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuñni apōyyē: nd(w) ōṇṇuvē kuññira va:lw ba:ke bandalli co:mavvōṇgw ou:duk(w) irumbw cuṇḍekw modalw ondutoṭw nu:ro:la—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelw sammanda koḍwpaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelw co:mavvōṇg(w) iñjē sammandatwna kovvañji niṇga tandē pannandaci ponn(w) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇw kōṭate:ṇgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

[557]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Comavvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apāyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvé of husband's sib: idari sa:ksipana.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulae are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

601 The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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in these jungles, but it is said, that on the western slopes of the Ghats the bamboos are still alive and in vigorous health.

[539]

The Coorgs have a Canarese proverb:

"Arvattu warushake ondu katte,
Yeppattu warushake ondu yette."

which means:

"Once in 60 years the bamboos will decay,
Once in 70 years a famine may hold sway."

Lieutenant Connor in his "Coorg Survey" states it as a curious fact, that in 1817 in the whole of the district of Wynád there was scarcely a bamboo clump to be seen, that was not dead, dying or in blossom. Clumps of all ages growing contiguous to or far apart from each other were in the same condition. The same thing happened again there, as well as in Coorg, during the last few years, which occurrence would prove conclusively, that the bamboos, growing from seed and multiplying their reeds from the roots like the grasses, live for a period of about 50 years, when the whole clump with old and young reeds produces flowers and seeds and dies off the same year. From the seed a new progeny springs up, which grows very fast, but not, as has been supposed, to its whole length in one season. This is only true of such shoots as spring up from the main clump, after it has nearly reached maturity, which requires a growth of 12 years. These shoots, being armed at their extremity by a sharp, smooth hornlike cone, and without any lateral branches, force their way through the intricate mass of the parent reeds and contribute to the density, stability and stateliness of the whole clump, which may contain from 50 to 200 reeds. The several reeds are from 5 to 8 inches in diameter, jointed at every 12 or 15 inches, and hollow between the joints where thorny threepartite branches are alternately attached, of which the middle ones are strongest and make good walking sticks. The branches are repeatedly subdivided and present with their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol 585
the names of the principal persons among the assembled re- [574]
latives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. [533]
At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the [788]
bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is 533
heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the 585
glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging [574]
to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot 585
refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song trans- 539
lated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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He procured for heavy money,
And completed all his labours.
When he now lived comfortably,
Mandanna the mighty hero,
In his mind was meditating
And within himself he pondered
Constantly this one idea:
"I have rice and costly garments,
But no one to dress and nourish;
I have precious stones and jewels,
But where is the wife to wear them?
In a household without children
Vain is all our toil and trouble;
Ha! there is not here on earth
Without wife bliss or enjoyment.
If a tank is without water,
Has it not been dug in vain?
And a garden without flowers,
Has it not in vain been planted?
Who would like to eat cold rice,
Void of curds and void of salt?
Sons must be in our houses,
And our rooms be full of children."
So he thought within himself,
And, one lovely Sunday morning,
When the silvery dew was sparkling,
Took a meal, and dressed himself,
Joined his hands in adoration
To the ancestors and God;
Sent a man to call his Ar'wa
To conduct him on the journey,
Took his stick adorned with silver,
And then started with his friend.
Where between the woody mountains
Through the lofty Kuttamali,
Wand'ring through the hilly country,
He went off to seek a wife,
Till his soles were off with walking;
Pond'ring sat in all the Mandas,
Till his dress was torn by sitting;
Wandered in the scorching sun,
Till his head was hot and giddy;
Wandered till the walking stick
In his hand was growing shorter.
Mandanna the mighty hero
Sought a wife in ev'ry quarter,
But no house would suit his mind.
If he found the house was right,
Then the servants would not suit him;
If he found the servants right,
Then he did not like the cattle;
If he found the cattle right,
Then the fields were miserable;
If the paddy land was good,
Then the pasture ground was bad;
And if all these things were good,
Then the maiden did not please him.
While he thus was sorely troubled,
News arrived of consolation:—
In the Nalkundi there lived,
In the Pattamida house,
Chinnawwa, a lovely maiden.—
When he heard this information,
Mandanna, the mighty hero,
Slowly with his friend proceeded
To the house, and there sat down
On the bench of the verandah.
Chinnawwa, the lovely maiden,
When she heard of their arrival,
Came and brought a jar of water,
Poured it in a silver pitcher,
Placed it on a glittering mat,
Spread another mat for him
In the mat of the verandah.
Pattamida Chinnawwa
Modestly stood on the threshold,
And she asked him: "Why, my friend,
Did you not take any water,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Use it and then call for more?"
So she asked, and he replied:
"Certainly I will, my dearest,
"If for ever you will bring me
"Water as to-day you brought it."
She replied: "You get the water
"If you come here ev'ry day."
Mandanna now took the water,
Washed his face and hands and feet,
Thought: I'll come for more tomorrow.
Mandanna, the wise and clever,
Took again the seat of honor
And began: "My pretty maiden,
"Tell me now, where is your father?"
She replied: "My father went
"To a meeting in the Manda."
"And where is your mother then?"
"She went to the potters' village,
"Where they celebrate a wedding."
"And where is your brother then?"
"He went down the Ghat to Kóte
"With his bullocks, to get salt." —
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the father.
Mandanna made his obeisance,
Bowed, and touched the old man's feet.
When an hour or two were spent,
To her house returned the mother.
Mandanna again salated.
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the brother.
Mandanna made his obeisance.
Then they had some conversation,
Talked about their friends and kindred.
Now they asked him: "Dearest cousin,
"Will you please to let us know,
"Why you undertook this journey?"
He replied: "My dearest father!
"I have heard, that in this house
"There are bullocks to be sold,
"And moreover that there lives
"In this house a lovely maiden,
"Whom you want to give in marriage." —
"All the bullocks have been sold
"In July," replied the father,
"And the daughter too has gone,
"In the month of May she left us."
Then gave Mandanna this answer:
"Those that went, let them be happy,
"Give me her who still remains."
Spoke again to him the landlord:
"Tell me, why you called me, 'Father'?"
Then spoke Mandanna the clever:
"I have seen your lovely daughter,
"That is why I call you 'Father.'
"Evermore with admiration
"You behold the stately palm-tree;
"If a tree is poor and crippled,
"You forgot to look upon it."
Then the father spoke again:
"I will let you have the daughter,
"Give a pledge, that you will take her." —
"Shake then hands with me," replied
Mandanna, "and as a pledge
"Take from me this piece of money."
After this the father sent
For his Ar'ves to assist him
In the wedding ceremony;
Women swept the house and chambers,
Filled the store-rooms with provisions
For the merry wedding feast.
Where the beauteous brazen lamp
From the ceiling is suspended,
Aravas and near relations
Came together from both houses,
Stood and settled the engagement
And the lucky day of wedding.
Whereupon the happy bridegroom

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva
[624) of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies.
764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to a feast in honor of the departed and for the quiet of his soul, and thus the last end of a Coorg's earthly course has come.

764 The Coorg funeral song is most pathetic and touches a 539 kindred chord in every sorrowing heart:—

Funeral Song.

Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe is me! For ever gone!
Gone with all thy soul of virtue!
Oh! how can I live my father!
Woe! thy days are now concluded,
And the share, assigned to thee
By the Lord, is now consumed
And no further portion granted.
Oh! thy wish was not to die,
But to stay among the living.
Surely, man came to this world
But to die; not one of us
Is exempted from this doom.
Onward! onward roll the years;
Oh! how soon were thine concluded!
Like the eagle in the sky
Thou wast roaming here on earth.
Woe! the string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of our children
Is for ever burst and scattered!
Woe! the clear and brilliant mirror,
Fallen out of our hand,
Fallen to the ground, and broken!
Woe! the wrath of God Almighty,
Floods of fiery indignation,
Boiling on the lofty mountains,
Swept their summit to the ground!
Like the cosmos at night,
Breaking into peaceful homes,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Slaying all the valiant men,
Even thus has God Almighty
Suddenly cut off thy days.
Like the top of Tumbomale
In the sultry days of summer,
When the sun is hot and burning,
And the grass is set on fire,
Thus, O father, was this house
Desolated by thy death!
As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
When the floods destroy the shed,
Where the stores of wood were sheltered,
All the house is in distress.
When the meeting hall is ruined,
All the villagers lament.
If the temple is destroyed,
All the land is full of sorrow.
Thus is our house distressed
By thy sudden death, O father!
As they quench the shining flame
Of the luscious golden lamp,
Thus has God destroyed thy life!
As the stately Banyan tree
In the lofty mountain forest,
Which the ax has never touched,
Is uprooted by the whirlwind;
Like the bright and shining leaf
Of the royal Sampigé,
Broken from the stem and withered;
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
In the days of life thy hand
Had supported our house,
Thou hast planted our fields,
Thou hast laid the corner-stone,
And completed our mansion
To the roof, with costly timber.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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hood.) On the return of the man from the field, the whole family sit down in the kitchen and eat the cakes prepared by the mistress and the other females after their morning entrance into the cooking and dining-room. When the cakes are consumed, the ceremony of the Kávéri-day is over. In houses, where some one knows how to read, he takes the Góvina-pada book and recites *the Song of the Cow*, the rest of the family listening. The day is kept as a holiday; nobody is expected to work. But there is no further ceremony.

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The substance of the lay of the cow is as follows:—One great herd of cattle was grazing in the forest, when a royal tiger appeared and in a few moments by three or four leaps threw himself into the midst of the poor, peaceful animals. The whole herd, affrighted, ran off in wild despair in all directions. One cow only stood still, and was seized by the savage beast. The cow, however, made bold to speak to her destroyer, and said: "You will kill and devour me. Do it. But give me a few moments' leave to go after my poor calf, to let it drink for the last time, and to commit it to the care of kind friends, before I die." The tiger, astonished and moved by the speech of his victim, causes the cow to swear, that, after performing her last duty, she will return and deliver herself to her hungry master. She swears and goes to seek her calf. Having found it, she gives it to drink, and then commits it to the care of her friends, entreating them to allow it to share their milk with their own calves, not to kick, when it comes from behind to drink, nor to turn their horns against it, when it comes in front. Having sworn, she would rather die, than break her word, she returns to the tiger, and begs his pardon for having detained him so long and increased his hunger. But the tiger in the presence of such truth and goodness, is seized with remorse. His heinous sins rise to his mind in dreadful array. The slayer of a thousand cows sinks under the burden of his wickedness.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg / W5

788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure alarming. According to
[177] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal-
[823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
177 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Govern-
788 ment! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
798 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with
177 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother
539 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu! 788 778 77 539

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift! 788 [793] [77] [782]

On the *Hottur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Beticdnád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Beticdnád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth. 778 788 [842]

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the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

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793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
799 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
177 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "the Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or [191] German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nilagiris.

199 533 539 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1.	*Kodagu.*	Nóṭi nóṭi kámbakkó
2.	*Canarese.*	Nóḍi nóḍi kaṇuvágu
3.	*English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1.	*Kg.*	Bümikelleyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Bhúmige yella unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1.	*Kg.*	Mahamméru parvata
2.	*Can.*	Mahamméru parvata
3.	*Engl.*	Mahaméru mountain
1.	*Kg.*	Pú marakkeyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Húvu maragaḷige unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1.	*Kg.*	Mánjappeya pómaru
2.	*Can.*	Mahá sampigeu húvu maru
3.	*Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1.	*Kg.*	Déjakelleyandadú
2.	*Can.*	Déshagaḷige, yella, unnatavádadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1.	*Kg.*	Pommále Kodjavápa
2.	*Can.*	Honnu mále Kodagu águtade
3.	*Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

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FREE TRANSLATION:

"High above the lofty hills
"Throne the snowy Mahamêru;
"And among the flowering trees
"Is the Sampigé the finest;
"Thus is Coorg, a string of pearls,
"Far surpassing other countries."

The "*Harvest Song*", being rather long and adding no new information to what has already been given in the description of rice cultivation, is here omitted.

The Queen's Song.

God Almighty live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God!
Rule, O glorious Sun and Moon,
In the sky as king and queen!
Land of our fathers, thrive!
Land of houses and of farms!
In the ancient times, they say,
Kauti, mother of the Pándus,
Ruled the six and fifty countries
Of the mighty Jambudwipa,
Famous from the earth to heaven,
To the borders of the ocean.
But in our days there rules
By the grace of God Almighty
On the glorious throne of England
Our gracious noble Queen,
Beauteous like a string of pearls,
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin.
And the Lord and General *
Of her great and valiant armies,
Raised in ev'ry land the banner
Of his Queen and Sovereign:
And, the sword in mighty hand,

* The Duke of Wellington.

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Conquered kingdom after kingdom,
Conquered our happy land,
Like the bright and starry heaven
Full of villages and houses,
Houses full of blooming children
Like a garden full of flowers;
And the young men fine and stately
Like the royal Sampigé;
Like a string of choicest pearls
Like the flower of the forest
Are the wives, and all their children
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin;
Happily they live, and prosper.
And their cattle are increasing
Like the game in mighty jungles.
Rice and paddy are abundant
Like the sand along the Kávéri.
By the grace of our Queen
All the people of this country
Suffer neither want nor hardship.
Happily they live, and prosper,
Free from terror and from danger;
Like the deer in holy forests,
Where the gun is never fired,
Nor the hounds attack and slaughter.
Thus our gracious noble Queen
Guards this country and defends it
In the shadow of her wings.
Thus the Governor of India,
Thus the English rule this country
By the grace of God the Highest.
May God bless the noble Queen,
Ruling our happy country;
May He keep her and defend her.
May she gather mighty armies,
Terrible to all her foes,
To her friends a kind protector,
May she govern all the earth!
On the fiery cloud of battle,

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Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudike-pare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal. 533 534

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 538 521 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekâga, pirake karikâga
   Beppaneke beheka pirake karikâka
   Peppaneke pettaka paṭṭama paḍekâka.

   Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

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used for curry. With proper management even Brahmins may fight.

2. Poiyu kartaka, pâlu kartadâ?
If the cow is black, will the milk be black?

3. Andû maḍapavana kanḍû naḍakanḍu.
Him who holds sway we must obey.

4. Andû pertavangû âobe porpokû kaiyâ?
Have we endured for one year, and can we not endure for a day?

5. Kettuvâkû bandavang totaka baḍavâ?
He who is doomed to loose his head, will he be freed for making Salâm?

6. Kûdale kaichaka kôime naḍaku.
He who can spend money is accounted an honorable man.

7. Kambiyeṭṭu kakudi adirallariyu.
He who indulges in toddy in the fine season will find out his mistake in the monsoon.

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and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823]
divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kavéra Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self; individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

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Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya. 539 177

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

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539 Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Kródadésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

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Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shríranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Rámésh-vara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandravarma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

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righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mlénchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mlénchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mlénchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they ro-

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ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

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boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Króladésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandravarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávéri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

539 177 [196]

2. POPULAR TRADITION.

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Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Pálamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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●539 Five of them, accompanied by their sister, Ponnangálatamma, went to Coorg by the Páditorghát. While they were on the road, four of them said: "How is it that our sister comes with us; the people will say, that she is our wife?" One of them replied: "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to the Chouripádé-hill near the Kakabé river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa said to his sister: "Prepare us some food." She replied: "There is no fire nor rice." Iguttappa said: "I will give you rice, but you must boil it without fire." She replied: "I will boil it without fire, but you must eat it without salt." To this the brothers agreed. Then Ponnangálatamma, seeing a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house went and milked her, letting the milk fall into a chatty full of rice, and while the brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, where it began to boil. Then she called her brothers to eat the rice which she had prepared. When they had eaten enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it up into the air and exclaimed: "See how the hail is descending from the sky." Ponnangálatamma, angry at this, took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow on his back and said: "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." Then the brothers all laughed at him. Afterwards, while they were sitting together and chewing betel, Pálúrappa said: "Let us see whose betel is the reddest." Then they all spat out the betel into their hands, looked at it, and the brothers threw the betel behind their heads, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. The sister, deluded by this, threw the betel into her mouth again, and went on chewing. They now said that she had lost her caste. Their brother in Malabar, too, to whom they appealed, confirmed their decision. Ponnangálatamma was excessively grieved, and wept bitterly. Iguttappa afterwards threw an arrow from the Iguttappabetta and ordered his sister to go

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálár in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

173 539 [796]

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

173 631

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

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In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 231 deed, they seemed to have an instinctive knowledge of the true prince. Yet for all this, I caught myself several times edging my chair back a little bit and looking out for a clear place to escape, as the monsters stalked up and down the court, and once or twice actually touched the edge of our carpet with their feet. On these occasions, that part of the circle of guards which stood behind us advanced just so far as to bring our chairs on the outside of their ring and to place themselves between the beasts and us. On clapping their hands and flourishing their knives the lionesses and other beasts moved a little further off, after which the guards again dropped to the rear. Still this seemed rather a poor protection; at least I had my recollection so full of the rapid motions of the same class of animals, which I have seen baited at Mysore, that I could discover nothing which need have prevented the lionesses from whipping off the heads of the Rajah and the heir apparent, or at all events, that of their guest, who having no particular claims to the throne of Coorg, could reckon on none of the benefits of instinctive respect.

*136 231 541 "The Rajah gave orders for half a dozen tiger's cubs about eight months old, and as many puppy dogs to be set to play before us on the carpet, while a full grown royal tiger was at the same time dragged forward and pitted against a bear for a real battle in the open court. Any thing more disproportionate or absurd cannot be conceived than this match; and so, perhaps, the poor brutes thought, for fight they would not, although both of them were well thumped and forced against each other by the attendants. At length a brilliant thought struck the Rajah. 'Tie them together!' exclaimed his majesty; and accordingly the rope which was fastened to the tiger's collar was hitched to the belly band of the bear. Neither party liked this. The tiger roared and the bear growled while the Rajah and his son laughed and clapped their hands in ecstacy at their own good joke. Of course the guards and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Walcer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear."

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, 175*
by Manton and Jover; fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., then an 643*
air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven P. M., 648*
and torchlight had succeeded the daylight in his courtyard; we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram- [541]
fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with [231]
his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

I must now describe our own habitation, built on a small 175
island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry, for the sole 648*
accommodation of Europeans. It is a large square, having 574
a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandah all round it, and four bed-rooms projecting at the angles of the verandah, all on an upper story, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, etc. It stands on a square of seventy feet, the verandah having thirty-eight glass windows, with Venetian blinds outside. The bed-rooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors; every part being neatly

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chinnappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

584 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [149] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

584 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

584 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya?*' (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into
778 the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their
[551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an
773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume IV, 1938.
ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 [161] people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South [131] India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring [564] the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of [114] the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations 121 of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen- [551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. 423 All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the 614 sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon 500 the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical 114 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is 122 the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is prac- 104 tically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalised; e.g. in mavn, both the vowels and v are nasalised. The nasalisation is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalisation does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

614 585 [551] 614 587 [768]

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit. [114]

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [123] [115] [551]

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvés, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvé of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.
'They have stood.'

Aruvé of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira ba:lu ba:ke bandalli apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira adrusṭa kōṭad(u) a:yitu: patu ka:la baddu ba:vēku runa illata:naṅgunḍu inda:kaṇe niṅgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(u) ōṇṇitiṅjē co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅina poṇṇu kōṭate:ṅgi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira ba:ḷu ba:ke bapaka aṅṅu:ru bira: nura poṭilu a:yira bira:nura ma:luna sa:laḍaṅga ba:laḍaṅga terakiaṇḍu bandaṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miṅjuna:na bayyak(u) ōḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvé of the husband's sib: ba:tu. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira va:ḷu ba:ke bandalli co:mavvēṅgu ou:duk(u) irumbu euṇḍeku modalu ondutoṭu nu:ro:ḷa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu sammanḍa koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu co:mavvēṅg(u) iṅjē sammandatuna kovvaṅji niṅga tandē pannandaci ponn(u) idari. beci tape.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kōṭate:ṅgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; so. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW's Coorg AW5

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [571] [858]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

T 121 614 551

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

T [171]

C 614 551

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

C 593 551 [769] [553] [171]

T 551 614

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

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[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, f, θ, x should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 585

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 561

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

●553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before 585
taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the [553]
women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might 606
say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband–wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: 606
this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned. [177]

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

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As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 796 844 846 783 852 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *f*, *θ*, *x* should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

birth', and that she was kept in seclusion 'for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family'.[1] Elderly informants deny that she was regarded as unclean, but they do confirm the fact that she was not allowed to see the villagers before a dinner had been given to them.

The bride becomes a member of the groom's *okka* at marriage. The consummation of the marriage in the groom's house on the second night also indicates to her that her future position is that of a mother who contributes children to her husband's *okka*. Marriage in a patrilocal and patrilineal kinship system affects a greater change in the bride's social personality than in the groom's. She is a new person, and this is recognized in her not being allowed to meet the members of her natal village before a dinner has been given them. When there has been a break in the continuity of a relationship, or when a relationship with a new person has to be begun, the best way to do it is with a dinner. Dinner, as we have noted earlier, is an act of solidarity, and the villagers forge their solidarity with the new person, the bride returning to her natal house from the groom's.

XV

All *mangalas* except marriage have either become defunct or so rarely performed that nowadays *mangala* is almost synonymous with marriage. The ritual performed at marriage may be divided into two parts, one part being *mangala*, and the other concerned with the jural aspect of marriage. Only the former part has been analysed in this chapter. By means of this analysis it is hoped to give content to the concept of ritual idiom and to understand the meanings of certain ritual acts which are very common among Coorgs.

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the subject of *mangala* is prepared for *mūrta* by a series of preparatory and purificatory ritual acts such as shaving, bath, and the donning of ritual robes and ornaments. The various occasions on which each one of these preparatory ritual acts is performed have been considered in order to discover their meanings.

Mūrta itself consists of a series of solidarity rites performed on the subject of it by each member of the concerned group. The

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 139.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukw̄ maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkw̄ ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own. 291 [177]

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *ch uri gubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress. 301 [554] [553]

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Connor, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs. 181

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Wadeer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear."

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger.
●554 Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the
588 carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each
[431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his
[574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for
[654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's
[789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye.
[825] The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested.
[554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

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practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, 101
I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues.

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side 142
of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often [302] distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set [554] off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

142 distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the pre-
[302] sent military regulation, they shave their chin but sport
[554] mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than
might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life
[186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of
manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained
by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

291 The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white
[411] or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It
reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white,
short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour
extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash
of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist[1]
and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or
silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief
or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at
the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms
the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light
[301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus
ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver
and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete
their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the
Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not
fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the
front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a
more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing.
714 His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and
411 shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti),
he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved,
broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the
[147] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand
[527] fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young
Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to
decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116; p. 493 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

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292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata; This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

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Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

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585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the [764] underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[556] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 423 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

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natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of 301 [556] the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata; This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
● [556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 585

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 561

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

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554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

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villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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462 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[533] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [77] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [57]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else. 778 769

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them. 342 778

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors. [769]

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house. [562] [888] [585]

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp. 778 769

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is 776 778

[1] Minor deities like Pūḍa and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Pakaya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
● 562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

292 the same time gives vent to their vexation at the intractability of these rude mountaineers.

The head with its raven-hair is covered by a white muslin or coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead and the two corners are joined together at the back, allowing the rest of the cloth to fall gracefully over the shoulders. 301 [556] The wealth of a Coorg family is displayed by the richness of the ornaments of the women. Glass, silver or gold bracelets of a simple description span their wrists; their neck is decked with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese gold coins. Even the nose and the outer rein[1] of the ears are ornamented with pretty jewellery in gold, pearls and precious stones, and also silver rings are worn on the toes.

292 531 The white festive gowns of the men, as well as the kerchiefs of the women, are skilfully embroidered along the seams and in the corners with red marking cotton and the patterns of native design are often very elegant. The Coorg women esteem their own embroidery more than Berlin work, as the former unlike the latter shows the pattern equally well on both sides.

462 As for industry the Coorg women deserve high praise. They rise early and besides cooking and other domestic work, they bear a large share in the labours of the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant and reap the rice; the women carry manure, weed, fetch home and clean the paddy. The [357] men do no menial work, they leave that to their women and [562] to their servants, whilst they enjoy a dignified repose, dis- [554] cussing the affairs of the house and chewing betel, or stitching a piece of clothing in which art many are as expert as professional tailors, others, gun on shoulder, wander through the jungles in search of game, but the height of their ambition is to figure in the capacity of a Government Official in the administration of their country.

[1] [Errata; This should read "rim". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473--Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg woman is rarely idle, her busy hands find always some work to do, and no wonder, if we consider the life and bustle of a Coorg house with its 40, 60, or 80 and more inmates. Two or three generations, grandfather and grandmother, their sons and daughters-in-law and the children of these families all live and mess together. The labourers also belong to the household and look up to the mistress for food and orders. The fattening of the pigs, the milking of the cows, the water supply for the house, these and many other cares are under the immediate supervision of the mistress. Where peace and harmony exist, a Coorg house presents a patriarchal life indeed, but the idyllic picture is too often marred by discord occasioned by the harsh régime of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heartburnings of married brothers, or the more material questions of family income and individual claims. The master or yejamána, who is always the senior male member of the house, has no easy position, especially in our days, when a tendency to break up these large houses clearly manifests itself. But Coorg women of a commanding spirit and superior character are often heard of who, like Abigail of old, with tact and wisdom subdue the unruly elements of this bustling human beehive and make the residents subservient to the common weal and honour of the family. Here is a story to the purpose:—"Six generations ago, there was a woman called Doddi Auwa[1]—the great lady—who lived at Almanda house, in the village of Arméri, which belongs to Beppunádu. She was the mistress of the Almanda property, being the only child of rich parents. She was a woman of extraordinary size and strength of body. Nor was she less distinguished by qualities of mind and character. Throughout the country she was known as the wisest, the richest, the strongest of Coorg women. Independent owner of a Coorg estate, she was at liberty to choose a husband for herself. Her choice fell upon a man of the same clan. Utta-

592 562 [578] 592 562 173

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodda-Auva." see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

592 562 173 cha, a son of the Mánanda house. He was a good sort of a husband, but much inferior every way to his great wife. Perhaps she had chosen him for this very reason. His place in the house was rather that of head-servant, than of husband and master. Every year the people of Arméri used to send a caravan to Irkúr, in the low country, near Cannanore, to fetch salt. At other times caravans, carrying rice to the coast, would start from Arméri during the dry season. On such occasions Doddi Auwa[2] would herself attend to every thing, put the cattle in readiness, prepare provisions, and at last accompay her husband and his oxen to the place of meeting, appointed for the whole train from the village. On parting, she would recommend her husband and his beasts to the kind offices of the best men in the caravan, and return home to her great house and her large business. Often, when husband or servants appeared too slow in loading the oxen, she would bid them step aside and taking the double sacks quietly with both hands, lay them softly and evenly upon the backs of the cattle. She was famed equally for wisdom and honesty.

Also Mudduráya who ruled Coorg in her time, respected and reverenced her, and often, on coming to Beppunádu, he stopped to have a talk with Doddi Auwa[1] of Almanda house. In the course of time Doddi Auwa[3] became mother of four daughters, but to her great grief no son was granted her, to succeed to the Almanda property. When the daughters came of age, she gave them in marriage to sons of neighbouring landholders. The eldest became the wife of a member of the Pálckanda family, the second married into the Púlanda house, the third was given to the Amnichanda family. The youngest, by a general agreement of the chiefs, was also given to the Pálckanda house, but, as heiress of the Almanda property, she had to give her sons, if she bore any, to her mother. This daughter, the youngest, bore 4 sons in succession. Of these, the two eldest were brought up by their grand-mother Doddi

[Errata: This should read "Doddi-Auva". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nírádóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574

[1] [Errata: This should read "Doddi-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 110]

II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

[101] [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centuries have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 **A.** Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri-Amma, but under the British Government they reverted to their original sect, the Srívaishnavas, who have their Gurus in Talkád in Mysore and now think themselves superior to the Coorgs. 563

3. The *Hegadés* are independent cultivators, who immigrated from Malayálam and settled chiefly in Yedenalknád. Like the preceding tribe, they conform to Coorg customs, but are equally excluded from the community of the Coorgs, in whose presence they are allowed to sit only on the floor, whilst the former occupy a chair, or if these are seated on a mat, the Hegadés must not touch it. In bodily appearance and complexion they resemble the Coorgs.

4. The *Bínepadas*, formerly musical mendicants, now sober farmers, are also immigrants from Malabar, they do not dress in Coorg fashion, but wear jackets. On festive occasions they prepare the parched rice for the Coorgs, from whom they are quite distinct.

5. The *Airis* came also from Malayalam and are the carpenters and ironsmiths. They live and dress like the Coorgs, but have no closer connection with them. The *Badigés* are a similar tribe, but Canarese people.

6. The *Madiválas* are found all over Coorg and, being descended from Malayalam washermen, they practise their hereditary trade in the Province.

7. The *Kávatis* are farmers who in a small number live in Yedenalknád taluq only. They resemble the Coorgs in dress, but are of darker complexion and less favoured in personal appearance. Their origin is traced to Malayalam.

8. The *Naindas* or Barbers are emigrants from the same country and resemble the washermen.

9. The *Koyuvas* or Potters are met with in every Nád, where they ply their trade.

10. The *Kudiyas* and *Témale-Kudiyas* live chiefly in the forests of the Western Ghats, where they cultivate their own

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563
357
291
481
142
482

A Holeya and his wife.

Photogr. by the Rev. C. Richter — Lith. by E. Kaufmann, Leip.

[facing p. 112]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 Kumari land, draw toddy from the Bainé-palm (caryota urens) for sale and work as labourers in cardamom gardens and on Coorg farms, when they live in the outhouses of the Coorgs and share their food.

11. The *Médas* live independently all over the country and subsist on the produce of their handicraft, umbrella making. They are the drummers at the Coorg festivals, and it is their privilege to receive annually at harvest time from each Coorg house of their district as much reaped paddy, as they can bind up with a rope 12 cubits in length. They dress like the Coorgs, only in a poorer style. Their religion is the worship of Káli and of demons. The Médas live on vegetable and animal diet, beef included; they are a quiet people, not robust in body and of a sallow brown complexion with black straight hair.

12. The *Holeyas* are found in the Coorg houses all over the country and do all the menial work for the Coorgs by whom, though theoretically freemen under the British Government, they were held as "glebæ adscripti" in a state of abject servitude until lately, when with the advent of European planters the slave-question was freely discussed and the "domestic institution" practically abolished. There are three kinds of Holeyas: the original Kémbati and the Máringi—from Malabar and the Canarese speaking Badaga-Holeyas from Mysore. They dress indifferently, are of dirty habits and eat whatever they can get, beef included. Their worship is addressed to Eiyappa-Dévaru and Chámundi or Káli goddess once every month; and once every year they sacrifice a hog or a fowl. They are a poor, ignorant people, generally of middle size and of a dark complexion.

B. Separate languages are spoken by:

1. The *Roman-Catholic Christians* at Virajpet, who are emigrants from North-Canara and belong to the Konkani

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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caste. They established the settlement in the time of Dodda-Virajender, when persecuted by Tippu-Sultan's cruel proselytism. Besides their own language, "Konkani," they speak also Canarese. They are cultivators and shopkeepers.

2. The *Shivachâries* who are farmers and traders and scattered all over Coorg; they speak Canarese and came from Mysore. They eat no animal food.

3. The *Gaudas* or Vokkaligas who are farmers. Those that came from the Tulu-country, speak the language of that locality and live chiefly in Távunád; the remainder who emigrated from Mysore, live in the north-east of Coorg and speak Canarese.

4. The *Pâles* or farm labourers that live principally in the western districts. They also speak Tulu and have immigrated from South-Canara. The Pâles are of a more robust appearance than the Holeyas, of coarse features, middle sized stature and black straight hair which is wavy with the women. Some dress in Coorg—some in low-country-fashion. They have no idols, but like the Tulu people, they call upon their gods: Guliga, Khorti and Kalurti, whose names they pronounce over their food before eating. Their diet is like that of the Coorgs.

5. The *Maleyas*, a small wandering gipsy tribe from Malabar who speak Malayálam. They pretend to cure diseases and exact money from the ignorant; they also personate demons and the departed spirits of the ancestors of their dupes.

6. The *Kurubas* who are distinguished as Jénu and Betta-Kurubas, but are of the same type which is more Mongolian than Caucasian. Their cheekbones are rather high and prominent, their nose short and nearly flat; their lips large, their eyes small, dark and deep set; their hair curly, through neglect matted and almost woolly. In stature the Kurubas are middle sized, well proportioned and in habits nimble and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 enduring. Their colour is dark. They have hair on the upper lip and chin but no whiskers.

The *Jénu-Kurubas* live in huts in the jungles of Coorg and wander from place to place in search of honey, whence their name. They worship the goddess Káli by pronouncing her name over their food, but once a year they sacrifice a fowl. They live on vegetable and animal food, but do not touch beef. They are skilled in the use of the sling and of the bow and arrow and are excellent climbers. Their language is peculiar, but allied to Canarese. They are a wild looking, but shy and harmless people.

The *Betta-Kurubas*, like the former, live chiefly in bamboo-forests, but have no social intercourse with the Jénu-Kurubas. Though they do not climb trees, they are excellent wood-cutters, but not reliable on account of their unsteady habits. They excel in making mats, baskets, umbrellas, boxes and cradles for which they chiefly use cane, Canarese: betta, hence their name or perhaps from the Tamil: vettu, to cut. In their scanty clothing and the woolly, top-knotted hair and broad features, their appearance is wild and repulsive, yet they are a good humoured, peaceable set of people and when employed are industrious at their work as long as it pleases them. They speak a language of their own, which is not understood by any other natives.

7. The *Adias*, a migratory tribe from Malabar who work as day labourers. They are like Pariahs and speak the Malayálam language.

8. The *Yeravas*, a wandering tribe originally from Wynád, where, like the Holeyas in Coorg, they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They speak their own language and live chiefly in Kiggatnád with the Coorgs to whose mode of life and worship they have conformed. Like them they eat no beef and therefore rank higher than the Holeyas and Médas. They are strong and diligent labourers and their frequent desertion

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Chátu, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Puncháyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and [534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahádéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg [796] forest-god; Mahádéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-túluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
•[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Beltamally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[443] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
[464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples
of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted
with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Musulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception of the large and influential house of the late Deván
[550] Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Nádes surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bisslyghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Fraserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-3 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shiváchárics possess rich endowments. 635 563 [177]

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.) [137] [243] [245] [273] [262] [222]

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site 632 [361] [485]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 795 643 175

them in and about his capital. The Konkanis are noted for their industry and skill of adapting themselves to circumstances. Dodda-Vírájender eagerly welcomed them into his depopulated country, granted them land at Vírájpet, procured for them a Priest in the person of Father John de Costa, a native of Goa, assisted in building a chapel and allotted to its maintenance a stipend of 84 butties of paddy and a certain amount of oil and candles, which allowance his successors continued and which the English Government since 1835 commuted into a monthly grant of Rs. 20, "its continuance being dependant not only on the Priest's conduct, but that of his flock, in as far as he may justly be considered responsible for it." This stipend is now looked upon as the Priest's salary from Government and attempts have been made, to get it increased, but Sir Mark Cubbon declared: "that the amount, the Priest enjoyed, had no doubt been deemed proportioned to the ordinary duties of his office, but if called to the discharge of any extra duties by the requisition of the members of his congregation, the Commissioner conceived that the latter should contribute the means of enabling the Priest to meet such extra-official calls."

563 795

Pastoral jurisdiction having been claimed by the Archbishop of Goa, the Rev. F. Bernardino De Sta. Agnes, Bishop-Coadjutor, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore addressed in 1846 the Superintendent of Coorg in the following letter:—

The Mission of Coorg, by a Firman passed by the Rájah in 1805, was founded to remain always under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, who has ultimately transferred it to me. No jurisdiction over it was ever or is now possessed by the Archbishop of Goa. The jurisdiction of His Grace does not extend beyond that Portuguese territory as shewn by various Bulls which have emanated from Rome regarding the same, but the Archbishop, actuated by certain national presumption, pretends to possess something like an omnipotence in the spiritual throughout the whole of India and therefore sends his emissaries to excite dissensions and disturbances among the Roman Catholics, subject to the Vicars Apostolic, and he has

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 795 accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

[659] In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the [162] place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may [165] be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, as

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

avocation that bespeaks the estimation in which they are held. Christianity has impressed no very awful sense of religion on its rude followers, who are subject to all the degradation, attaching to a profession of it in eastern countries; but a small share of the morality it inculcates is observable, and its votaries seem still to retain most of their ancient superstitions; indeed, if either the condition or character of these followers of it be taken as a criterion, the most sanguine could scarcely hope much good to result from a more general conversion to its divine doctrines." 563 795

A church and native congregation, chiefly of Tamil-Christians, the servants of Europeans, and pensioned sepoys, especially Sappers and Miners, have been established at Mercara and Fraserpet at which places periodically a European or Native Priest resides.

2. THE ENGLISH CHAPLANCY IN MERCARA.

Mercara containing a greater number of Europeans than Mangalore and offering a more salubrious residence, the chaplain of the latter station removed to the former in 1854[1] and Mercara was ever since under the spiritual care of a clergyman of the Church of England. His congregation, comprising civilians, military officers and planters, numbers over hundred souls. Through subordinate agency native Christians, especially Tamulians, have likewise been benefitted by the successive Chaplains and the heathens around have at least an opportunity of witnessing in a chaste church (vide p. 192.) the pure and simple worship of a Protestant congregation; and should all who profess and call themselves Christians be led in the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life, what amount[2] of good might thus be effected even by those who cannot speak to the natives in their tongue! There would certainly be less cause for taunting the Christian missionary with want of success! 797

1 The first resident Chaplain at Mercara, the Rev. Mr. Prosnett,

1 [Errata: This should read "in 1852". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 — Analyst]

2 [Errata: This should read "what an amount". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p 499 -- Analyst]

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C
133

[Fig. 125 (a)]

GHATS SECTION

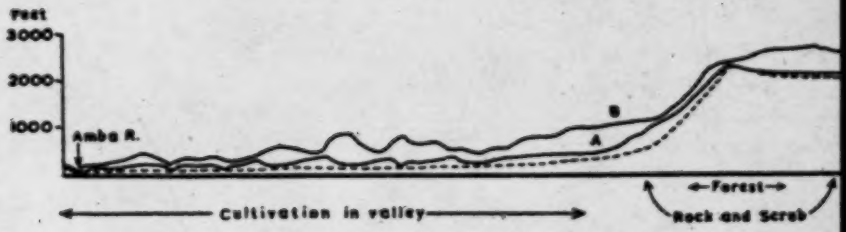

Fig. 125.—SECTION ACROSS THE GHATS. The scarp is here 32 mls WNW of Poona, 8 interfluve 1 ml N of A; C, crest of spur between Pauna R. and Lonavla. Note that Pauna from SOI 47F/6; vertical exaggtn 2·1.

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station at 4000–5000 ft, used by Bombay officials. Its excessive rainfall (260 ins.) gives it a short season; Panchgani, only 12 miles E, receives no more than 60 ins. and has a less fluctuating population, receiving not only some of the hot-weather exodus from the plains, but a rains exodus from Mahabaleshwar itself.

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Farther S the dissected belt is higher and wider in the coulisses of Coorg, around the Cauvery headwaters; some points in the girdle of ranges on the N, W, and S reach over 5500 ft. Most of Coorg was originally evergreen forest and bamboo jungle, with some parkland to the E. The average annual temperature is only 60° F., humidity high, rainfall at the capital, Mercara, 133 ins. Of the million acres of Coorg a third are forested and nearly a third cultivated, though of that about half is generally fallow. Rice accounts for 56% of the cropped area, coffee about 30%. The little State (1593 sq mls, 1951 poptn 229,405) is inhabited by a remarkably sturdy peasantry, with their own language (Kodalu): isolated, perhaps fortunately, from the main currents of Indian life, they half-cultivate half-gather cardamoms, collect wax and honey, and hunt, to supplement the product of their paddy-fields: it is typical that even the backbreaking labour of transplanting paddy seedlings ends in a race.[3] The Wynaad Plateau links Coorg with the great boss of the Nilgiris; the tea and coffee plantations of the plateaus extend down the slopes into Malabar, where Mangalore and Calicut are the main outlets.

The Southern Blocks

T

On either side the Palghat Gap is dominated by the highest mountains of the Peninsula, Nilgiris to the N and the Anaimalai-Palni-Cardamoms

[3] For a full and interesting, if disjointed, account of Coorg see L. A. Krishna Iyer, "Coorg Ethnology" (*JGJ* XXII (1947), 157–225).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

aim the well-being of the village. Both these cults emphasize for an individual his membership of a particular social group, the joint family in the one instance and the village community in the other. 621 794

Three other features of social structure have to be considered in connexion with the village cult. In the first place, though the whole village community takes part in the ceremonies, different caste groups have different parts to play and are thus differentiated. Some, for example, take part in the animal sacrifice, while others have nothing to do with it. Thus a caste group within the village is able, within the cult, to establish its own unity and its separation from other groups. This is a significant feature of the caste structure of the village. [564]

In the second place, though each village community has its own unity as exhibited in the cult performances, there is co-operation between different villages, and members of one may take part in the ceremonies of another. Thus the Coorg villages are groups within a single Coorg religious community. It is therefore not only the solidarity of the village that is exhibited in the village cult but also the religious solidarity and unity of the people of Coorg. [49]

Thirdly, there is the fact that the local deities of the villages have been assimilated to the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as when a particular local deity is identified with Shiva or Pārvati. In this way the Coorg religious community has become incorporated as a part of that wider Hindu religious community. The incorporation, however, is only partial. In an orthodox Hindu cult the temple should be served by a Brahmin. Orthodox Hindu deities are vegetarian and dislike alcohol. But some of the Coorg village-deities demand the blood and flesh of animals and offerings of toddy. What Dr. Srinivas calls the process of Sanskritization of the Coorg village cults is therefore very far from being complete. There are very important remains of paganism. This need not surprise us when we remember the many survivals of local paganism in the Christian countries. What is significant is that in his participation in the worship of the village-deities the Coorg individual is able to think of himself as a member of the widespread Hindu religious community. 621 794 776

The individual in Coorg belongs to a particular joint-family, and to a particular village, but in addition he belongs by birth to a particular social group of the kind to which we apply the name 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 'caste'. There are some thousands of such groups in India as a whole. A caste is in its essence a religious group, membership of which entails certain ritual observances. The rules of caste behaviour are rules of religion.

The caste system of India presents a kind of social structure that is of special interest to comparative sociology. There are two major features. The first of these is what we may call 'separatism'. There are important rules which limit the social contact of members of different castes. The rule of endogamy prohibits marriage between members of different castes or sub-castes. There are caste rules as to the persons with whom one may partake of a meal, or from whose hands one may accept food or drink. The second important feature is that there is religious or ritual inequality of castes. Any man born as a Brahmin is holy; he might therefore become a priest and perform the priestly functions even if in actuality he becomes a cook or a water-carrier. At the other, lower, end of the scale are the people now called 'Untouchable'—leather-workers, sweepers, and so on, who are by birth 'unclean' or 'polluted' and with whom contact produces pollution in the members of superior castes. The inequality between persons that is an essential feature of the caste system is a religious or ritual inequality. The caste structure is one of a system of rigid partitions dividing caste from caste. At the same time the totality of all the various separate castes constitutes a single religious community the unity of which is provided by Hinduism as a system of ritual and belief. The social separation of caste from caste is something very different from the social separation of Hindus and Muslims.

114 In connexion with the study of the inter-relations of religion and
182 social structure, therefore, the material presented by Dr. Srinivas is of very special interest and value. To define the position of an individual Coorg in the total structural system of the society in which he lives we have, in the first place, to consider him as a member of a particular joint-family (*okka*). To this there corresponds, in the field of religious behaviour, his participation in the domestic cult. This cult, with respect to its most general features, may be compared with domestic cults of the kind usually referred to as 'ancestor worship' which are found in many other peoples.

The Coorg individual is also a member of a village community, which is itself part of the Coorg local community, and so part of the wide Hindu community. Religious behaviour in this connexion

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

567 The slave was a member of the master's household and a proverb compares him to one's eldest son. The master had to provide funds for the slave's wedding and have him looked after during illness and old age. On his side the slave was required to perform [702] every type of service. He was also liable to be called upon to bear arms in times of war.

The remedy at the disposal of the slave against harsh treatment was running away either to a different part of Coorg, or to cross the border into a neighbouring country. There was, of course, the risk of being pursued, but it is presumed that the slave took this extreme step only when harsh treatment made his position intolerable. Between the farmers of Kiggaṭnāḍ in the extreme south and those in Wynāḍ, however, there was an agreement by which neither followed up absconding slaves who had crossed the frontier. This usually worked in favour of Coorg, where wages were higher than in Wynāḍ, though work was correspondingly heavier. The slaves in Kiggaṭnād and Wynāḍ regularly crossed the frontier once every few years and they had masters on either side. It was very probable that these slaves belonged to one of the several tribes inhabiting the mountains of Wynāḍ, like the Yerava, Beṭṭa Kuruba, Jēnu Kuruba, and so on. They had the reputation of being absconders and thieves and idlers in comparison with Poleyas from the Kannaḍa country. Yeravas and Kurubas from Wynāḍ fetched a lower price than Poleyas in the market. In any case the price of a slave never exceeded Rs13 (about £1).

564 Slavery had a caste component. The masters invariably belonged 567 to the higher castes while the slaves belonged to very low castes. In Coorg the masters generally belonged to castes like Coorgs, Tuḷu Gauḍas, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Airis (smiths) while the slaves came from Untouchable castes like Poleyas, Pāleyas, and Mādigas, and tribes like Yeravas, Aḍiyas, Kuḍiyas, and Beṭṭa Kurubas, and Jēnu Kurubas. It is probable that very poor members of the high castes and castes just above the Untouchables, like the Mēdas (makers of basketry work), hired themselves out as agricultural labourers.

It has already been said that a large body of slaves worked on 648 the farms of the Rājas. In 1834 when the British annexed Coorg 567 there were twenty such farms producing nearly 47,000 *bhaṭṭis* of rice with about 1,757 (according to the highest estimate) slaves working on them. The British, who wanted to abolish slavery,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5
INDIA AW1

[p. 24]

II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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THE existence of subdivisions among Coorgs does not prevent them from regarding themselves, and from being regarded by others, as a single group. Coorgs consider themselves to be Kshatriyas, who constitute the caste of rulers and soldiers in the traditional hierarchy, and rank next only to Brahmins, who are priests and scholars. It is necessary to give here a very brief and general account of the caste system in order to make clear the implications of the Coorg claim to be Kshatriyas.

I
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Caste is an institution of great complexity. It has its roots deep in history, and even today it governs the lives of 300 million Hindus in several important respects. It is popularly understood as the division of society into a fivefold hierarchy with the Brahmins at the head, followed in order by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or traders, Shūdras or servants and labourers, and, lastly, the Untouchables. The first three castes are called 'twice-born' (*dvija*) as they alone are entitled to undergo the ceremony of *upanayana* which constitutes spiritual rebirth. Only the twice-born castes are entitled to study the Vēdas and to the performance of Vēdic ritual on certain occasions. Caste in the above sense is referred to as *varṇa* and has an All-India application.

The idea of caste as the fivefold division of society represents a gross over-simplification of facts. The real unit of the caste system is not one of the five *varṇas*, but *jāti*, which is a very small endogamous group practising a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual, and juridical autonomy. Every *jāti*, or the members of a *jāti* in a particular village or a group of neighbouring villages, constitutes a caste court which punishes caste offences.

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There are innumerable *jātis*. Professor Ghurye calculates that there are 2,000 sub-castes (*jātis*) in each linguistic area.[1] This should give some idea of the total number of endogamous sub-castes in India as a whole. The importance of the *varṇa*-system

[1] *Caste and Race in India*, London, 1932, p. 27.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5
India AW1

common to a number of castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy. For instance, the members of a village community, whatever their caste, have certain interests in common. Similarly, people speaking the same language have a certain solidarity. The Brahmin and the Untouchable speaking the same language have certain cultural forms in common, even though they belong to the extremes of the hierarchy. The structural situation everywhere in India is subject to the pulls exerted by these opposed types of solidarity.

In any large geographical area in India it is usual to find a minority of sub-castes who speak a language different from the one which is locally dominant. Sometimes two or three such minor languages are found in a single area. Migrations from one part of India to another have been extremely common in the past, and this has been specially so within each of the two major geographical areas of India, continental and peninsular India. The immigrant castes usually claim a higher place in the local caste structure than is conceded by the others.

The speakers of the same language, whatever their caste, possess certain cultural forms in common, and when, in the same geographical area, there are castes speaking different languages, each becomes aware of the cultural forms which mark it off from others.

It will be seen that any geographical area in India exhibits enormous structural and cultural complexity. In a tiny province like Coorg, speakers of every Dravidian language, and of Konkaṇi, Marāṭhi, and Hindusthāni, are found.

III

Coorgs constituted the aristocracy under the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, holding important positions in the administration and very nearly monopolizing the army. All the other castes in Coorg, excluding the Brahmin, Kōmṭi (Telugu-speaking trading caste of south India), and Lingāyaṭ acknowledged their dominance by taking over their customs and manners, and in some cases even their speech. It has already been mentioned that high castes like Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaligas and Tuḷu-speaking Gauḍas, both peasants, in north Coorg tried to pass off for Coorgs. In the recent past a few of them, those with a little money, married Coorgs, and this is probably the reason why we find in the north one branch of

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a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

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723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

•564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

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with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves. 564 173

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1] 564 792

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades. 564 [178]

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were 564 174

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 20–21.

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exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

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Coorgs and other Coorgs were not very frequent. Saṇṇa Coorgs looked down upon Boḍḍu Coorgs whose customs and manners were somewhat different from their own: differences between cognate groups as to minute points of custom and ritual frequently come to stand for the identity of each of them as against the others. This is a common feature of caste.

A point which needs stressing because it is not very typical of the caste system is the comparative ease with which Coorgs admitted into their fold non-Coorgs belonging to fairly high castes. Moegling wrote in 1855, 'strangers are received among them and naturalised without difficulty, and such as have been excommunicated are received without much ado'.[1] Richter, writing sixteen years later, says that 'even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggaṭnāḍ, who ten years ago were, by the Head Sheristedar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan [caste] by the rest of the people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time. . . .'[2] Formerly some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Tuḷu Gauḍas were received into the Coorg fold. The complete absorption of recruits from other castes naturally took some time, and till it was accomplished the conservative Coorg families did not freely intermarry with the new recruits. Even now one hears a Coorg elder saying, 'such-and-such a family are really Kannaḍa Okkaligas who called themselves Coorgs 50 or 60 years ago. Until recently Coorgs would think twice before inter-marrying with them.'

IV

There are more than forty main castes and tribes in Coorg, but Coorgs come into intimate contact with only a few of them. A very brief account of their relations with each of these castes will now be given. It is important to add that the duties mentioned against each caste might frequently be performed by similar castes of equivalent status: for instance, it might be either a Tuḷu Brahmin or Malabar Brahmin who performs the priestly duties at a village temple, and the Tuḷu Brahmin is again split up into Shivaḷḷi and

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 55. [2] *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 231–2.

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. [778] The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. [788] Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1] 564 793

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāli were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs. [154]

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2] 793 [178]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation: 787 793

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today. 791 [564] 787

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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791 compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages
787 are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the
[782] patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

792 The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from
[564] Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western
[769] world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

322 Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and
325 goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and
328 carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

328 The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-
304

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

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emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. 564 The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
243 778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
764 778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kĕkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
764 775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[715] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[514] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity. 823 776

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east. [342]

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun. [782] [243]

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death. [764]

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities. [184]

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here. 796 305 292

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath. [584] [783]

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni maṇḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi 796
temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round 621
the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for [437]
his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by 796
Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by 564
Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual [793]
services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins [437]
a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

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796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical [564] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice. [534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chandés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and 787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

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769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
584 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
584 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

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[p. 212]

VII

HINDUISM

I

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ATTEMPTS to define an enormously complex and amorphous phenomenon like Hinduism have usually ended in failure. No definition will be attempted here, but instead some important characteristics will be mentioned.

Hinduism has a long history, in the course of which it has spread over the whole of India. Buddhism, in origin a Hindu schism, is now the religion of a great part of Asia.

The structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system which occasionally even survives conversion to Christianity or Islam. The hierarchical system, with the Brahmin and Untouchable at either end, represents a fusion of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic systems of ritual and beliefs. Each caste has both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic ritual and beliefs, but the proportions in which the two are found together vary from caste to caste, and also from region to region. It is now possible to understand how Hinduism is able to include within itself the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and cults of ancestors and village-deities, as well as the profound philosophy of the Upanishads and Vēdānta, and the mysticism of the Bhakti Schools. Reformist sects like the Jains and Lingāyaṭs ended by becoming castes which resulted in walls being built round them, while, at the same time, they remained within the fold of Hinduism. The caste system has enabled a vast number of tiny groups with distinct cultures, occupations, and systems of belief to live side by side, the autonomy of each being respected while at the same time co-operation was ensured between them. But in the history of India the idea of hierarchy has occasionally been questioned, and unsuccessful attempts have been made to overthrow the caste system. More frequent, however, has been the effort of lowly placed groups to raise their status as a group by Sanskritizing their ritual and belief.

Rites and beliefs have been constantly undergoing a process of Sanskritization. This is going on both inside and outside Hinduism. The rites and beliefs of the castes occupying the lower rungs

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of the caste-ladder as well as the rites and beliefs of outlying communities hidden away in the forest-clothed mountains of India have been subjected to Sanskritization. The presence of completely Sanskritized worship of rivers, trees, and mountains in Hinduism, and their incorporation in the vast mythology of Hinduism, make easier the assimilation of the ritual and beliefs of the lower castes and of communities remaining outside Hinduism.

Hinduism is not static. Like every living religion it has continually reacted to the political and social forces of the time, both influencing them and being influenced by them. In the last hundred years it has produced reformist movements like the Brahmo Samāj, Ayra Samāj, and the Rāmakrishṇa Mission. Mahātma Gāndhi himself in his fight against Untouchability and in the many other reforms he advocated provides us with an instance of the dynamic nature of Hinduism.

While the intellectual has all along concentrated on the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gīta, and the Philosophical Systems, to the ordinary Hindu the innumerable feasts, fasts, *vratas* (rites and austerities performed to achieve certain ends), pilgrimages, and occasional visits to nearby temples constitute the stuff of religious life. The *purāṇas* (stories illustrating the works and powers of the gods), *itihāsas* (consisting of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata), and stories about local saints and the songs sung by them, all have a conspicuous place in day-to-day living.

II

The concept of 'spread' has been used throughout this book: Hinduism has been split up, for purposes of analysis, into 'All-India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and finally purely 'Local Hinduism'. All-India Hinduism is Hinduism with an All-India spread, and this is chiefly Sanskritic in character. Peninsular Hinduism spreads over the entire peninsular part of India, while Regional Hinduism has a more restricted spread. A 'Region' has to be defined in every case, and in this book Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg Proper may be said to constitute a Region. Local Hinduism is Hinduism with its spread confined to Coorg Proper, or even a smaller area within it. In a very broad sense it is true that as the area of spread decreases, the number of ritual and cultural forms shared in common

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779 171 ties. The identification of Subramaṇya with cobras in Coorg, and in the Tuḷu, Telugu, and Kannaḍa countries is a case in point. Subramaṇya or Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva, is a Sanskritic deity having an All-India spread. Cobras are reverenced throughout India by Hindus and their worship takes different forms in different parts of the country. But the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya is confined to certain areas in peninsular India, and such an identification marks them off from other areas. At the same time such an identification draws the Regional phenomenon into the All-India complex.

A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking. All the castes in such an area possess in common certain cultural and ritual forms. This type of 'spread' has been called 'vertical spread'.

The upper castes in every part of India have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common, and this has been called 'horizontal spread'. Thus a Brahmin in Coorg will have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common with a Brahmin in Kashmir.

Every caste in practically every linguistic area in India shares in both horizontal and vertical spreads. Generally speaking, the higher castes have more of the former than the lower, and the lower castes share more of the latter than the upper castes.

The systematic reconstruction of Indian history which has taken place in the last seventy years, the all-round improvement in communications, newspapers, radio, films, and books have all contributed to greater and greater Sanskritization of Hinduism. The various reformist movements in Hinduism, while conducting a propaganda for the removal of what they considered to be 'defects' in Hinduism, tended to stress the value of Sanskritic Hinduism. The greatness of Sanskrit literature and the vitality of Indian philosophical thought in Sanskrit have also contributed to the increasing importance of Sanskritic Hinduism.

III

● 564 The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste. The exact position which such a group occupies in the hierarchy might be a matter of dispute, but this is not important. Once the popular idea of caste as a rigid, five-fold hierarchy is given up and it is thought of as

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consisting of innumerable groups, each of which has a certain amount of cultural and ritual autonomy, then it is realized that any attempt to fit them into a hierarchy results in disputes as to relative status. When it is further remembered that the caste system includes sects which began originally by rejecting the idea of hierarchy, but which subsequently became castes, it is seen that disputes as to relative status are inevitable.

In south India disputes as to relative status are a feature specially of castes of the middle region. The Brahmins and Untouchables are known to belong to either extreme, though even here the presence of some subdivisions of Brahmins who are said to be inferior to practically every other caste complicates matters. The group claiming to be Kshatriya might be a local peasant or artisan caste which has acquired political power. Sometimes it might even be an outlying group or tribe. This gives rise to disputes. There are always people who point out that a particular ruling family which has been governing a certain part of India for several centuries are not Kshatriyas but belong to a low caste. Similarly the claims of local trading castes to be called Vaishyas are frequently questioned by others.

The fivefold system does not do justice to the complexity of the caste system as it exists, but it makes intelligible the castes of various parts of India by reference to an All-India framework.

Coorgs are a handsome, well-to-do, and powerful people with a martial tradition behind them, and it is quite natural for them to claim to be Kshatriyas. It may be recalled here that members of rich and influential Coorg *okkas* occasionally married relatives of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas. The Lingāyaṭs of the Kannaḍa country occupy a high position in the caste hierarchy, and they are also very strict vegetarians and teetotallers. The fact that relatives of the Rajās married Coorgs over 130 years ago is testimony to the high position of Coorgs in the caste hierarchy and to their physical and mental qualities.

The Kāvēri Myth makes out Coorgs to be Ugras, the offspring of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. Certain sins committed by the prince in a previous existence prevented him from having children by a wife of his own caste, and he had to take a Shūdra wife for children to continue his line.

Why does the Kāvēri Myth make out Coorgs to be Ugras and not Kshatriyas? It is probably due to the fact that the Brahminical

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary, plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas. In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas* which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-
177 Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

779 The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-
177 growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains,
564 and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots
776 everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly
779 and in a thoroughgoing manner.
177 The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in ma:vn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kings of Jumcha and Coorg were of the same race. It is also observed that the aborigines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorg.

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173

Population

The population of Coorg is composed of the following tribes and castes:—

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564

1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorg
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heggade
9. Vokkaliga

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have not been processed]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues. 101

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men 142 [302] [554]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pámi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[476] the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [197] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 174 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, 167 and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as
648 Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by
174 the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute
177 will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic
[578] caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious
[564] Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes
186 could have been formed into an almost homogenous body,
175 I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible
[628] amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a com-
[648] paratively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

797 Meanwhile two more Coorg families joined him and Dr. Moegling, notwithstanding repeated attacks of jungle fever, remained at his post and continued to labour assiduously, preaching on market-days at Vírájpet and Mercara, visiting the scenes of the Coorg annual festivals and engaging in literary labours for the Government and the Bible Society. He was treated with great kindness and encouragement by the English Officials and by the other residents in Mercara. In 1856 he married the widow of a brother-missionary, who was herself practised in all the branches of mission work including translation into Canarese, and she proved to him in all his various labours a true and worthy helpmate.

[564] In the same year a number of families, comprising 130 souls, of the Holeyas or agricultural slave-caste (vide p. 112), who had assisted in building the Almanda church, applied for instruction. They were received and located in Ammatnád on a waste farm, which was taken from Government for the purpose, where they might maintain themselves by its cultivation under the direction of Stephanas. The farm was held by Dr. Moegling's spiritual son, the Rev. A. Kaundinya, one of the first Brahmin converts of Mangalore, who cheerfully undertook the risk and responsibility. The new settlement was named Anandapur (city of joy) and a simple residence and chapel were erected. In 1858, the departure one by one of the tried friends who had known the work from its beginning, and the altered circumstances of India after the Mutiny, induced Dr. Moegling to seek substantial connexion with the Church Missionary Society and he went to England and offered himself and the Mission to their acceptance. He was very kindly received by the Committee, but, after full deliberation, they considered it better, that he should make another effort to continue attached to Basel and, meantime, they gave a liberal grant of 500 £ to his work. Encouraged with this help, he returned to Coorg in January 1859 after

113, 564 Coorg AW5

[For information on the castes of Coorg see 33: Bhattacharya, AW1 India, category 116, p. 105.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded
[464] with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
● 565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Marattiés, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 Panchâyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Deván's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Panchâyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default
681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads.
565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Devána, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájahs, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the
692 district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated
684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication
682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had
684 been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable*
687 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital
696 punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 ~~423~~ 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: This should read "remarkable neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be
423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
●565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660¼, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Baríké* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 duced were few and far between. The authority of village elders
631 and of the hereditary village headman was recognized and the established administrative institutions were continued.

This phase, however, ended soon after 1858 when the administration of India was taken over by the British Government from the East India Company. Coorg then became part of the territories administered directly by the British in India and of the elaborate administrative and judicial machinery stretching over the whole of
[671] India. Numerous Acts like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Indian Stamp Act applied to every part of India including Coorg.

Under the British, Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's Province, a position which continues even today. Until 1942 the British Resident in Mysore State was also the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Coorg was governed from Bangalore, the headquarters of the Resident. In 1942, the two offices of Resident of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg were separated and a distinguished Coorg, Dewan Bahadur Kēṭōḷira Chengappa was appointed Chief Commissioner. Below the Chief Commissioner was the Superintendent who lived in Coorg. A legislative council consisting of twenty members (fifteen elected and five nominated), presided over by the Chief Commissioner, was constituted in 1924. The council had the right to vote on the budget, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions.

A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN COORG

●567

Slavery was widely prevalent in pre-British Coorg. The slaves and agricultural labourers did most of the actual work of the farm under the supervision of their masters who held the land from the state on one of the several forms of tenure prevalent in Coorg. The number of slaves in 1834, when the British annexed Coorg, was estimated at 6,089, but we do not know whether this included the slaves on the Rāja's farms (or *paṇyas*), who were variously estimated at 1,757, 1,720, 1,500, and 1,233.

Slaves were referred to as *jammada āḷu* (or '*jamma* servants'),[1] and there were two classes of slaves, one praedial, called *bhūmi jammada āḷu* (*bhūmi* = land), and the other personal, called *okkalu*

[1] It probably meant that they were slaves of the man holding land on *jamma* tenure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

jammada āḷu (*okkalu* = farm, house, family). The former could not be sold apart from the land on which they worked, and when land was sold, they went with it automatically. The personal slaves, on the other hand, could be sold or mortgaged, and had to move with the masters wherever the latter went. They were, in fact, the movable property of the masters. 567

The proprietors of the *okkalu jammada āḷu* in Coorg have the power of selling them [the slaves], but not to a person who will carry them out of the country, unless the slaves themselves consent. The rights of slaves consist in receiving subsistence and protection for themselves and their families from their masters, who are bound to observe the custom of the country with respect to the quantity of food and clothing given to them. Three seers of rice for a male slave, two for a female, and one and a half to a boy or girl, are given by their master, independently of salt and curry stuff which are supplied by them, sometimes monthly, and at other times daily. The slaves are likewise entitled to a load of grain once a year, at the time when the crops are reaped. This quantity is called *horay*, which varies in different *nāḍs*. The slaves reside in houses provided for them by their masters in the small village, and a piece of land is appropriated to their use in which they usually grow vegetables or tobacco. Besides the subsistence given to the slaves, and the allowance above-mentioned at the time of the harvest, they are supplied by their masters with clothing twice a year, first, when the seed is sown, and secondly, when the crops are reaped.[1]

In regard to the treatment of slaves by their masters, it is said that the cultivators in Coorg, activated by self-interest, if not a better motive, pay much attention to their comfort. Aware as they are that any act of severity on their part will induce their slaves to abscond, a circumstance which would subject them to much trouble and inconvenience, they protect and treat them with kindness as forming a part of their family. The proprietors in Coorg possess no power to inflict severe punishment upon their slaves but they have authority to chastise them moderately for any faults they may commit. . . . The wealth of a cultivator is generally estimated by the number of his slaves, as in proportion to the number he has lands under cultivation. . . .[2]

Certain incidents described in Coorg folklore make it clear that frequently great affection prevailed between master and slave.

[1] 'Memorandum respecting the condition of the slaves in Coorg, transmitted with Col. Fraser's letter to Mr. Secretary Macnaughten, dated 14th July, 1834', in the volume of appendixes giving the evidence on the subject of slavery, annexed to the *Report of the Indian Law Commission*, 1 February 1839, pp. 545–6.

[2] Op. cit., p. 546.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

567 The slave was a member of the master's household and a proverb compares him to one's eldest son. The master had to provide funds for the slave's wedding and have him looked after during illness and old age. On his side the slave was required to perform [702] every type of service. He was also liable to be called upon to bear arms in times of war.

The remedy at the disposal of the slave against harsh treatment was running away either to a different part of Coorg, or to cross the border into a neighbouring country. There was, of course, the risk of being pursued, but it is presumed that the slave took this extreme step only when harsh treatment made his position intolerable. Between the farmers of Kiggaṭnāḍ in the extreme south and those in Wynāḍ, however, there was an agreement by which neither followed up absconding slaves who had crossed the frontier. This usually worked in favour of Coorg, where wages were higher than in Wynāḍ, though work was correspondingly heavier. The slaves in Kiggaṭnād and Wynāḍ regularly crossed the frontier once every few years and they had masters on either side. It was very probable that these slaves belonged to one of the several tribes inhabiting the mountains of Wynāḍ, like the Yerava, Beṭṭa Kuruba, Jēnu Kuruba, and so on. They had the reputation of being absconders and thieves and idlers in comparison with Poleyas from the Kannaḍa country. Yeravas and Kurubas from Wynāḍ fetched a lower price than Poleyas in the market. In any case the price of a slave never exceeded Rs13 (about £1).

564 Slavery had a caste component. The masters invariably belonged 567 to the higher castes while the slaves belonged to very low castes. In Coorg the masters generally belonged to castes like Coorgs, Tuḷu Gauḍas, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Airis (smiths) while the slaves came from Untouchable castes like Poleyas, Pāleyas, and Mādigas, and tribes like Yeravas, Aḍiyas, Kuḍiyas, and Beṭṭa Kurubas, and Jēnu Kurubas. It is probable that very poor members of the high castes and castes just above the Untouchables, like the Mēdas (makers of basketry work), hired themselves out as agricultural labourers.

It has already been said that a large body of slaves worked on 648 the farms of the Rājas. In 1834 when the British annexed Coorg 567 there were twenty such farms producing nearly 47,000 *bhaṭṭis* of rice with about 1,757 (according to the highest estimate) slaves working on them. The British, who wanted to abolish slavery,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

started by freeing the slaves on the royal farms, and this was later extended to include all slaves.

There was a landslide in the general economy of the country when the slaves suddenly left their masters to work on the coffee plantations. The masters then found that they were unable to cultivate all the wet land in their estate, but under the conditions of *jamma* tenure they were required to pay an assessment of five rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land on all wet land irrespective of whether it was under the plough or not. It was then that the government permitted them to sublet not more than a fourth of the wet land.[1]

[1] 'No remission of *jamma*-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the *jamma* ryots [peasants] are allowed to pay Rs 10 per 100 *bhaṭṭis* for the quantity of land which has been cultivated, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole* farm. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house to permit the whole of the *jamma* lands to be sublet on *vāra* tenure [division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord] for periods ranging from one to five years according to the particulars of each case.' Richter, op. cit., pp. 402–3.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Formerly, every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[567] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages [46] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 110]

II. PART

The People of Coorg.

1. COMPOSITION AND DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF COORG.

101 [167] The country of Coorg has for ages been inhabited by various tribes, which, though not all of the same standing, are distinguished from other castes, that have immigrated at more recent periods from the surrounding countries.

[567] [162] The most ancient and important tribes, which for centurics have been in the relation of masters and slaves, are the Coorgs (Kodagas) and the Holeyas, who together form perhaps one-third of the whole population.

Classified according to their languages and relative rank, claimed by, or accorded to them in the present day, the following are the various tribes in Coorg:

563 A. Tribes who speak the peculiar Coorg language.

1. The *Coorgs* and *Amma Coorgs*, about whom more anon.

2. The *Eimbokalu* (contracted from eivattu-vokkalu i. e. 50 farmers). They are cultivators and in their mode of life, in dress, in superstition and festivals conform to the habits of the Coorgs, but the latter do not eat or intermarry with them. In bodily appearance and complexion they are not so well favoured as the Coorgs and are less spirited in manly pursuits. They came from Mysore in a body of 50, to settle down in Coorg, hence their name. In the Rajahs' time they worshipped

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donatiòn of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of
●567 British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question
648 to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by
423 the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then
427 prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-
648 lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

1st to the holder of the farm,
2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,
3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by
423 the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had
427 availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

423 643 648 It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,872¼ buttles of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments. [567]

Waste land, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from 311 651 423

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

must be carried by a member of another *nib* along with that of his own *nib*. It is the *nibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *nib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

59% 672 Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far ● 572 more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village 59% houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the [628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [623]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 622 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 621 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 829 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 [342] The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 572 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

462 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[538] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the
585 huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the
574 guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

621 The members of a village in which a death has occurred are
765 required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning
574 and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

621 Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally
574 dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormé*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

585 On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's
574 house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

birth', and that she was kept in seclusion 'for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family'.[1] Elderly informants deny that she was regarded as unclean, but they do confirm the fact that she was not allowed to see the villagers before a dinner had been given to them.

The bride becomes a member of the groom's *okka* at marriage. The consummation of the marriage in the groom's house on the second night also indicates to her that her future position is that of a mother who contributes children to her husband's *okka*. Marriage in a patrilocal and patrilineal kinship system affects a greater change in the bride's social personality than in the groom's. She is a new person, and this is recognized in her not being allowed to meet the members of her natal village before a dinner has been given them. When there has been a break in the continuity of a relationship, or when a relationship with a new person has to be begun, the best way to do it is with a dinner. Dinner, as we have noted earlier, is an act of solidarity, and the villagers forge their solidarity with the new person, the bride returning to her natal house from the groom's.

XV

All *mangalas* except marriage have either become defunct or so rarely performed that nowadays *mangala* is almost synonymous with marriage. The ritual performed at marriage may be divided into two parts, one part being *mangala*, and the other concerned with the jural aspect of marriage. Only the former part has been analysed in this chapter. By means of this analysis it is hoped to give content to the concept of ritual idiom and to understand the meanings of certain ritual acts which are very common among Coorgs.

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the subject of *mangala* is prepared for *mūrta* by a series of preparatory and purificatory ritual acts such as shaving, bath, and the donning of ritual robes and ornaments. The various occasions on which each one of these preparatory ritual acts is performed have been considered in order to discover their meanings.

Mūrta itself consists of a series of solidarity rites performed on the subject of it by each member of the concerned group. The

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 139.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyë] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays return to the house for further conviviality.

[574] The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time [777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in [614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvē and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:|ia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

174 585 [1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [521] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and [276] servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [411] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger.
554 Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the
588 carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round [825] the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
•[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moon-
[435] light nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 592 562 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appreciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condiments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or níradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use. 252 262 [356]

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara (Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day. 264 262 273 [177]

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social table. [562] [415] [352]

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked 574 •

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

[272] [415] [252] [576]

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

858 [574] 888 576

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
●574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 [178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [187] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 ●574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

585
[539]

Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

shewed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, 175*
by Manton and Jover; fowling-pieces, pistols, &c., then an 643*
air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven P. M., 648*
and torchlight had succeeded the daylight in his courtyard; we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry. His son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir apparent, being about seven or eight years old, dressed in a General's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and the boys with bag wigs and small swords. Ram- [541]
fights, &c. were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearance, led by a dozen men, [231]
with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared, but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this Prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

"I must now describe our own habitation, built on a small 175*
island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry, for the sole 648*
accommodation of Europeans. It is a large square, having 574 ●
a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandah all round it, and four bed-rooms projecting at the angles of the verandah, all on an upper story, the lower rooms serving for the guard, attendants, store-rooms, etc. It stands on a square of seventy feet, the verandah having thirty-eight glass windows, with Venetian blinds outside. The bed-rooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors; every part being neatly

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 ●574 [357] furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs, chandeliers, settees, etc. etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Colonel Ridgway Mealay, and a dozen active servants, who very speedily produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's ware, with every kind of European liquor; and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes good bread!

*175 *643 *648 "After all our exertions of this day, it may readily be supposed we slept soundly; and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes an usual, a custom which I most strenuously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Rájah's stud and elephants; and amongst the latter found a young white one, about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes, and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance. After breakfast, we were astonished by a visit from the Mahá Swámi, in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels; and *certes*, in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us, this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and our shooting apparatus; and, on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Rájah himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck, with a hook in the right hand and a knife in the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. 'Such a man,' thought I, 'at the head of his followers, must be invincible.' So perfectly different from the effeminate grandeur of most eastern

*175 *643 *648 224

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

sport did not commence till eleven A. M., the jungle being amazingly thick and game rather scarce. I fired and wounded an elk, which Meredith killed, and I killed a junglee buckrah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the same colour and size of a deer, having exceedingly short legs, and therefore its swiftness must proceed from the length and strength of its body; it had short branching antlers, and was so extraordinary an animal altogether, that I preserved the head and antlers.....It was the only animal of the kind, I ever saw in my life. A panther was started, but he escaped, from the density of the jungle. We got into our palanquins at sunset, and moving in great state, with every one of our three thousand beaters carrying a lighted fire-stick, arrived at our pavilion at half-past eight P. M., actually illuminating all the country through which we passed. Our total game killed this day was one wild hog, seven elks, and one junglee buckrah. It matters not to what distance we ramble, the Rájah's attention and kindness extend all over his dominions. We never sit down to a meal, but in pops a large basket of fruit, or some sweetmeats from his own table, and his people are the most orderly, obliging, willing creatures I have ever met in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward, which in general will go a great way with the natives of India; but these people reject, with apparent horror, every proffered present, even when alone. There is certainly something very uncommon, indeed unfathomable, in this.

175* 648* [643]* [574] ● [431]

*On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way to Mercara, but had no sport, killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile occasionally, is marked out into a kind of fortification; having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman,

[712]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [77] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [576]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

142
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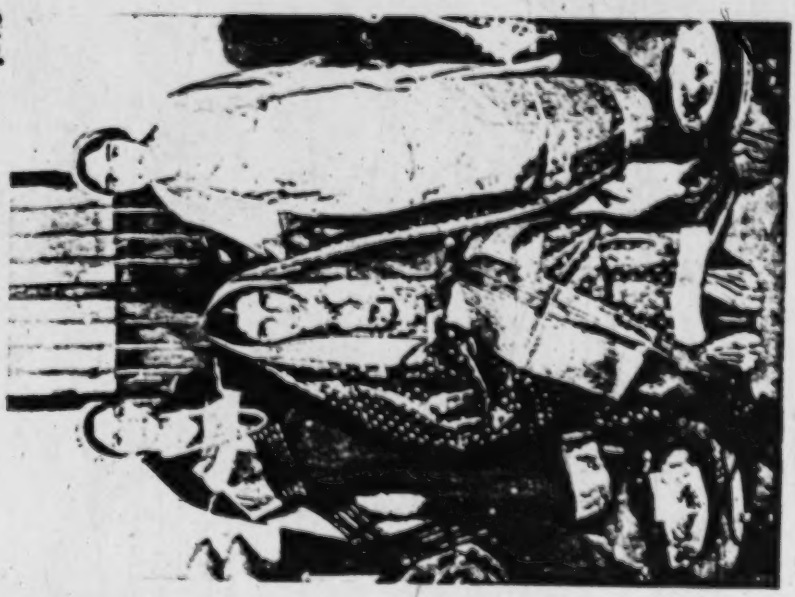

A BRIDE

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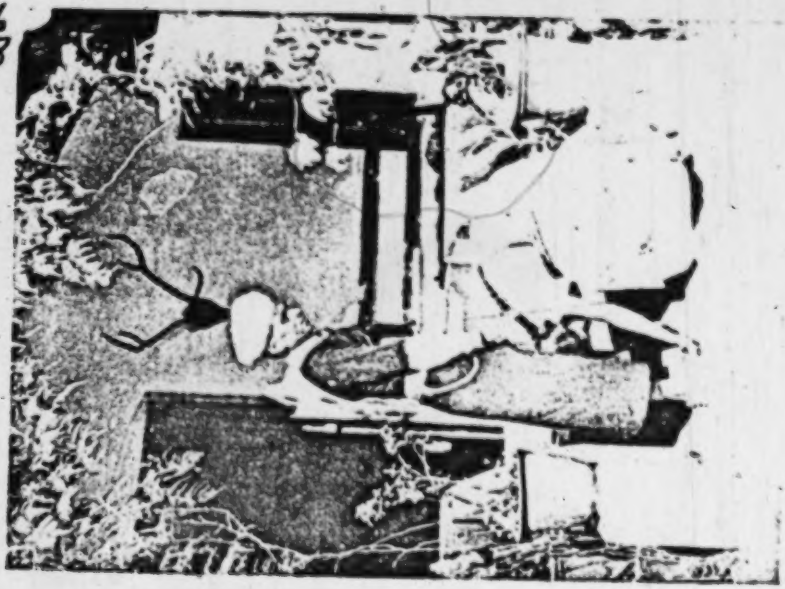

A GIRL SALUTES HER FATHER

[facing p. 48]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 70]

III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

681 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *hemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man
and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602]
and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with
602 turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a
824 little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually
[576] accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

[243] It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

585 The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyē] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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462 brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean [521] the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some [276] are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

574 The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is [576] by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

291 The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. [411] On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others. 888 576

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them. 147 [165]

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dreaded for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters. 648 157 [712] 224 157

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily ascribed to the curses and witchcraft of enemies. 771 [212] [753] [754]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

others, of equal value, connected with Panje, Belláre and the Bantwál river, in the province of Canara, be ceded to him.

"Under this arrangement, he will have nearly 24,000 canterai pagodas per annum, which is about the value of the sum which the Company have annually saved by his frobearing to demand payment of the money due to him: he will have two districts in Canara to which he conceived he had a claim and certain other districts in the same province, connecting him with the Bantwál river, of the same value with districts in Mysore, which he is desirous to possess, but which, under existing circumstances, it is not possible to grant him."

Vírarája did not consider himself well treated and was mortified by the withdrawal of the Resident, Capt. Mahoney, and the request addressed to him, that he should for the future put himself in correspondence with Col. Close, the Resident at Seringapatam, who does not seem to have ingratiated himself with the Rájah, as may be seen from the following letters:

Seringapatam, 16th November 1799.

Col. WARREN CLOSE

To

THE RÁJAH OF COORG.

"Lord Mornington has transferred me to Seringapatam as Commissioner of Mysore, of which *you** may be aware. A report reaches me from the Manjerabad frontier, that five days after the fall of Seringapatam your people have made a predatory incursion into the Maharájadurga district and plundered of 17 villages women and children, cows and calves, gold and silver, rice and seed grain, and carried the spoil beyond the frontier. I enclose a list of the plundered articles.

[576]

* The word used for "you" in the original, is the uncourteous Canarese form, in which no person of rank is addressed. This was very likely intentionally done by the Brahmun writer, but unknown to Col. Close.

[Errata: This should read "forbearing." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E=5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[538] *nāḍs, hundred customs*', *testifies to the* great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
● [578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

63A When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that *are not destructive* of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *sib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *sib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house
425 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal
177 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern-
434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the
421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the
596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un-
[556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The [578] increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. Le HARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg woman is rarely idle, her busy hands find always 592
some work to do, and no wonder, if we consider the life and 562
bustle of a Coorg house with its 40, 60, or 80 and more inmates. Two or three generations, grandfather and grandmother, their sons and daughters-in-law and the children of these families all live and mess together. The labourers also belong to the household and look up to the mistress for food and orders. The fattening of the pigs, the milking of the cows, the water supply for the house, these and many other cares are under the immediate supervision of the mistress. Where [578] peace and harmony exist, a Coorg house presents a patriarchal life indeed, but the idyllic picture is too often marred by discord occasioned by the harsh régime of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heartburnings of married brothers, or the more material questions of family income and individual claims. The master or yejamána, who is always the senior male member of the house, has no easy position, especially in our days, when a tendency to break up these large houses clearly manifests itself. But Coorg women of a commanding spirit and superior character are often heard of who, like Abigail of old, with tact and wisdom subdue the unruly elements of this bustling human beehive and make the residents subservient to the common weal and honour of the family. Here is a story to the purpose:—"Six generations 592
ago, there was a woman called Doddi Auwa[1]—the great lady— 562
who lived at Almanda house, in the village of Arméri, which 173
belongs to Beppunádu. She was the mistress of the Almanda property, being the only child of rich parents. She was a woman of extraordinary size and strength of body. Nor was she less distinguished by qualities of mind and character. Throughout the country she was known as the wisest, the richest, the strongest of Coorg women. Independent owner of a Coorg estate, she was at liberty to choose a husband for herself. Her choice fell upon a man of the same clan. Utta-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodda-Auva." see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 693
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
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That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shiváchárics. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received
by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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643 648 174 177 [578] [564]

ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648]

To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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with a sum of Rs. 300, the interest of which goes towards the teacher's pay. The school is now under Government management and incorporated with the Anglo-Vernacular School. 797 648 [871]

In the year 1834 the Basel Missionary Society commenced operations on the western coast, in the neighbourhood of Coorg, and extended their stations to the north and south. Mercara and Vírájpet were now and then visited; but no proposal was made to the Committee to occupy Coorg. Thus the country remained nearly twenty years under British rule without the establishment of a Mission, until Dr. Moegling in 1852 was in an unforeseen and singular manner led to commence the long delayed work.

Being on the point of returning to Germany to recruit his shattered health, he was visited by a Coorg man, disguised as a Sanyási, who applied for instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was an intelligent and astute Coorg and the story of his life highly interesting. Having been baptized on the 6th January 1853, Stephanas Someyah of Almanda in Beppunád, returned unexpected and unnoticed to his house. His wife received him with great joy and declared that she would live and die with him. On the following day Stephanas took formal possession of his house, and Dr. Moegling, who had accompanied him, resolved on standing by the family and becoming security to the creditors, who speedily assembled for the liquidation of the debts of the convert. Two days afterwards his neighbours and relatives drove him and his family out of their house at night and forced them to take refuge with the missionary at Vírájpet. The Superintendent enquired into the case and the Chief Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, to whom the matter was referred gave the following decision:— 797 578

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To

THE SUPERINTENDENT

of Coorg.

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Sir,

The Commissioner, having had under consideration your various communications regarding the reception on his return to Coorg of one, Somiah who has left his caste, I have the honor, by his advice to convey to you his instructions as to the manner in which this and similar cases should be dealt with.

In the first place it seems to be admitted on all hands, that but for the fact of his having left his caste, Somiah, as the rightful head by inheritance of his branch of his family, had nothing to do but to return to Coorg and take quiet possession of his house and lands. There would have been no aggrieved party in this case, and it requires to be shown, that there is an aggrieved party in the case as it really happened.

If it be true, as stated in the papers under notice, and the Commissioner sees no reason to doubt that it is so, that several instances exist of individuals having become outcasts from their own religion and even converts to Mahomedanism and yet been allowed to remain in quiet possession of their estates; it is clear that degradation from caste for misconduct or on voluntary change of faith is not of itself regarded in Coorg as involving the deprivation of hereditary or self-acquired property. It is therefore evident in the present instance, that neither on national nor on caste grounds could there have been an aggrieved party, unless perhaps in the event of his wife and children and the other inmates of the house which he came to occupy, having felt themselves polluted by his neighbourhood. So far, however, is this from being the case, that it appears, that one and all of them preferred being turned out in his company in the middle of the night, to remaining under shelter of the roof without him; and it is moreover subsequently reported, that the wife and children lost no time in following his example and making a public renunciation of the faith in which they had been brought up.

Under these circumstances the Commissioner must regard the act of those people who violently ejected him from the house, of which he had been in quiet possession for nearly three days, as a gross and flagrant insult to the Government, only to be excused by their ignorance and their having been led away to a certain extent by the evil example of their Subaddar Appachoo. Of the conduct of Appachoo himself, there can be but one opinion, but the Commissioner is not unwilling to overlook for once the error of an old and able

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servant of the Government and trusts, that Appachoo will justify his good opinion of him by the cheerful alacrity with which he will replace Somiah in possession of the house and lands of which he was so illegally and violently deprived.

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You will be good enough, carefully to explain the whole of the foregoing to all the parties concerned and at the same time inform them, that the civil courts are open to them, should they still consider that there are any legal grounds for depriving this convert of his inheritance."

&c. &c. &c.

The Coorg-family returned to their home in June; Dr. Moegling remained in their neighbourhood during the monsoon. With the beginning of the cold season he made preparations for building a little church and a dwelling-house on a piece of ground given by Stephanas to the Mission and the work of preaching at the principal market-places was commenced. Having taken all these steps without the Society's sanction, the founder of the Mission had to bear all the burden of its support and arrangement as well as the evangelistic labour for six long years. Strong in faith, however, he cheerfully and regardless of his prostrate health, devoted himself to his Master's work who did not forsake him in his daily wants. The publication of the "Coorg Memoirs" and the periodical reports of his work in the "Madras Christian Herald" greatly helped to interest the South-Indian public in his Mission.

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A new Mission seldom thrives well under regulations unadapted to its peculiar circumstances and requirements and Dr. Moegling had the courage to trust, that he might be able unembarrassed to labour on, and his experience was, that he could gratefully and rejoicingly say, that no man should be discouraged by mere want of money from doing his duty! Whilst standing alone with his Mission, he still continued in connexion with the Basel Committee in everything except financial support and obedience to the rules of their conference as applied to the older stations.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[589] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
596 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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594 lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might
596 later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play
[53] leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors
589 and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires
[764] in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's
[770] corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

[769] During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

581 Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And
523 only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

593 The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of
783 the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

593 Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together
585 for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins 589
committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head 769
was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman [778]
is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is 589
similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married 177
woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. 581 ●
Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of 842
ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour. 554

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also 554
skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is 181
martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken 177
over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the [796]
possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very 181
significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the 796
most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very 181
arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men 796
and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. 411
The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'katti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

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carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

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exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

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Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

602 606 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the form er's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

606 It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

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brother (classificatory); the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided.

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddanda *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*.

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*.

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
606 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among
596 the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal household that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

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582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the
596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's
582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions
596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a
596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's
[582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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764 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both
602 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*konḍavanu*
431 *koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between
[582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man'
585 (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist
602 of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice
431 yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are
585 expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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On the first of *kādiyār* (Taurus), at about 8 a.m., the members 796
of Kuklūr village gather together before the temple of Kundat 621
Bhadrakāḷi. The Brahmin priest of the temple worships the deity, and then the Bhadrakāḷi oracle, Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa, becomes possessed by the deity and, while possessed, he issues instructions as to how to conduct the festival. He allots the work of the festival among the various Coorg *okkas* in the village and decides the dates of the fast and festival days. These days as well as the work which each *okka* has to do have already been decided by custom, and one might say that the oracle only decides according to custom. Sometimes, however, he makes minor alterations to suit special circumstances.

An elder of the Moṇṇanḍra *okka* then administers the festival vows to the assembled villagers. The headmanship of the Bhadrakāḷi temple runs in the Moṇṇanḍra *okka*, and to him as *dēva takka* belongs the right of administering oaths. A member of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* then dances the 'peacock dance' before the temple, carrying a bundle of peacock feathers. The dancer dances to the beat of the Poleya's drum.

No ritual is performed on the second day. On the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the representatives of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* dances the peacock dance a hundred and one times round the stone post before the temple. Four Coorgs sing the Bhadrakāḷi song to the beat of a big drum (*dōḷu*).

On the eighth day a partial fast is observed till dusk when a horn is blown which puts an end to the fast. At night, after dinner, there is a fancy-dress (*bōḍu*) show in which Coorg men take part. They dress themselves as *sanyasis*, Māpiḷḷa traders from Malabar, Mēda drummers, and so on. The ways and customs of different castes and people from different parts are satirized in the fancy-dress show. In 1941 (when I witnessed the festival) the marriage of a [582] Coorg girl with a Tamil Mudaliar man was satirized. Coorgs do not approve of marriage with non-Coorgs and this disapproval expresses itself in a variety of ways.[1] Such marriages are still unusual.

After the fancy-dress show at the threshing-yard (*kaḷa*) of the

[1] I remember an attempt to pass a formal resolution of censure against a high-placed Coorg gentlemen who had married a non-Coorg. This was during the harvest festival when the various branches of the *okka* are expected to assemble at the ancestral house. The attempt failed conspicuously as a very important branch of the *okka* living outside Coorg failed to turn up.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many 171 more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannaḍa-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people 582 than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's step-mother is called cikavvē, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyē, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa- [115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in [614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are [613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter- [115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144-145 -- Analyst]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkku caṇce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 6 9 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [8], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, ojeyô and ponnu respectively.

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A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes* and *Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

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The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 844 846 787 852 553

764 783

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorks used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

241

Occupation

The Amma Coorks are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 771 42 262 582

The Amma Coorks follow the Coorks in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorks in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P. 67 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 [178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[17] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582 ●

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical
567 practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg
564 house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a
582 state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised insti-
[624] tution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Frasserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 797

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung
614 (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My
father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth
539 are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving
supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My
husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities
of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not
affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or
'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit
me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or
'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying
such things she leaves the house into which she married and
going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and
stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's
house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it
will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her
and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nuu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (= paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuṅṅia makakuu nu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poṭi aṅṅu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le samo:ta i: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭituu maṇguul(a) aḷli po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kē:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi iduṇguu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannea:.

●[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda = 4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this?'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kalluu annane takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

[551] [583]

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel *writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife* without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

[586] [643]

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113

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Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 844 846 789 852 553

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [014] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 178

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiẽ), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 844 846 787 855 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [179] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood. 328 304

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification. 296 292 783

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions. 305 783 [302]

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *vōṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore. [564] 285 [538]

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground. 357 765

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste. 357 585

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

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which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*. 596 423 178

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown. [421]

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays. [594]

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*. 596 585

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground. 596 428

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[538] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[626] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [781] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made 778
in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere 769
else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open 342
quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such 778
open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. [769]
One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they [562]
visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they [688]
allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a [585]
plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) 778
devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical 769
ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn 776
stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk- 778
exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *pīché kaṭti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni manḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé tanḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the [764] underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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764 While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with
602 turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a
824 little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually
[576] accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

[243] It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

585 The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 585

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 561

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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gift on the occasion of giving him (or her) a name. In fact, a relative who is seeing an infant for the first time must give a money-gift. On the second day of marriage, when the bride visits the groom's house, she gives a money-gift to every infant in her conjugal *okka*. Later the groom does the same in the bride's *okka*.

It is hardly necessary to state that the giving of a money-gift does not always constitute a solidarity rite. It may be given in return for a service, which, however, might be purely nominal. A guest to a wedding gives a *paṇa* to each of the two girls holding a dish-lamp in his honour at the entrance to the bridal house.

At the wedding the elders of the groom's village publicly examine the box containing the bride's trousseau. They are collectively given five *paṇas* (fifteen annas), and this money is called 'witness money' (*sākshi paṇa*). Subsequently, if there is a dispute as to the contents of the bride's box the elders will be called upon to give evidence. Such disputes do not normally occur, however, except in the event of the woman wanting to return to her natal *okka* on becoming a widow, or after being divorced. Again, when the bride's family friend consents to hold himself responsible for her good behaviour in the groom's house he is paid a *paṇa* as 'witness-money'. The groom's family friend is paid similarly for holding himself responsible for the good behaviour of the groom's relatives.

In the above instances the passing of money from one hand to another has the effect of sealing a contract. It may also be interpreted as payment in advance for some service to be rendered in the future. An occasion might not, and usually does not, arise requiring the elders or either of the family friends to render the service expected of them or him, and the strictly nominal character of the payment might be attributed to this fact. Such an interpretation is plausible, but does not appear to us to be true. In the instance just mentioned the emphasis seems to be much more on the fact of the acceptor of the money binding himself to a particular course of action in the future rather than on the services to be rendered in the future.

A gold coin is placed in the mouth of a dead man if the latter was a married man. This coin is referred to as 'money for the road'. It probably refers to the expenses which the dead man's soul incurs on its journey. No gold coin is, however, placed in the mouth if the dead man was a bachelor, or had the reputation of being very wicked. In such a case a very bitter fruit called '*kānyaṇat kāyi*' is

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [558] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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621 wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the
585 huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the
574 guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

621 The members of a village in which a death has occurred are
765 required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning
574 and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

621 Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally
574 dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormé*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

585 On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's
574 house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

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birth', and that she was kept in seclusion 'for a fortnight, or a 585
month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respecta- 574
bility of the family'.[1] Elderly informants deny that she was regarded as unclean, but they do confirm the fact that she was not allowed to see the villagers before a dinner had been given to them.

The bride becomes a member of the groom's *okka* at marriage. The consummation of the marriage in the groom's house on the second night also indicates to her that her future position is that of a mother who contributes children to her husband's *okka*. Marriage in a patrilocal and patrilineal kinship system affects a greater change in the bride's social personality than in the groom's. She is a new person, and this is recognized in her not being allowed to meet the members of her natal village before a dinner has been given them. When there has been a break in the continuity of a relationship, or when a relationship with a new person has to be begun, the best way to do it is with a dinner. Dinner, as we have noted earlier, is an act of solidarity, and the villagers forge their solidarity with the new person, the bride returning to her natal house from the groom's.

XV

All *mangalas* except marriage have either become defunct or so 585
rarely performed that nowadays *mangala* is almost synonymous 554
with marriage. The ritual performed at marriage may be divided into two parts, one part being *mangala*, and the other concerned with the jural aspect of marriage. Only the former part has been analysed in this chapter. By means of this analysis it is hoped to give content to the concept of ritual idiom and to understand the meanings of certain ritual acts which are very common among Coorgs.

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the subject of *mangala* 554
is prepared for *mūrta* by a series of preparatory and purificatory ritual acts such as shaving, bath, and the donning of ritual robes and ornaments. The various occasions on which each one of these preparatory ritual acts is performed have been considered in order to discover their meanings.

Mūrta itself consists of a series of solidarity rites performed on the subject of it by each member of the concerned group. The

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 139.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *ṣammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
596 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
421 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few
178 educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

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596
586 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
872 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé*
[837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttaṇṇa of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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needles, in the tiny *chundekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīranda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*mannaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

[195] 'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appachettolanda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanda *okka*.'

[245] [1] *Chundekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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Groom's Family Friend: 'Are you the traditional family friend, or have you been hired with gold for the present occasion?' 596 593 585

Bride's Family Friend: 'Both.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.' He pays a *paṇa* to the bride's family friend.

Bride's Family Friend: 'If our young girl comes upon some misfortune, who is the family friend to be held responsible for sending her to her natal *okka* with servants for company and torches for the road?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

He pays a *paṇa* to the groom's family friend.

The ritual of *sammanda* is now over.

V

The transfer of pebbles is an essential part of *sammanda*. According to an old saying, 'the weight of a person in gold is twelve pieces' (*ponnu tūka manushya pannaraṇḍachchi*). The totality of rights which a person has in the *okka* of which he is a member is represented by twelve pebbles referred to as 'pieces of gold'. At marriage the bride's family friend gives eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend as most of the rights which the bride had in her natal *okka* have been given up and acquired in the groom's *okka* instead. One pebble is retained because the bride's connexion with her natal *okka* is too deep and fundamental to be totally destroyed. In fact, if the bride happens to be divorced later, she has a right to return to her natal home. As the old saying has it, 'when a girl falls upon evil days, she goes back to her natal home'.

Some Coorgs have taken the theory of the estimation of the value of the rights of a person in his (or her) *okka* rather literally. They argue that each 'piece of gold' represents the traditional estimate of the price of a part of the ancestral property and at the marriage of a virgin the bride's relatives buy up her rights in her natal *okka* and pay her the price. The bride buys herself membership of the groom's *okka* with the money she has acquired.

Pieces of gold do not seem to have been used in the past instead of pebbles. The use of pebbles is clearly symbolic and it enables the persons concerned to understand the legal implications of marriage.

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593 596 585 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

593 596 586 768 Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

596 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kûl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

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585 when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband. 591 Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

585 After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

[778] Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *gangā pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

[462] The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

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groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.) 585

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. [553]

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband–wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night. 593 606

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the 606

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned. [177]

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
606 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among
596 the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kinḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

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764 602 431 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koṇḍavanu koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between [582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 585 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man' (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 602 431 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 585 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

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The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

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instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

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594 lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might
596 later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play
[53] leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors
589 and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires
[764] in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's
[775] corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

[769] During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

581 Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And
593 only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

593 The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of
783 the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

593 Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together
585 for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

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on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*hanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow:*				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kold aḷanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 2

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 7 [see p. 129]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [014] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [595] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

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[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiē), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [173] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rtá are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

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[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After
[602] this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were
[515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls
[602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office
[292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger
[301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth
[292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been
[342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the
[778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house
[178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of
[533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front
[782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e., cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between
[605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are
[834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyē] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time [777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in [614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvō and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:lia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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[1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

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585 614 537 ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood ?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ tandu: bendu: parandituɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yituɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭituɯ inde:këtɯ dinatɯlɯ maṇgɯla kuricituɯ indɯ maṇgɯl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ëṇṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ sammanda koḍɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumane na:lɯ kë:ṭ(ɯ) aramane ni:rɯ balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ṇe upë|a ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib ?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patɯ kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynumane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: okuvē kaḷa kaḷatwlw bo:ṭi cita:ril(w) aki kommel(w) upw tuyyatw maḷu karavatw puḷi kalatwlw pa:ra bindigel(w) ēnne barapilw ney allate kaḍacekallw ammikallw bi:juvē kallw meypē|(a) oḷake cavṭuvē ra:ṭe bakatw guḍḍa ka:cuvē gañji ko:tuvē cembw katuvē puḷḷi kuḷipēḷa pa:re atakoṭw kaḍwcikoṭw meypē koṭw puḷḷikoṭw ku:ḍa sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa puḷito:ṭa ba:ḷeto:ṭa teṇgwto:ṭa iñjito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib!'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nē:ti ketuvē matw bi:di ketuvē kati maṇgaḷapē guddali euki po:nē co:mē madici po:nē po:ri patwkuḍi a:ḷw paytakētw patw karapa paymbaṭi nellw nell(w) aḷapē pa:ni koci aḷapē se:rw aki aḷapē ma:na ne:lelw to:kw mu:lelw ba:ḷw a:ṇilw kati ta:kwnē taḷia tu:kwnē boḷica cu:dwk(w) irwmbw cuḍekw modalw ondwtoṭw nu:ro:ḷa sammanda koḍwtadallate ku:tiaḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭwl(w) ajjē toṭwlw kuññi olekēṭ(w) ajji se:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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585 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Kw:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa manekw ba:ḷw ba:ke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rw nē|atwlw iñji mañja naṭitw ko:ḷi pandi ca:kitw w:|emba:|e ma:ritw nē:ḍwnē paṇatwna cepwl(w) wṭw beca:na na:|e piniandw niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ōḍwtit (w) allasalla: nd(w) ēṇṇwce:ṇgi idwṇgm javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē da:rw.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvē who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

The aruvē of the groom's sib: na:nw.
'I.'
Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeda ennw.
'What is your sib-name ?'
Aruvē: tamba:ṇda.
Speaker of bride's party: a:|wpeda ennw.
'What is your personal name ?'
Aruvē: mutaṇṇē.
Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvēna: ponnaruvēna:.
'Are you the aruvē of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvē ?'
Aruvē: maṇṇaruvēnu: aku ponnaruvēnu: aku.
'I am both.'
Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavē^{a}na: a:|wperiavē^{a}na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rē or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

Aruvē: okaperiavē^{n}nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē^{n}nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnu. ē:ra unḍe:ŋgi tarālu. kammi unḍe:ŋgi kē:ṭavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: uḷḷē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnu illi haku stapaneku becaṇḍi:tu.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kaṇeku i: taṇgammē: nd(u) ēṇṇuvē kanni niṇgaḍa taṇge maka. indutoṭu me:vara ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapē: nd(u) ēṇṇuvē baymbēṇḍa pommaka maka. annane ba:ḷike bandē poṇṇu mane ca:yille: ndu: ańci uṭitille: ndu: paṭi ja:ruva: ndu: koṭu to:ruva: ndu: o:ṇilu kete: ndu: ca:ṇaku kayya: ndu: ni:ruku du:ra: ndu: ma:vē^{n}ṇḍa ba:yiguṇa po:ra: ndu: ma:vi^{n}ra kayguṇa po:ra:ndu: oḍeyēṇḍa mayguṇa po:ra: ndu: macinicira managuṇa po:ra: ndu: ku:ḷu kuycatu: ndu: kari kaycatu: ndu: na:yi kaḍicatu: ndu: pu:ñe ma:nduci: ndu: ētu kutuci: ndu: payyu cavṭuci: ndu: kokaci ketuci: ndu: ba:kemane buṭitu ta:manek(u) o:ḍi oḷici po:yitu aḷatitu ba:manena paḷandaṇḍu ta:manena tudicaṇḍu aḷataka fa:ya^{n} paranditu tiddi ni:kitu baṭeku tu:ḍu: ku:ṭuk(u) a:ḷu: koḍutitu ayci tapantē aṇgēnaruvē da:ru.

'Until today this girl called Taṇgammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:ḷapē of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē^{n}nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē^{n}nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuṅṅia makaku nu:ru bira:ṇḍa poṭi aṅṅu:ru bira:ṇḍa poḷea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:lē ma:le sameṭa i: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭitu maṇgul(a) axli po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kē:ḷate po:oe:ṇgi idwṇgu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this!'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallu annane takuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Tangammē became Tangavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. [114] Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter
[587] ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with
114 other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
796 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[534] says: daṇḍu kaḍe naḍomu:illavé nu:bendu: aggāṇaruvēnu: ōṇḍu hāṭi nindiru:.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansuperi to assist the flow of village

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
585 prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[779] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

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within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of panauperi are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'katti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

585 [411] [581] [533]

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585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and women, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [187] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Náds are 85;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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He procured for heavy money,
And completed all his labours.
When he now lived comfortably,
Mandanna the mighty hero,
In his mind was meditating
And within himself he pondered
Constantly this one idea:
"I have rice and costly garments,
But no one to dress and nourish;
I have precious stones and jewels,
But where is the wife to wear them?
In a household without children
Vain is all our toil and trouble;
Ho! there is not here on earth
Without wife bliss or enjoyment.
If a tank is without water,
Has it not been dug in vain?
And a garden without flowers,
Has it not in vain been planted?
Who would like to eat cold rice,
Void of curds and void of salt?
Sons must be in our houses,
And our rooms be full of children."
So he thought within himself,
And, one lovely Sunday morning,
When the silvery dew was sparkling,
Took a meal, and dressed himself,
Joined his hands in adoration
To the ancestors and God;
Sent a man to call his Ar'wa
To conduct him on the journey,
Took his stick adorned with silver,
And then started with his friend.
Where between the woody mountains
Thrusse the lofty Kottamalé,
Wand'ring through the hilly country,
He went off to seek a wife,
Till his soles were off with walking;
Pand'ring out in all the Mandan,
Till his dress was torn by sliding;
Wandered in the morning sun,
Till his head was hot and giddy;
Wandered till the walking stick
In his hand was growing shorter.
Mandanna the mighty hero
Sought a wife in ev'ry quarter,
But no house would suit his mind.
If he found the house was right,
Then the servants would not suit him;
If he found the servants right,
Then he did not like the cattle;
If he found the cattle right,
Then the fields were miserable;
If the paddy land was good,
Then the pasture ground was bad;
And if all these things were good,
Then the maiden did not please him.
While he thus was sorely troubled,
News arrival of consolation:—
In the Naikundé there lived,
In the Pattamida house,
Chinnawwa, a lovely maiden.—
When he heard this information,
Mandanna, the mighty hero,
Slowly with his friend proceeded
To the house, and there sat down
On the bench of the verandah.
Chinnawwa, the lovely maiden,
When she heard of their arrival,
Came and brought a jar of water,
Poured it in a silver pitcher,
Placed it on a glittering mat,
Spread another mat for him
In the seat of the verandah.
Pattamida Chinnawwa
Modestly stood on the threshold,
And she asked him: "Why, my friend,
Did you not take my water,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Use it and then call for more?"
So she asked, and he replied:
"Certainly I will, my dearest,
"If for ever you will bring me
"Water as to-day you brought it."
She replied: "You get the water
"If you come here ev'ry day."
Mandanna now took the water,
Washed his face and hands and feet,
Thought: I'll come for more tomorrow.
Mandanna, the wise and clever,
Took again the seat of honor
And began: "My pretty maiden,
"Tell me now, where is your father?"
She replied: "My father went
"To a meeting in the Mandu."
"And where is your mother then?"
"She went to the potters' village,
"Where they celebrate a wedding."
"And where is your brother then?"
"He went down the Ghat to Kite
"With his bullocks, to get salt." —
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the father.
Mandanna made his obeisance,
Bowed, and touched the old man's feet.
When an hour or two were spent,
To her house returned the mother.
Mandanna again salated.
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the brother.
Mandanna made his obeisance.
Then they had some conversation,
Talked about their friends and kindred.
Now they asked him: "Dearest cousin,
"Will you please to let us know,
"Why you undertook this journey?"
He replied: "My dearest father!
"I have heard, that in this house
"There are bullocks to be sold,
"And moreover that there lives
"In this house a lovely maiden,
"Whom you want to give in marriage." —
"All the bullocks have been sold
"In July," replied the father,
"And the daughter too has gone,
"In the month of May she left us."
Then gave Mandanna this answer:
"Those that went, let them be happy,
"Give me her who still remains."
Spoke again to him the landlord:
"Tell me, why you called me, 'Father'?"
Then spoke Mandanna the clever:
"I have seen your lovely daughter,
"That is why I call you 'Father.'
"Evermore with admiration
"You behold the stately palm-tree;
"If a tree is poor and crippled,
"You forget to look upon it."
Then the father spoke again:
"I will let you have the daughter,
"Give a pledge, that you will take her." —
"Shake then hands with me," replied
Mandanna, "and as a pledge
"Take from me this piece of money."
After this the father sent
For his Ar'va to assist him
In the wedding ceremony;
Women swept the house and chambers,
Filled the store-rooms with provisions
For the merry wedding feast.
Where the beauteous brazen lamp
From the ceiling is suspended,
Aravas and near relations
Came together from both houses,
Stood and settled the engagement
And the lucky day of wedding.
Whereupon the happy bridegroom

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[539]

Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

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Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned
593 presently.
596 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
586

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
872 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé*
[837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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593 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles
596 hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a
585 bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length
593 of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But
596 elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the
● 586 groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widow-
768 hood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kallumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593] matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

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587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
596 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*hanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow:*				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kolé adanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

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596 586 Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
848 596 5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*: (*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
596 428 6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage.

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 – Analyst] 7/7 [see p129]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
12 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

APPENDIX I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypē 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvēs of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvē of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:mu:illavē nu:bendu: aṅgēnaruvēnu: sa:lu kaṭṭi nindira:.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvōs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

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The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tuu.

'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apōyyō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññira ba:ɯ ba:ke bandalli apōyyō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññira a:yisa korn a:yitu: co:makō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññira adrusṭa kōṭad(ɯ) a:yitu: patu ka:la baddu ba:vōku ruṇa illata:naṇguṇḍu inda:kaṇe niṇgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇitiñjō co:makō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññina poṇṇu kōṭate:ṇgi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makō of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyō of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makō who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññi apōyyō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññira ba:ḷu ba:ke bapaka aññu:ru bira: nura poṭilu a:yira bira:nura ma:luna sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga terakiaṇḍu bandaṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miñjuna:na bayyak(ɯ) ōḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makō brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyō, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:kaipaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:ɯ. a:naka co:mavvō:[2] nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññi apōyyō: nd(ɯ) ōṇṇuvō kuññira va:ḷu ba:ke bandalli co:mavvōṇgu ou:duk(ɯ) irumbu euṇḍeku modalu ondutoṭu nu:ro:la—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu sammanda koḍupaka —[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu co:mavvōṇg(ɯ) iñjō sammandatuna kovvañji niṇga tandō pannandaci ponn(ɯ) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvō's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvō rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kōṭate:ṇgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvō termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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even as small as the cunḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Comavvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvé of woman's sib: bactu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvé of husband's sib: idari sakkipana.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.

Aruvé of woman's sib: bactu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see I). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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[174 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

888 their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' [576] (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

[516] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he [481] was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

888 A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate 601 kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

601 There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may 587 address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

601 Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

888 Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that 551 whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

342 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[33] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
[351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common ancestor. 596 The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769 with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776 that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596 the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [828] such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanda *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888] competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actu-
428 ally take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share [594] of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

[587] When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she [586] is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of [848] extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

596 The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the house-
606 hold. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannaran-ḍachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[606] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl
587 entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

● [587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

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586 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
842 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé*
[831] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
● 587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
585

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

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587 596 593

and consequently only the ritual withdrawal of membership will be described here. Set formulas very similar to those used for conferment of membership are used at the withdrawal.

The ritual is performed in the central hall of the late (or divorced) husband's house. Two kinsmen of the widow (or divorcée) and the family friend of her natal *okka* stand in a row facing two kinsmen of the dead (or divorced) husband, and the family friend of his *okka*. The articles which the widow (or divorcée) brought with her to her conjugal house are kept in the central hall in the boxes in which they were brought at the wedding. The presence of the widow or divorcée herself is not deemed necessary.

The widow's family friend opens the proceedings by asking the late husband's family friend whether all the concerned men are present, and the late husband's family friend replies in the affirmative.

Widow's Family Friend: 'Muthamma of such-and-such an *okka* married Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka*. Ponnappa was short-lived. Owing to Muthamma's evil destiny, she was not permitted the good fortune of living together with her husband for a long time. We will now take back your girl Muthamma according to the adage, "when a girl comes upon evil days, she goes back to her natal *okka*".'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'When Muthamma married Ponnappa, her servants carried on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns* in boxes worth five hundred *birāns*. Whatever goods now remain, after having been eaten and worn, may I take them back?'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'I have received it. When Muthamma married Ponnappa she was given membership of Ponnappa's *okka*. She lost membership of her natal *okka* and you gave us eleven pieces of gold on that occasion which we now return.'

He returns eleven pebbles to the widow's family friend.

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received them.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received it.'

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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593]
matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

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587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[589] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
594 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the
596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

●587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's
582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions
596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a
596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's
[582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
564 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
589 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
[301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

589 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

614 585 [551] 614 587 [768]

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit. [114]

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
●587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[964] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 7

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 7 [see p. 29]

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypē 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvē of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvē of the woman's sib
[534] says: daṇḍu kaḍe naḍo:mu:illavē nu:bendu: aggēnaruvēnu: ea:lu kēṭi nindira:.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvēs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.

'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira ba:lu ba:ko bandalli apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira adrusṭa kōṭad(u) a:yitu: patu ka:la baddu ba:vēku ruṇa illata:naṅguṇḍu inda:kaṇe niṅgaḍa pomnaka maka: nd(u) ōṇṇitiṅjē co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅina poṇṇu kōṭate:ṅgi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu mariandi annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira ba:ḷu ba:ko bapaka aṅṅu:ru bira: nura poṭilu a:yira bira:nura ma:luna sa:ḍaṅga ba:ḍaṅga terakiaṇḍu bandaṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miṅjuna:na bayyak(u) ōḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu mariandi annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:tu. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅi apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuṅṅira va:ḷu ba:ko bandalli co:mavvēṅgu ou:dusk(u) irumbu euṇḍeku modalu ondutotu nu:ro:ḷa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manolu sammanda koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manolu co:mavvēṅg(u) iṅjē sammandatuna kovvaṅji niṅga tandē pannandaei ponn(u) idari. beei tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kōṭate:ṅgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; so, is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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even as small as the cupḍo-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Cōmavvē came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apāyyē. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Arusi of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Arusi of husband's sib: idari sa:kipapa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvē.

Arusi of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulae are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

[174 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

● 587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

courtiers joined in the mirth and the whole quadrangle rang with mixed shouts of the soldiers, the growl of the bear and the roar of the tiger. Of all the parties in this singular concert, the tiger appeared to be the most discomposed. His eye flashed fire, his tail waved from flank to flank in the most ominous style. I thought at one time, this was to turn out no laughing matter; for, if the angry animal, when at length he lost all patience, had taken a direction towards us, he might have demolished the dynasty of Wadeer, or at least made a vacancy for an officer in his Britannic Majesty's Navy. Fortunately he chose exactly the opposite course, and running furiously across the court, made a flying leap right into one of the low windows of what the Rajah called his English drawing room. The glass and framework of the window were of course dashed to pieces in a moment and the pianos, pictures and book cases must have soon shared the same fate, had not the tiger's progress been checked by the weight of the wretched bear, which hung outside, half way between the window sill and the ground, somewhat after the fashion of the golden fleece over a mercer's door. The tiger we could no longer see, but we could hear him smashing the furniture at a great rate. He was afterwards secured and sent to the rear."

After a successful hunt for a tiger, the natives form a procession and carry the carcass with the band of tomtoms to the mandu or village green. The heroes of the day are the man who shot the beast and he who first touched its tail, a feat which used to be rewarded by the Rajah with the present of a silver bangle. The carcass is then raised on a wooden frame, and according to time-honored Coorg fashion, the lucky sportsman is to be wedded to the departed soul of the tiger and may thenceforth wear the honorable gala-mishi or grand mustachio in Rajah's fashion. In May last such a ceremony took place in Mercara on the occasion of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 [654] Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] [789] [825] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 ●589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
596 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed 593 *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and 585 finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that [176] this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual 589 and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste [301] Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white [292] *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband 593 as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in 589 a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit–English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

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776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
564 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
589 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
[301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

589 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍukw maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkw ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious. 601 582 [539]

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience. 582 533 582 589 581 582 554

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyë] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each [431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral [783] lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already, mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her [765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves [589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

113

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312 596 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding [628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

596 423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some [313] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A [764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead [351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children. [591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An 596 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned 587 earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

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Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patrilocality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat makka* and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in question membership of the heirless *okka*.

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

585 when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband. 531 Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

585 After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

[778] Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *gangā pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

[462] The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother-child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband-wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 423 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British 177 Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.

264 As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all the housepeople under the management of the master of the
[241] house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment.

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b. Prescriptive law of inheritance.

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Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of

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[884]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg woman is rarely idle, her busy hands find always 592 ●
some work to do, and no wonder, if we consider the life and 562
bustle of a Coorg house with its 40, 60, or 80 and more inmates. Two or three generations, grandfather and grandmother, their sons and daughters-in-law and the children of these families all live and mess together. The labourers also belong to the household and look up to the mistress for food and orders. The fattening of the pigs, the milking of the cows, the water supply for the house, these and many other cares are under the immediate supervision of the mistress. Where [578]
peace and harmony exist, a Coorg house presents a patriarchal life indeed, but the idyllic picture is too often marred by discord occasioned by the harsh régime of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heartburnings of married brothers, or the more material questions of family income and individual claims. The master or yejamána, who is always the senior male member of the house, has no easy position, especially in our days, when a tendency to break up these large houses clearly manifests itself. But Coorg women of a commanding spirit and superior character are often heard of who, like Abigail of old, with tact and wisdom subdue the unruly elements of this bustling human beehive and make the residents subservient to the common weal and honour of the family. Here is a story to the purpose:—"Six generations 592
ago, there was a woman called Doddi Auwa[1]—the great lady— 562
who lived at Almanda house, in the village of Arméri, which 173
belongs to Beppunádu. She was the mistress of the Almanda property, being the only child of rich parents. She was a woman of extraordinary size and strength of body. Nor was she less distinguished by qualities of mind and character. Throughout the country she was known as the wisest, the richest, the strongest of Coorg women. Independent owner of a Coorg estate, she was at liberty to choose a husband for herself. Her choice fell upon a man of the same clan. Utta-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Dodda-Auva." see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

592 562 173 cha, a son of the Mánanda house. He was a good sort of a husband, but much inferior every way to his great wife. Perhaps she had chosen him for this very reason. His place in the house was rather that of head-servant, than of husband and master. Every year the people of Arméri used to send a caravan to Irkúr, in the low country, near Cannanore, to fetch salt. At other times caravans, carrying rice to the coast, would start from Arméri during the dry season. On such occasions Doddi Auwa[2] would herself attend to every thing, put the cattle in readiness, prepare provisions, and at last accompay her husband and his oxen to the place of meeting, appointed for the whole train from the village. On parting, she would recommend her husband and his beasts to the kind offices of the best men in the caravan, and return home to her great house and her large business. Often, when husband or servants appeared too slow in loading the oxen, she would bid them step aside and taking the double sacks quietly with both hands, lay them softly and evenly upon the backs of the cattle. She was famed equally for wisdom and honesty.

Also Mudduráya who ruled Coorg in her time, respected and reverenced her, and often, on coming to Beppunádu, he stopped to have a talk with Doddi Auwa[2] of Almanda house. In the course of time Doddi Auwa[3] became mother of four daughters, but to her great grief no son was granted her, to succeed to the Almanda property. When the daughters came of age, she gave them in marriage to sons of neighbouring landholders. The eldest became the wife of a member of the Pálckanda family, the second married into the Púlanda house, the third was given to the Amnichanda family. The youngest, by a general agreement of the chiefs, was also given to the Pálckanda house, but, as heiress of the Almanda property, she had to give her sons, if she bore any, to her mother. This daughter, the youngest, bore 4 sons in succession. Of these, the two eldest were brought up by their grand-mother Doddi

[Errata: This should read "Doddi-Auya". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Auwa[1] at Almanda. The name of one was Timmaya, that of 592
the other Máchu. Máchu had a son Ayappa whose son was 562
Bollu, the father of Stephanas, the first Coorg Christian." 173

The culinary art of the Coorg women is not much appre- 252
ciated by a European palate, which relishes less hot condi- 262
ments and a more sparing use of oil and ghee. Meat, whether game, pork, mutton, fowl or fish is cut into small pieces irrespective of joints and made into a nourishing savoury curry, which, with a dish of boiled rice, seasoned with mango, lime, citron and Ambatti-pickle, makes to native taste an excellent meal. The Coorg women excel in preparing a great variety of pickle and chutney, also sweet preserves and sweetmeats. Their appams or nfradóshe are relished even by Europeans. The kitchens of the Coorgs, which are inside the house, are [356]
remarkable for the cleanliness of the cooking-vessels in use.

The Coorgs generally take an early meal at 7 of rice-conjee 264
seasoned with pickle or curds. At 10 they partake of a more 262
substantial breakfast, consisting of boiled rice and curry. At 3 o'clock again conjee is taken as in the morning, and in the evening a hearty supper of boiled rice with vegetable or meat-curry and other condiments. Toddy of the Baine-mara 273
(Caryota urens), also a kind of beer made of fermented rice, [177]
rice-brandy and arrack are the usual beverages, but lately the strongest European liquors have become only too familiar to the Coorgs at all hours of the day.

As is the custom with other Hindus, the Coorg women [562]
attend upon their lords and the male members of the house, before they sit down to their own separate meal. This selfish and unmanly custom greatly detracts from the charm of family life. The meals spread on brass plates, on low stools, are [415]
rather animal feeds than family gatherings round the social [352]
table.

The Coorgs are very hospitable; no beggar goes away 574
empty from their houses. A visit from Europeans is looked

[1] [Errata: this should read "Dodd-Auva". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dikshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dikshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
• [593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*itké mané*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

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Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve 596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannarandachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[606] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is [434] entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come 596 down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl 587 entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-* 596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now.

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*.

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom.

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

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596 3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her
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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
842 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
728 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* [837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttaṇṇa of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭī bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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needles, in the tiny *chundekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīranda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*mannaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

[195] 'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appacheṭṭolanda *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanda *okka*.'

[245] [1] *Chundekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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Groom's Family Friend: 'Are you the traditional family friend, or have you been hired with gold for the present occasion?' 596 593 585

Bride's Family Friend: 'Both.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.' He pays a *paṇa* to the bride's family friend.

Bride's Family Friend: 'If our young girl comes upon some misfortune, who is the family friend to be held responsible for sending her to her natal *okka* with servants for company and torches for the road?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

He pays a *paṇa* to the groom's family friend.

The ritual of *sammanda* is now over.

V

The transfer of pebbles is an essential part of *sammanda*. According to an old saying, 'the weight of a person in gold is twelve pieces' (*ponnu tūka manushya pannaraṇḍachchi*). The totality of rights which a person has in the *okka* of which he is a member is represented by twelve pebbles referred to as 'pieces of gold'. At marriage the bride's family friend gives eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend as most of the rights which the bride had in her natal *okka* have been given up and acquired in the groom's *okka* instead. One pebble is retained because the bride's connexion with her natal *okka* is too deep and fundamental to be totally destroyed. In fact, if the bride happens to be divorced later, she has a right to return to her natal home. As the old saying has it, 'when a girl falls upon evil days, she goes back to her natal home'.

Some Coorgs have taken the theory of the estimation of the value of the rights of a person in his (or her) *okka* rather literally. They argue that each 'piece of gold' represents the traditional estimate of the price of a part of the ancestral property and at the marriage of a virgin the bride's relatives buy up her rights in her natal *okka* and pay her the price. The bride buys herself membership of the groom's *okka* with the money she has acquired.

Pieces of gold do not seem to have been used in the past instead of pebbles. The use of pebbles is clearly symbolic and it enables the persons concerned to understand the legal implications of marriage.

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593 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles
596 hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a
585 bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

593 Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length
596 of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But
586 elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the
768 groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kalhumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

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587 and consequently only the ritual withdrawal of membership will
596 be described here. Set formulas very similar to those used for
593 conferment of membership are used at the withdrawal.

The ritual is performed in the central hall of the late (or divorced) husband's house. Two kinsmen of the widow (or divorcée) and the family friend of her natal *okka* stand in a row facing two kinsmen of the dead (or divorced) husband, and the family friend of his *okka*. The articles which the widow (or divorcée) brought with her to her conjugal house are kept in the central hall in the boxes in which they were brought at the wedding. The presence of the widow or divorcée herself is not deemed necessary.

The widow's family friend opens the proceedings by asking the late husband's family friend whether all the concerned men are present, and the late husband's family friend replies in the affirmative.

Widow's Family Friend: 'Muthamma of such-and-such an *okka* married Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka*. Ponnappa was short-lived. Owing to Muthamma's evil destiny, she was not permitted the good fortune of living together with her husband for a long time. We will now take back your girl Muthamma according to the adage, "when a girl comes upon evil days, she goes back to her natal *okka*".'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'When Muthamma married Ponnappa, her servants carried on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns* in boxes worth five hundred *birāns*. Whatever goods now remain, after having been eaten and worn, may I take them back?'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'I have received it. When Muthamma married Ponnappa she was given membership of Ponnappa's *okka*. She lost membership of her natal *okka* and you gave us eleven pieces of gold on that occasion which we now return.'

He returns eleven pebbles to the widow's family friend.

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received them.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received it.'

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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
594 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

k Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.) 585

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. [553]

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband–wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night. 593 606

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the 606

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned. [177]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

marriage. On the second day the groom's relatives performed *mūrta* to the bride, and the bride's relatives to the groom; and finally the groom performed *mūrta* to the bride. The groom and bride sat in different parts of the bride's house while *mūrta* was performed for each, and when this ended the groom walked over to the bride sitting in the kitchen.

Nowadays, however, on the second day, the bride and groom are made to sit together in the central hall of the bride's house while *mūrta* is performed for each. Some Coorgs call this 'double *mūrta*'—the English word 'double' is used by them. I learn that this modification of the original Coorg custom was introduced over thirty years ago by a Coorg who occupied a high position in the government of a neighbouring province. This modification is clearly an attempt to Sanskritize a Coorg custom.

A Coorg woman whose husband is alive enjoys a higher ritual and social status than a widow. This is so among high-caste Hindus all over India, and the Coorg phenomenon may be regarded as an attenuated instance of the Sanskritic phenomenon. A Coorg woman whose husband is alive wears a necklace of black glass beads and black glass bangles, and these ornaments have become the auspicious symbols of the married state for a woman. No widow may wear them.

There is need to distinguish between a woman whose first and only husband is alive and another who after being widowed has remarried. The latter's ritual status is inferior to the former's, but it is higher than that of a widow who has not remarried.

A widow who decides not to remarry wears a uniform of a white *sari*, a white blouse, and a white scarf. None of these garments may have a coloured border.

In Sanskritic Hinduism a wife is expected to regard her husband as her deity. Widowhood is the result of evil actions performed in a previous incarnation. A widow is denied the ritual and social privileges of a married woman. She is not permitted to remarry. She is regarded as an inauspicious person.

Sanskritic Hinduism emphasizes the affinal tie in a variety of ways, but chiefly ritual. Ritual ideas tend to be all-pervasive. The worship of symbols of the married state by women, the ritual and social inferiority of the widow to the *sumangali*, coupled with the ban on widow remarriage, and the linking of widowhood to the idea of *karma*, all contribute to the strengthening of the marital

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 78 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *i*, *u*, *x* should be read for ɨ, ü, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*. 596 423 178

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown. [421]

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays. [594]

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*. 596 585

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground. 596 428

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives.

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult.

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged.

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 wife places on the spouse's head the mud vessel filled with water,
602 the coconut on the eldest son's head, and the spouted vessel full of water on the 'cross-nephew's' head. The family friend marks the forehead of each of these mourners with a few rice-grains yellowed with turmeric, and adjusts a ring of twisted grass on the ring-finger of the left hand. A mango leaf is put into the mud pot and another into the spouted vessel, while the eldest son is given a third leaf to carry in his hand. A hole is bored in both the mud pot and coconut to enable the liquid inside to trickle down to the ground from the head as the mourners march in state from the pond to the bier. The 'cross-nephew' has to carry the spouted vessel in such a way that a little water drips from it through the spout all the time.

The mourners go round the bier thrice, moving anti-clockwise, and at the end of the third round the spouse stands near the corpse's left shoulder, the son by the right shoulder, and the 'cross-nephew' near the feet. A little of the water in each of the three 'vessels' is poured into a dining-dish.

The three mourners then salute the corpse, after which they again go round the corpse thrice, moving anti-clockwise, sprinkling rice yellowed with turmeric as they go. After the final round is completed each takes up his original position by the corpse. The spouse touches the bier thrice with his (or her) pot and then smashes it to pieces by knocking it against the frame of the bier. As he (or she) does this, he utters the funeral cry, 'Thou art ruined . . . (husband, father, &c.)'.

The son follows next and he cuts the coconut into two halves after touching the bier thrice with it. He throws the halves underneath the bier and utters the funeral cry. The 'cross-nephew' who comes last repeats his predecessors' actions, at the end of which he throws the spouted vessel under the bier.

Shri K. J. Chenappa tells me that the pot represents the affinal bond which is destroyed at death, while the seed (coconut) is carried by the son who continues the *okka*, and the 'cross-nephew' carries the spouted vessel. He represents another *okka* which is linked to the dead person's by the fact that the dead person was a sibling of the 'cross-nephew's' parent.

[594] Husband and wife constitute a legal, economic, ritual, and moral unity among Coorgs, and the sense of this unity is so great that the surviving spouse plays an even greater part in funeral rites than the eldest son, who represents the dead person's *okka*.

1;Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease. 591 593

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage. [539]

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family. 594

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it. [178] [342]

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels 594 596

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[74 726 ● 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

585 783 585 179 [184]

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

581 [595] [114] [178]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

● 595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

near, that the Canarese original was destroyed and the Testament omitted in the copy by Vírarájender's successors. 175* 643* 428

His last words are:—"On the 7th of the Pushya month (Dec.—Jan.) Ractáxi year (1805) Capt. Mahoney brought the sword, sent by Marquis Wellesley from Bengal and fastened it round the Rájah's waist. In the Mágha month (Jan.—Feb.) 1806 Vírarája told Capt. Mahoney for the information of the Governor General, that on the day of his second marriage, when he sat on the throne with his Ráni, he had determined, that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had born him two daughters. If any son be hereafter born of her, he would be the heir; but if it was the will of God, that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubine, called Rájashékarappa, Shishushékappa and Chandrashékarappa should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been born by Mahadévaráni who died at 3 o'clock on Sunday the 7th day of the month Jéshta (May—June) 4909 Prabhava year (1807). As by her death the Rájah's hopes of having a son by her were blunted, and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful queen, the Rájah determined, that of the four daughters, who are named: Dévammáji, Muddammáji, Rájammáji and Mahádévammáji, the eldest should be married and whatever son she might have, he should be named Vírájendra, receive the Rájah's seal and the sword which was presented to him by Marquis Wellesley and be the successor to the throne. If she should, however, have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters according to seniority should be the successor and so long as the line of any of his four above named daughters continued, none of the heirs of the other mother should succeed to the throne; but, upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons or their posterity should suc- [595]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 to account his connection with the British Government.
*643 Letters and messages were despatched to Mr. Cole, the Resi-
*648 dent in Mysore, requesting him to order the seizure of a refractory farmer, who had made his escape from Coorg after having committed a crime, and the delivery of the criminal to the servants of the Rájah. Mr. Cole had the man apprehended near Periapatna, and sent him back to Coorg with a letter to the Rájah, requesting information as to the guilt of and the punishment awarded to the refugee. No answer was given to the Resident. Channa Víra was carried to Kántamúrnád, where he was massacred with his whole family, twenty-two souls on one day. In 1826 Mr. Casamajor, the successor of Mr. Cole, despatched a Captain Monk to Mercara and charged him, among other things, to enquire after the fate of Channa Víra. Captain Monk was told by Vírarája, that there had been much sickness in the country during the last season, and that Channa Víra with his whole family had
*175 been swept away by cholera. After this inaugural blood-
*643 shed, the new Rájah seems to have shown less cruelty than his father or uncle. An intelligent Brahman, who is intimately acquainted with Coorg affairs, told me one day, that he estimated the victims of Dodda-Vírarája's reign at about five thousand; Lingarája, he thought, had not killed more than three thousand, or perhaps three thousand five hundred; and the late Rájah had not destroyed more than fifteen hundred lives, if so many. Still, the last man was a greater curse upon Coorg, than his predecessors. Less cruel he appears to have been. (The above estimate of Coorg murders is no doubt greatly exaggerated, but the proportion assigned to the three Rájahs agrees perfectly with the general tradition of the country.) But, if less cruel, Vírarája, young as he was at his accession to the government of Coorg, became a mon-
● [595] ster of sensuality. He kept the youngest of his father's wives for his use and increased his establishment of concubines to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

about one hundred. A number of other women, of the best families, were summoned to Mercara after accouchements, and kept in a house near the palace during the period when they gave milk to their babes. Part of their milk was daily taken for the Rájah, to be used as a medicinal ingredient of his food which according to some superstitious notion became thereby more wholesome and nourishing. To refuse compliance with the demands of the master of Coorg was certain death, not to the recusant party only, but probably to the whole family. The wretch was free to riot as he pleased. He actually demanded to have the choice of all unmarried girls in the country. When hearing of this outrageous resolution, the Coorgs at once—it is said in one night—married all their grown up daughters. The Rájah was furious. Many of the unfortunate parents, who thus saved the honor of their children, were dreadfully flogged or had their ears cropped, or were thrown into prison. Rumours of these doings reached Mr. Casamajor. He reported to Government. But no reliable information was procurable. Coorg was kept hermetically sealed. Only a few passes were open. These were guarded by strong posts. Travellers were often detained. Without a passport no one could enter the country. On slight pretences persons were fined, maltreated, imprisoned. Some, who had gone to Coorg, disappeared altogether. Manuel Pereira, a British subject, was kept in custody by the Rájah; so was a Jew of the name of Samuel Joseph. Apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Dévammáji, the daughter and heiress of Dodda-Vírarája.

175 * 643 * [595] ● 175 * 643 * 648 *

Mr. Casamajor went in person to Mercara, about the middle of November 1826, to make inquiries on the spot. He was too polite, and was completely baffled by the Rájah. The representative of the British Government was surrounded by guards and spies. No inhabitant of Coorg dared to answer his questions. The Rájah met his interrogations and admo-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

● 596 794 In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

114 794 182 Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

621 794 Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg individual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a 621
tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival 564
tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village. 796

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint 596
family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in 428
the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, 562
while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of [539]
an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a 596
daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of [597]
their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the 462
work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks 596
done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous [623]
institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men [437]
went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, [797]
and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

312 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[33] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
[351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common ancestor. 596
The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769
with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776
that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596
the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [828]
such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanḍa *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888]
competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

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596 423

Until the beginning of the last century the immovable property of an *okka* was regarded as impartible, and property descended from one generation to another without being split up in the process. In this respect Coorgs differed from other Hindus and, consequently, Coorg agriculture escaped the two great drawbacks of agriculture elsewhere in India, the subdivision of land into minute holdings and fragmentation or scattering of holdings over a wide area.

All earlier writers on Coorg—Connor, Moegling, Cole, and Rice[1]—are unanimous in holding that the immovable property of a Coorg *okka* is traditionally impartible. But some time after the defeat of Tippu in the closing years of the eighteenth century, some Coorg *okkas* were permitted by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas,[2] used to the Hindu idea of partition, to divide off. The example of these Coorgs was followed by many others. Consequently, 'in 1858 the *takkas* [social heads] and headmen of the Coorgs represented that the loss and ruin occasioned to their ancient houses by this innovation [was very great], and the Judicial Commissioner in additional Special Appeal Suit No. 117 of 1858–9 passed a decree declaring that division was contrary to the ancient custom of Coorg'.[3] The fact that the ancestral property was impartible was responsible to a great extent for preventing the *okka* from splitting.

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The British also encouraged, although indirectly, the idea of partition of the ancestral property. They granted, for instance, *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to Coorgs who had taken part in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837. These *jagirs* were granted to individuals and not to the *okkas* of which they were members.

Coorgs who were government officials under the British bought farms and coffee- and orange-gardens with their savings, and the law courts established by the British permitted these to be regarded as the property of the individual acquirer and not of the *okka* of

[1] Connor, *Memoirs of the Codagu Survey*, pt. ii, Bangalore, 1870, pp. 29–30; H. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, 1855, p. 30; R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, secs. 115–17; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] Rice tells us that the Lingāyaṭ Rājas encouraged the idea of partition in order to break up the huge joint families of Coorgs. The Rājas wanted to increase the area under cultivation and also, according to Rice, they disliked intensely the fraternal polyandry of Coorgs. Rice remarks, 'Coorgs still viewed any deviation from this ancient custom [of polyandry] with the greatest abhorrence.' Op. cit., p. 329.

[3] Cole, op. cit., secs. 160, 165, 182.

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which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*.

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown.

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays.

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground.

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

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was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

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at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives. 596 606

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult. 596 602

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged. 594 178 596

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt. 596 [622] 476

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● 596 672 Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 572 596 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the [628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

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are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [23]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Edénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

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634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *simé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *simé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *simé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pānḍira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter
628 half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen,
634 that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *maradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore
634 bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between
539 Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] ●
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 872
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372
783

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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[p. 123]

V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

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596 622 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 621 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 829 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 [342] The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 572 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

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Formerly, every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannarandachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[604] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come
587 down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

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'*giving of summanda*'. Sammanda refers to the legal aspect of marriage, whereas *mūrta* refers to the solidarity aspect of it. These two together make up marriage. *Mūrta* has already been discussed at considerable length, and *sammanda* will be considered now. 593 596

III

The rights of membership in the groom's *okka* are conferred on the bride at the ritual of *sammanda*. The term *sammanda* is used both to indicate the rights of membership in an *okka* as well as the ritual in which such rights are conferred or withdrawn. The Koḍagi term is a corruption of the Sanskrit *sambandha* which means, 'connexion, relation; connexion by marriage, matrimonial alliance, relationship, friendship, intimacy; kinsman; friend; ally'.[1]

Usually, when a person acquires rights of membership in one *okka*, he (or she) by implication loses rights in another *okka*, even though such loss of rights may not be either complete or irrevocable. At an ordinary marriage, for instance, the *sammanda* ritual only confers rights on the bride in the groom's *okka*, but this acquisition of rights in another *okka* implies that the bride loses most of her rights in her natal *okka*. When a wife is divorced, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs the divorcée from her conjugal *okka* and she automatically reverts to her natal *okka*. In the case of a widow who wants to marry someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, *sammanda* is first of all performed severing her connexion with her late husband's *okka*. On such ritual severence, she reverts to her natal *okka*, and *sammanda* is again performed, conferring on her rights in her new husband's *okka*. Between the loss of rights in her late husband's *okka* and the acquisition of rights in her new husband's *okka*, she is a member of her natal *okka*. [586] [587]

The two most important parts of marriage ritual are *mūrta* (part of *mangala*) and *sammanda*. There are three *mūrtas* in an ordinary marriage, two of which give expression to the solidarity prevalent between the groom or bride and his or her kindred respectively. In the third *mūrta* the creation of the new bond between the bride and groom is recognized by the groom's kindred expressing their solidarity with the bride and the bride's kindred with the groom. 593 596 585

[1] Macdonnell, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 339.

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593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
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While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

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3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
872 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* [837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
593 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social,
596 economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttanna of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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needles, in the tiny *chuṇḍekka*[1] fruit, and in brief, in everything from one to one hundred, will you give her rights (*sammanda*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'We give.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'On the marriage of our child into your *okka* our servants will carry on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns*[2] in a box worth five hundred *birāns*. If this goes, who is the family friend to be held responsible for the loss?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I belong to Chīraṇḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Malchira *okka*.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Are you the family friend attached to their soil (*maṇṇaruva*), or have you been hired with gold for the occasion (*ponnaruva*)?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I am both the traditional family friend and the family friend hired with gold for the occasion.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take these twelve pieces of gold.'

'Pieces of gold' is only a euphemism, however: the groom's family friend is actually given pebbles. He is given only eleven pebbles, one pebble being retained as already mentioned.

Groom's Family Friend: 'I have received eleven pieces of gold. If your innocent child, the girl who is married to our boy, complains that the rice is too hot, or that the curry is too pungent, or that her father-in-law is abusive, or that her mother-in-law is niggardly, or that her husband is impotent, or that she cannot stay in her husband's house, or that her husband's people are poor, and thus complaining, she goes back to her natal *okka* and sits there, who is the person to be held responsible for telling her what is right and repairing the wrong, and for providing us (who have gone to fetch her), for our return journey, with servants for company and torches to light our way?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Who are you?'

Bride's Family Friend: 'I belong to Appacheṭṭolanḍa *okka*, and I am the family friend of Nuchchimaneyanḍa *okka*.'

[1] *Chuṇḍekka* is a tiny fruit growing on a bushy plant used for hedging. It is a vegetable, and in the above context it means a thing of small value, or a contemptible thing.

[2] *Birān* is a corruption of *varaha*, an ancient Indian coin worth about Rs 3-8-0.

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Groom's Family Friend: 'Are you the traditional family friend, or have you been hired with gold for the present occasion?' 596 593 585

Bride's Family Friend: 'Both.'

Groom's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.' He pays a *paṇa* to the bride's family friend.

Bride's Family Friend: 'If our young girl comes upon some misfortune, who is the family friend to be held responsible for sending her to her natal *okka* with servants for company and torches for the road?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'I.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

He pays a *paṇa* to the groom's family friend.

The ritual of *sammanda* is now over.

V

The transfer of pebbles is an essential part of *sammanda*. According to an old saying, 'the weight of a person in gold is twelve pieces' (*ponnu tūka manushya pannaraṇḍachchi*). The totality of rights which a person has in the *okka* of which he is a member is represented by twelve pebbles referred to as 'pieces of gold'. At marriage the bride's family friend gives eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend as most of the rights which the bride had in her natal *okka* have been given up and acquired in the groom's *okka* instead. One pebble is retained because the bride's connexion with her natal *okka* is too deep and fundamental to be totally destroyed. In fact, if the bride happens to be divorced later, she has a right to return to her natal home. As the old saying has it, 'when a girl falls upon evil days, she goes back to her natal home'.

Some Coorgs have taken the theory of the estimation of the value of the rights of a person in his (or her) *okka* rather literally. They argue that each 'piece of gold' represents the traditional estimate of the price of a part of the ancestral property and at the marriage of a virgin the bride's relatives buy up her rights in her natal *okka* and pay her the price. The bride buys herself membership of the groom's *okka* with the money she has acquired.

Pieces of gold do not seem to have been used in the past instead of pebbles. The use of pebbles is clearly symbolic and it enables the persons concerned to understand the legal implications of marriage.

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593 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles
596 hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a
585 bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

593 Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length
596 of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But
586 elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the
768 groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kalhumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

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natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

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587 and consequently only the ritual withdrawal of membership will
●596 be described here. Set formulas very similar to those used for
593 conferment of membership are used at the withdrawal.

The ritual is performed in the central hall of the late (or divorced) husband's house. Two kinsmen of the widow (or divorcée) and the family friend of her natal *okka* stand in a row facing two kinsmen of the dead (or divorced) husband, and the family friend of his *okka*. The articles which the widow (or divorcée) brought with her to her conjugal house are kept in the central hall in the boxes in which they were brought at the wedding. The presence of the widow or divorcée herself is not deemed necessary.

The widow's family friend opens the proceedings by asking the late husband's family friend whether all the concerned men are present, and the late husband's family friend replies in the affirmative.

Widow's Family Friend: 'Muthamma of such-and-such an *okka* married Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka*. Ponnappa was short-lived. Owing to Muthamma's evil destiny, she was not permitted the good fortune of living together with her husband for a long time. We will now take back your girl Muthamma according to the adage, "when a girl comes upon evil days, she goes back to her natal *okka*".'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'When Muthamma married Ponnappa, her servants carried on their heads goods worth a thousand *birāns* in boxes worth five hundred *birāns*. Whatever goods now remain, after having been eaten and worn, may I take them back?'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Yes, that is according to old usage.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'I have received it. When Muthamma married Ponnappa she was given membership of Ponnappa's *okka*. She lost membership of her natal *okka* and you gave us eleven pieces of gold on that occasion which we now return.'

He returns eleven pebbles to the widow's family friend.

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received them.'

Late Husband's Family Friend: 'Here, take witness-money.'

Widow's Family Friend: 'I have received it.'

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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593]
matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

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587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
● 594 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *heṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvahdga.*

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

526 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kûl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

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brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided. 582

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddanḍa *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*. 536 582

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*. 582 601

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is 582 539

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*'. (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely; and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
606 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among
● 596 the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is 606
told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal house- 596
hold that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the 582
ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the 428
chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much 596
stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of 582
south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

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582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the
596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's
582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions
596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a
596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's
[582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease. 591 593

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage. [535]

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family. 594

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it. [178] [342]

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels 594 596

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 769 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa* in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

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he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like 769
a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. 596
But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavanḍa, Biddanḍa, and Kaliyāṭanḍa *okkas* have [778]
separate shrines for *biras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the 769
ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called 353
kaimaḍa, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round 778
the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

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796 occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that
526 are not destructive of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this
578 part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these
596 festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all
796 the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the
621 harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *sib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *sib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

must be carried by a member of another *sib* along with that of his own *sib*. It is the *sibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *sib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[56] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages [46] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

TABLE OF *SAMMANDA* RIGHTS

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Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
1.	The marriage of a virgin (*hanni mangala*).	Bride.	In her natal *okka*.	In the grooms' *okka*.	
2.	*The marriage of a widow*:				
	(*a*) To her dead husband's brother.	..	..	..	No rights are given as the widow already has rights in her new husband's *okka*. The recent tendency to give her rights anew in her new husband's *okka* shows that the elementary family is becoming more important among Coorgs.
	(*b*) When the new husband belongs to a different *okka* from her dead husband's.	Widow-bride.	In her dead husband's *okka*.	In the new husband's *okka*.	The widow's connexion with her dead husband's *okka* is first of all severed and this restores her to her natal *okka*. At her remarriage she is given rights in the new husband's *okka*.
3.	Divorce	Divorcée.			Her connexion with her husband's *okka* is severed and she then reverts to her natal *okka*.
4.	*Kold ádanga sammanda muripa*: when, in exceptional circumstances, it is intended to give the children of the widow or divorcée membership of	Widow or divorcée's children.	In their father's *okka*.	In their mother's *okka*.	Children normally are members of their father's *okka*, and only under exceptional circumstances are they transferred to

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Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*: (*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:
782

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *sīmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
● 596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small 243
rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) 788
is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral [596]
estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the [846]
ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues [769]
to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger [787]
member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astro- [777]
loger, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [014] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [595] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 778 [1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriage are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [178] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 425 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597-
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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responsibility of Mother Kāvēri and the ancestors of Muthamma's *okka* to see that the couple have sons, and prosper'.

It is essential to note that in a *makka parijé*[1] union the husband does not acquire any rights in the *makka parijé* wife's house, except the right to food and clothing during his stay there.

Adoption is resorted to only when there is neither an agnatic male descendant nor an unmarried girl in the *okka*. Formerly, during the time of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, the ruler's permission was necessary for an adoption, and for an *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* union. This was because these devices could be used to shut out a distant agnatic male relative. But it is certain that the local elders would have tried to prevent an adoption to defraud a distant agnatic kinsman.

Two of the three devices for ensuring the continuity of an *okka* threatened with extinction because of the lack of agnatic descendants involve the granting of membership to an outside male, while the third does not. But whether membership of the *okka* is granted or not, each of the three customary devices is enveloped in ritual and involves the gathering together of the concerned relatives, family friends, and villagers. The legal and social consequences of each device are made clear at a solemn ritual occasion held in the sacred ancestral house of the *okka* whose continuity is threatened.

X

The implications of marriage, its rights and duties, are made clear at the performance of *sammanda* ritual. Most of the rites performed subsequent to *sammanda* dramatize the transfer of the girl from her natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

To begin with, the groom goes to the bride sitting alone in the kitchen of her natal house, performs *mūrta* to her, and presents her with a purse containing coins (*chila paṇa*). The groom ties the purse to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*, but before doing so he unties the purse presented earlier by the mother. Thus the purse presented by the groom replaces the purse presented by the bride's mother. The newly created affinal bond replaces the uterine bond. In a patrilocal and patrilineal society,

[1] *Makka parijé* is not restricted to unmarried girls only. For instance, a widow might be called upon to raise up seed for her conjugal *okka* by entering into a *makka parijé* alliance.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

597
428

Serial No.	*Occasion*	*Subject of the rights*	*Where the subject had rights originally*	*Where now given*	*Remarks*
6 (contd.)					
	(*c*) Adoption.	The boy to be adopted.	In his natal *okka*.	In the adoptive *okka*.	Only when there are no agnatically-related males may a stranger be adopted to continue the *okka* threatened with extinction owing to lack of heirs. The adoptive son loses his membership of his natal *okka* and becomes a member of his adoptive *okka*. The consent of all the adult males of the natal *onka* of the adoptive son, and the consent of the caste-elders is necessary for the adoption to be valid.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house 425 and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 177 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

● 597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
● 597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582
[178] The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[171] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

1;Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

888 their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' [576] (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

[516] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male [481] cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

888 A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate 601 kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

601 There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may 587 address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

601 Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

888 Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that 551 whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided. 582

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddanḍa *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*. 596 582

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kuñjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*. 582 601

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is 582 539

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many 171 more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannaḍa-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people 582 than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's step-mother is called cikavvē, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyē, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa- [115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in [614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are [613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter- [115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144–145 — Analyst]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñandwkw mande ille, kodavēkw ca:ce ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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586 587 614 539 796

even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Co:mavvē came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apāyyē. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvē of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvē of husband's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvē.

Aruvē of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

601

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin-marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'. 6 01 [582]

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [5], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, odeyā and ponnu respectively.

Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language): 113 114

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes and Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 120) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal. [582]

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper. 128

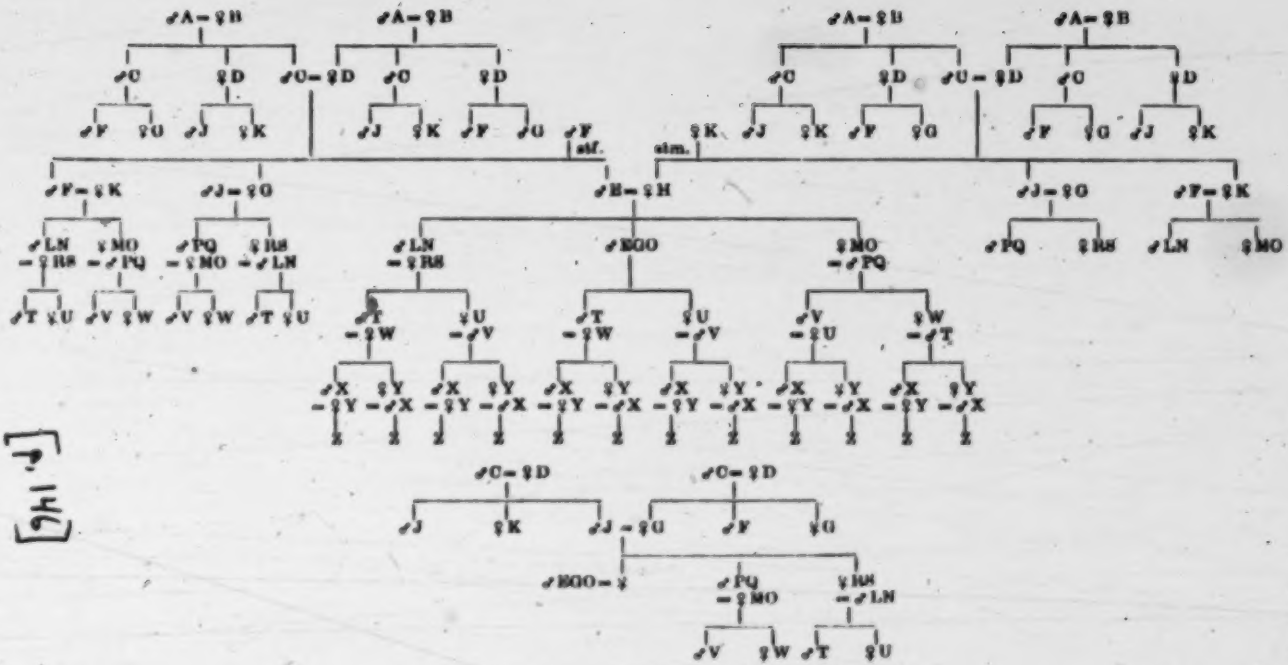

TABLE 1.

The Coorg kinship system. The terms corresponding to the letters entered in the chart are given in Table 2. The collateral lines have not been carried down through all the descending generations.

[p. 146]

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TABLE 2. TERMINOLOGY MARKED IN TABLE 1 BY LETTERS.

A mutajjē.
B mutaːyi.
C ajjē.
D taːyi.
E apē.
F ayyē; if older than Ego's father, he may be called balliapē, if younger, coriapē.
G maːviⁿ; Ego's father's sister, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tammaːviⁿ.
H avvē.
J maːvēⁿ; Ego's mother's brother, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tammaːvēⁿ.
K cikavvē; if older than Ego's mother, she may be called balliavvē (cf. F) or dodḍavvē, if younger, boːjavvē.
L appē, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are older than Ego.
M akē, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are older than Ego.
N tammapē, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are younger than Ego.
O taige, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are younger than Ego.
P baːvē, used of those male cross-cousins who are older than Ego.
Q Maciṇē, used of those male cross-cousins who are younger than Ego.
R mammē, used of those female cross-cousins who are much older than Ego.
S maciṇi or maciṇiei, used of those female cross-cousins who are younger than or of about the same age as Ego.
T moːvēⁿ.
U moːva; T and U may be called collectively maka.
V maymē.
W maymā.
X Kurumoːvēⁿ.
Y Kurumoːva; X and Y may be called collectively kurumaka.
Z no unitary term; collectively called kurumakaḍa maka 'children of grandchildren'; with distinction of sex kurumoːvēⁿḍa moːvēⁿ (or moːva) 'son (or, daughter) of grandson' and kurumoːvaḍa moːvēⁿ (or, moːva) 'son (or, daughter) of granddaughter'.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Ayava of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

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at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives.

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult.

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged.

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt.

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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764 While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with
●602 turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a
824 little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually
[578] accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

[243] It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

585 The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride.

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group.

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity.

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl.

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy.

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead.

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

● 602 606 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the form er's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

606 It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is [171] recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé biruḍu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431 602

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kinḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

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764 wife places on the spouse's head the mud vessel filled with water,
602 the coconut on the eldest son's head, and the spouted vessel full of water on the 'cross-nephew's' head. The family friend marks the forehead of each of these mourners with a few rice-grains yellowed with turmeric, and adjusts a ring of twisted grass on the ring-finger of the left hand. A mango leaf is put into the mud pot and another into the spouted vessel, while the eldest son is given a third leaf to carry in his hand. A hole is bored in both the mud pot and coconut to enable the liquid inside to trickle down to the ground from the head as the mourners march in state from the pond to the bier. The 'cross-nephew' has to carry the spouted vessel in such a way that a little water drips from it through the spout all the time.

The mourners go round the bier thrice, moving anti-clockwise, and at the end of the third round the spouse stands near the corpse's left shoulder, the son by the right shoulder, and the 'cross-nephew' near the feet. A little of the water in each of the three 'vessels' is poured into a dining-dish.

The three mourners then salute the corpse, after which they again go round the corpse thrice, moving anti-clockwise, sprinkling rice yellowed with turmeric as they go. After the final round is completed each takes up his original position by the corpse. The spouse touches the bier thrice with his (or her) pot and then smashes it to pieces by knocking it against the frame of the bier. As he (or she) does this, he utters the funeral cry, 'Thou art ruined . . . (husband, father, &c.)'.

The son follows next and he cuts the coconut into two halves after touching the bier thrice with it. He throws the halves underneath the bier and utters the funeral cry. The 'cross-nephew' who comes last repeats his predecessors' actions, at the end of which he throws the spouted vessel under the bier.

Shri K. J. Chenappa tells me that the pot represents the affinal bond which is destroyed at death, while the seed (coconut) is carried by the son who continues the *okka*, and the 'cross-nephew' carries the spouted vessel. He represents another *okka* which is linked to the dead person's by the fact that the dead person was a sibling of the 'cross-nephew's' parent.

[594] Husband and wife constitute a legal, economic, ritual, and moral unity among Coorgs, and the sense of this unity is so great that the surviving spouse plays an even greater part in funeral rites than the eldest son, who represents the dead person's *okka*.

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The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

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764 602 431 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koṇḍavanu koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between [582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 585 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man' (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 602 431 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 585 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

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already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanié), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

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wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mammé, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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582 between the two affinal groups ensure not only the stability of the
596 marriage, but also contribute to the solidarity of each of the two *okkas* connected by the marriage, and especially of the groom's *okka*.

XII

587 A woman is socially identified with her sisters, and a person's
582 mother's sisters are identified with his mother. As sororatic unions
596 are preferred among Coorgs, a mother's younger sister steps into the mother's shoes in the event of the mother's death before her sister's marriage. It is regarded as natural for the step-mother to hate her step-children, and a widower marries his dead wife's younger sister because he believes that the latter is more likely than anybody else to treat her step-children well.

A man's mother's sisters' children are regarded as his brothers and sisters. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter: such a union would be incestuous. The importance of the mother's sisters is stressed in their identification with the mother and in identifying their children with one's brothers and sisters.

582 It has been remarked earlier that the marriage of a girl causes a
596 change in the established relations of the members of her natal as well as conjugal *okka*. The former *okka* loses a member, whereas the latter gains one. The members of one group have to adjust themselves to the loss of a member who was with them for seventeen or eighteen or more years, and whom they all love deeply, whereas the other group have to admit a grown stranger into their *okka*. This is the inevitable result of the rule of patrilocal residence. The marriage of a daughter means her exile from her natal home. But cross-cousin marriage ensures that the daughter in question goes into an *okka* with which strong bonds of solidarity already exist. Further, the daughter's daughters return to their mother's natal *okka* on their (former's) marriage, while the daughter's sons provide a home for their mother's brother's daughters. In other words, marriage with a cross-cousin minimizes the disturbances resulting from marriage.

604 The maternal uncle is an important relative: he is the mother's
[582] brother, and represents the mother's natal *okka*. Perhaps he himself has married his sister's husband's sister—cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical among Coorgs. He is also likely to be father-in-law to his sister's children. But he belongs to a different *okka* from his

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts.

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother.

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding.

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes.

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *Koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kinḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his

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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother. 582

That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case. 582 585 605 [431]

While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities 601 171

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[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After [602] this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were [515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls [602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office [292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger [301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth [292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been [342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the [778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house [178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of [533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front [782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between [605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are [834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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596 428 was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actually take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share [594] of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

[587] When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she [586] is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of [848] extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

596 The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the household. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, 606 all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

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at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives.

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult.

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged.

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt.

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593 A person's rights in his or her *okka* are represented by twelve
596 pebbles, euphemistically called 'twelve pieces of gold' (*pannaran-ḍachchi pon*). At marriage a girl loses most of her rights in her natal *okka* and obtains them in her conjugal *okka* instead. The bride's family friend transfers eleven pebbles to the groom's family friend. Eleven pebbles are transferred and not twelve. One pebble is retained by the girl's natal *okka* and this is because the bride retains some rights in her natal *okka*. She never loses them entirely. She has always a home from home. Her natal home is called *tā mané* (mother's home?), and a woman always feels tenderly towards it.

[606] A woman has a right to be maintained out of the funds of her conjugal *okka*. She is expected to do her share of domestic work under the guidance of the mistress of the house (*manépaṇikārti*). Not infrequently the mistress of the house is also her mother-in-law.

[422] A woman is entitled to cultivate a patch of ground for ginger and
[434] turmeric, and to raise fowl and pigs, and the income from their sale is entirely *her* property which she may hold even against her husband or children. But she may work on this patch only after doing her share of domestic work for the day.[1]

593 The preference for leviratic unions helped in the assimilation of
596 a woman with her conjugal family. The Coorg saw, 'I will not come
587 down the steps I have climbed up', refers to the fact that once a girl entered her conjugal home she usually stayed there for good, marrying one of the brothers of the husband in the event of the death of the latter. A girl on marriage becomes a member of her husband's *okka* and widowhood by itself does not alter her legal status. She continues to be a member of her conjugal *okka*. In fact, if there are no heirs to her dead husband's *okka* she might be called upon to raise up seed for it by entering into '*okka parijé*' or '*makka parijé*' alliance. She is not permitted, however, to raise up seed for her natal *okka*. There was an instance of this in Nālknāḍ many years ago and it resulted in bitter hostility between the widow's natal and conjugal *okkas*.

593 Rights in a joint family are referred to as *sammanda*, and *sam-*
596 *manda* may be conferred or withdrawn. At marriage the bride acquires rights in the groom's house, and this is referred to as the

[1] Similarly, in the non-paddy season, men could cultivate small patches of land for ginger and turmeric. But they could only attend to them after they had done their share of the day's work on the ancestral estate.

groom's *okka* to collect. The water in the well is worshipped before 585
taking a vesselful into the kitchen. (It was seen earlier that the confined woman similarly worshipped the well before resuming her contact with it after an absence of several months.)

At night, on the same day, the bride is given a new name by the [553]
women members of the groom's *okka*. This may be the name of a dead woman of the groom's *okka*. Even when the bride is not given a totally new name, some change is effected in her old name.[1] If the bride is divorced later, or if she becomes a widow and wishes to return to her natal house, at the ceremony in which her connexion with her conjugal *okka* is severed, the family friend of her natal *okka* refers to her by the name given to her in her natal house, while the family friend of the groom's *okka* refers to her by the name given to her at marriage. Thus the giving of a new name marks a change in the bride's social personality: she loses her membership of her natal *okka* and becomes a member of the groom's *okka*.

Soon after the bride has carried water from the domestic well into the kitchen, the groom's mother gives her a cup of milk to drink, or a dish of rice and milk sweetened with sugar. In some parts of Coorg she also combs the daughter-in-law's hair on this occasion.

In the patrilocal *okka* the relationship between mother-in-law 593
and daughter-in-law is very intimate and important. One might 606
say that in the first few years of marriage it is even more important than the husband–wife relationship. The fact of social segregation of the sexes operates against the young husband and wife spending any considerable time together before bedtime. Again, it is not thought proper for the young husband and wife to spend too much time in each other's company. Such a couple will be 'talked about'. A young man must attend to his work, must not encourage his wife to be indifferent to her share of domestic work, and must be respectful to his elders. All this means that he does not get a real chance to be with her till he retires to bed at night.

The daughter-in-law must try and please her parents-in-law: 606
this is one of the main aims of her life. She must do her share of the

[1] *Akkamma* might be changed, for instance, into *Akkavva*. 'Amma' indicates girlhood while 'Avva' indicates womanhood. Some westernized Coorgs do not change names at marriage. The names of dead relatives are not very popular nowadays as they are considered old fashioned. [177]

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606 domestic work under the close supervision of her mother-in-law. She spends most of her time with the latter.[1]

The mother-in-law, too, has her duties towards her daughter-in-law, though in her case her rights vastly outweigh her duties. The ideal mother-in-law is one who is 'like a mother' to her daughter-in-law. She is expected to be kind and protective, and she is usually sensitive to what her neighbours and others say about the way she treats her daughter-in-law.

602 606 It was seen earlier that the ritual giving of milk is an expression of the solidarity that is, or ought to be, prevalent between the persons concerned. In the foregoing instance, the giving of milk (or sweetened dish of rice and milk) is frequently accompanied by the mother-in-law's combing the daughter-in-law's hair. Before a girl's marriage it is usually the mother, or some older female relative, who combs the former's hair and plaits it. Combing is an expression of friendliness. Marriage transfers the bride from her natal house to the groom's house, and the bride passes under the control of her mother-in-law. Solidarity rites are performed on this occasion. That the mother-in-law is equated with the mother is shown in her performing some of the duties which a mother usually does towards her daughter.

606 It is not correct, however, totally to identify the mother-in-law with the mother. The mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relationship is usually one of conflict and the reasons are not far to seek. The daughter-in-law has to obey and respect the mother-in-law as long as the latter is alive. Until her mother-in-law dies her social personality does not attain completion. Also, there is a struggle between the two women for the possession of the son, and this conflict is especially acute in the first few years of marriage. Frequently, the daughter-in-law's relatives do not help to minimize this conflict. The birth of children, however, reduces the intensity of the conflict.

XI

582 The Coorg *okka* is an exogamous unit. Sexual relations with a daughter or sister of a member of the *okka* are regarded as incestuous. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's

[1] All over patrilocal India the mother-in-law–daughter-in-law relation is recognized as a very important relation, and as basically one of conflict. See the author's *Marriage and Family in Mysore*, Bombay, 1942, pp. 191–9.

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

• 606 The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
596 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have
[539] a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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overtly or covertly. But there are other balancing factors: a girl is 606
told from childhood onwards by every elder in her natal house- 596
hold that she should obey her husband and parents-in-law, and that the greatest thing she could do would be to be approved by her affinal kindred. Besides, a man is bound by the most powerful ties to his joint family; and even more important than this is the fact that he does not want to be known as the one who split his joint family.

Where an adult male is entitled to demand his share of the 582
ancestral property, marriage with a stranger girl increases the 428
chances of the division of the joint family. On the other hand, marriage with a relative makes such a division less likely. But among Coorgs certain relatives like the sisters and daughters of agnatically related males and the daughters of one's mother's sisters' daughters are tabooed for marriage. Only cross-cousins remain eligible.

As has already been mentioned, the Coorg *okka* is a very much 596
stronger institution than the joint family of the higher castes of 582
south India. The theory of the impartibility of its traditional property and the preference for leviratic unions buttress it strongly against fission. Add to it the fact that a cross-cousin is commonly chosen for marriage and it becomes almost impregnable.

The departure of a bride from her natal to her conjugal house on the second day of marriage is an occasion charged with emotion: I have seen an adult Coorg brother break down with grief when his sister left for her husband's home after the *sammanda* ceremony. Parents are aware that when they marry their daughter they lose her.

This breaking of the brother-sister bond which is inevitable in a patrilocal society leaves a void which is only filled when the children of the brother and sister intermarry. It may be said that the wound takes a generation to heal. This is only so if it is regarded as an individual instance, as the completion of a single cycle. But it is seen differently if each marriage is regarded as the repayment of a debt incurred a generation ago, as the working out of the principle of reciprocity. The links which are forged today by marriages between two *okkas* are only a continuation of the links which have been forged in the past. The individual instances appear only as points on two or more parallel lines which are linked all the way through. Such a view mitigates the sense of loss which the parents of the girl experience, and also gives them a sense of security as far as the girl is concerned. The prior kinship bonds which prevail

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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585

[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After
[602] this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were
[515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls
[602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office
[292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger
[301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth
[292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been
[342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the
[178] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two
[178] standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of
[533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front
[282] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between
[605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are
[834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to everyCoorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

espionage, got the better of a stranger like himself. Mr. Cole 175 *
forwarded Dr. Ingledew's reports to Madras and Calcutta. 643 *
He had, before the death of Vírarájendra, in anticipation of 648 *
the approaching difficulties, under the 7th of June fully entered upon the Coorg question in a paper, which reported the temporary assumption of the government of Coorg by the Rájah of Sóde. His idea was, that Lingarája was successor to the throne of Coorg de jure, or as Mr. Cole expresses himself, by the doctrine of the shástras (as if the Coorgs had any shàstra, or had any thing to do with Hindu Shástras; as if there had been any law in Coorg, different from the will and whim of the Rájah). After Lingarája, his son, it appeared to the Resident, had a right to succeed. If Lingarája had no son, a son of the Rájah of Sóde would be the next heir. Female succession was excluded altogether. However, Mr. Cole acknowledged, that he could not speak positively as to local usage. (Female succession was law in the Ikkeri family, from which the Coorg Rájahs had sprung, of which circumstance Mr. Cole seems to have been ignorant). He wished to receive instructions from Government, how the Agent at Mercara ought to be directed to act. Was he to adhere to the doctrine of the Shástras? or to local usage? or to the personal wishes of the Rájah? Opposition, in the three cases mentioned, was to be expected from the Sóde Rájah, who was now the actual ruler, but had no right to the succession. [611]

On the 15th June Mr. Cole reported to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, as an amendment to his last despatch, that the principal men among the Coorgs seemed unanimously well inclined to the Sóde Rájah, wherefore he would rather purpose, * that Government should acknowledge him. On the 16th June he writes to the same authority again, that all Coorg was in favour of the Sóde Rájah, and that it would, therefore, be expedient to acknowledge him without delay. On the 18th June he sent the additional

* [Errata: this should read "propose". — see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 413 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Formerly, every Coorg okka had one or more Paraya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

●613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. ?

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 105–112.

?[see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] ?[see p. 129]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage.
171 Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannaḍa-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people
582 than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's stepmother is called cikavvē, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyē, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa-
[115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in
[614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are
[613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter-
[115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144–145 -- Analyst]

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Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000
[161] people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the
province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South
[131] India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were
originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still
form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring
[564] the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how
far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of
[114] the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations
121 of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological
account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a
description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those
Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in
Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns
and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and
southern extremities of the province present differences of detail
is not known.

614 Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essen-
[551] tially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by
its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name.
All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the
423 sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this
614 ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative
or good fortune and without depending on the sib property
acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect
his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the
other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In
other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon
the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

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114 [1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my
122 tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical
104 Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is
the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in mavn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It is the sib, moreover, that

614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:daga near Mercara at the padra:|inamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:ru, a dance called koḍia:ṭu, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a koḍi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the koḍi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the
[243] staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: puṭēri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
537 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[964] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage.

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 2/1 [see p. 129]

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601 which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage.
171 Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

582 Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

601 It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship
582 terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's stepmother is called cikavvē, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyē, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designa-
[115] tions involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in
[614] this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are
[613] exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of ter-
[115] minological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

1/1 [see appendix II, pp. 144–145 -- Analyst]

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The cere- [778] mony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 778

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanïë), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

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585 wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older [515] than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After [602] this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were [515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls [602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office [292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger [301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth [292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been [342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the [778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two [178] standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of [533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front [782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as maciṇi and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as maciṇi and mammé, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between [605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are [834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyē] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvë and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:ḷia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kuṇḍi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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585 [1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly. 585 [614]

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na 585 614 539 [128] [115] [551]

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these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81. 174 585

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē. [192]

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585 ku:ḍɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district
●614 in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people
539 of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood ?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë kannina kɯ:tianḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ tandu: bendu: paranditɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yitɯ na:ḷɯ mu:rta no:ṭitɯ inde:këtɯ dinatwlɯ maṇgwla kuricitɯ indɯ maṇgwl(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë baymbëṇgɯ sammanda koḍwkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Kɯ:tianḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi kɯ:tianḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumane na:lɯ kë:ṭ(ɯ) aramane ni:rɯ balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi [1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa [2] ba:ṇe upë:ḷa ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍwtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tianḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine [3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib ?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3 46] [3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynumane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: okuvē kaḷa kaḷatwlw boːṭi citaːril(w) aki kommel(w) upw tuyyatw maḷu karavatw puḷi kalatwlw paːra bindigel(w) ēṇṇe baraṇilw ney allate kaḍacekallw ammikallw biːjuvē kallw meypē|(a) oḷake cavṭuvē raːṭe bakatw guḍḍa kaːcuvē gañji koːtuvē cembw katuvē puḷḷi kuḷipēḷa paːre atakoṭw kaḍwcikoṭw meypē koṭw puḷḷikoṭw kuːḍa sammanda koḍwtiraː.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eːlatoːṭa kaːpitoːṭa puḷitoːṭa baːḷetoːṭa toṇgwtoːṭa iñjitoːṭa mañjatoːṭa pañjetoːṭa kuːḍa sammanda koḍwtiraː.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nēːti ketuvē matw biːdi ketuvē kati maṇgaḷapē guddali cuki poːnē coːmē madici poːnē poːri patwkuḍi aːḷw paytakētw patw karapa paymbaṭi nellw nell(w) aḷapē paːni koci aḷapē seːrw aki aḷapē maːna neːlelw toːkw muːlelw baːḷw aːṇilw kati taːkwnē taḷia tuːkwnē boḷica cuːdwk(w) irwmbw cuṇḍekw modalw ondwtoṭw nuːroːḷa sammanda koḍwtadallate kwːtiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭwl(w) ajjē toṭwlw kuññi olekēṭ(w) ajji saːlaḍaṇga baːlaḍaṇga sammanda koḍwtiraː.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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535 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures
614 of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy,
539 the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa manekw ba:ḷw ba:ke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rw nĕḷatwlw iñji mañja naṭitw ko:ḷi pandi ca:kitw w:ḷemba:ḷe ma:ritw nĕ:ḍwnĕ paṇatwna cepwl(w) wṭw beca:na na:ḷe piniandw niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ŏḍwtit (w) allasalla: nd(w) ĕṇṇwce:ṇgi idwṇgm javabda:rĕn a:nantĕ aṇgĕnaruvĕ da:rw.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvĕ who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

The aruvĕ of the groom's sib: na:nw.
'I.'
Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeda ennw.
'What is your sib-name ?'
Aruvĕ: tamba:ṇḍa.
Speaker of bride's party: a:ḷwpeda ennw.
'What is your personal name ?'
Aruvĕ: mutaṇṇĕ.
Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvĕna: ponnaruvĕna:.
'Are you the aruvĕ of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvĕ ?'
Aruvĕ: maṇṇaruvĕnu: aku ponnaruvĕnu: aku.
'I am both.'
Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavĕ*na: a:ḷwperiavĕ*na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rĕ or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

Aruvē: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnu. ē:ra unde:ŋgi taralu. kammi unde:ŋgi kē:tavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: uḷḷē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnu illi haku sta:panekw becandi:tu.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kaneku i: tangammē: nd(u) ēnnuvē kanni ningada tange maka. indwtotu me:vara ku:tianḍ(a) okada ka:ḷapē: nd(u) ēnnuvē baymbēnda pommaka maka. annane ba:ḷike bandē ponnu mane ca:yille: ndu: añci utitille: ndu: pati ja:ruva: ndu: kotu to:ruva: ndu: o:nilu kete: ndu: ca:nakw kayya: ndu: ni:rukw du:ra: ndu: ma:vē"nda ba:yiguna po:ra: ndu: ma:vi"ra kayguna po:ra:ndu: odeyēnda mayguna po:ra: ndu: macinicira managuna po:ra: ndu: ku:ḷu kuycatu: ndu: kari kaycatu: ndu: na:yi kadicatu: ndu: pu:ñe ma:ndwci: ndu: ētu kutwci: ndu: payyu cavtwci: ndu: kokaci ketwci: ndu: ba:kemane butitu ta:manek(u) o:di oḷici po:yitu aḷatitu ba:manena paḷandandu ta:manena tudicandu aḷataka fa:ya" paranditu tiddi ni:kitu bateku tu:du: ku:tuk(u) a:ḷu: kodwtitu ayci tapantē angēnaruvē da:ru.

'Until today this girl called Tangammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:ḷapē of the Ku:tianda sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung
614 (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My
539 father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nuu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē*nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē*nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makakuu nu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:ruu bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le same:ta i: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭituu maṇguul(a) axḷi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakiluu ēṇṇa baṇṇa no:ṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:ṇate kē:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi iduṇguu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this?'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallu annane takuuku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taṇgammē became Taṇgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. [114] Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment
587 to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
614 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe naṇḍo:mu:illavé nu:bendu: aggēnaruvēnu: ma:lu kāṭi nindira:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvēs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

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The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.
'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:ḷu ba:ke bandalli apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira adrusṭa kōṭad(u) a:yitu: patu ka:la baḍḍu ba:vēku runa illata:naṅguṇḍu indakaṇe niṅgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(u) ōṇṇitiñjē co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññina poṇṇu kōṭate:ṅgi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:ḷu ba:ke bapaka aññu:ru bira: nura poṭiḷu a:yira bira:nura ma:luna sa:laḍaṅga ba:laḍaṅga terakiaṇḍu bandaṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miñjuna:na bayyak(u) ōḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:ḷu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:tu. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apēyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira va:ḷu ba:ke bandalli co:mavvōṅgu cu:duk(u) irumbu cuṇḍeku modalu ondutotu nu:ro:ḷa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu sammanda koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu co:mavvōṅg(u) iñjē sammandaturna kovvāji niṅga tandē pannandaci ponn(u) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kōṭate:ṅgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Ōmayvē came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apāyyē. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Arusi of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Arusi of husband's sib: idari sa:ksipana.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvē.

Arusi of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

APPENDIX II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, [352] resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. [177] Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

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PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead-ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *θ*, *x* should be read for *v*, *δ*, *γ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

aim the well-being of the village. Both these cults emphasize for an individual his membership of a particular social group, the joint family in the one instance and the village community in the other.

Three other features of social structure have to be considered in connexion with the village cult. In the first place, though the whole village community takes part in the ceremonies, different caste groups have different parts to play and are thus differentiated. Some, for example, take part in the animal sacrifice, while others have nothing to do with it. Thus a caste group within the village is able, within the cult, to establish its own unity and its separation from other groups. This is a significant feature of the caste structure of the village.

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Thirdly, there is the fact that the local deities of the villages have been assimilated to the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as when a particular local deity is identified with Shiva or Pārvati. In this way the Coorg religious community has become incorporated as a part of that wider Hindu religious community. The incorporation, however, is only partial. In an orthodox Hindu cult the temple should be served by a Brahmin. Orthodox Hindu deities are vegetarian and dislike alcohol. But some of the Coorg village-deities demand the blood and flesh of animals and offerings of toddy. What Dr. Srinivas calls the process of Sanskritization of the Coorg village cults is therefore very far from being complete. There are very important remains of paganism. This need not surprise us when we remember the many survivals of local paganism in the Christian countries. What is significant is that in his participation in the worship of the village-deities the Coorg individual is able to think of himself as a member of the widespread Hindu religious community.

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342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built [343] with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [854] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna, Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 648 174 177 [578] [564] ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648] To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, however great the latter may have been through the intellectual superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

619 186 175 643 175 648 (787) 175 643

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg individual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

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the entire eastern fringe of Coorg have many cultural features in common with Mysore. The areas to the west of Bhāgamaṇḍla, and the north-western parts, have many cultural forms in common with South Canara, while the south-western fringe has many features in common with Malabar.

The quadrilateral formed by Mercara in the north, Siddāpur in the east, Śrīmangala in the south, and Bhāgamaṇḍla in the west has been called Coorg Proper by earlier writers. Coorg Proper is an area of greater homogeneity within Coorg, and formerly the bulk of Coorgs lived there. This area might be described as the core and centre of the culture of Coorgs.

When we speak of Mysore (or Kannaḍa) culture, or Malabar (or Malayāḷam) culture, or South Canara (or Tuḷu) culture, we are not thinking of entities unrelated to each other. Malayāḷam and Tuḷu cultures have certain features in common and, similarly, Tuḷu and Kannaḍa. Again, all three share some features. In fact, the whole of India constitutes, in a very broad sense, a single culture-area within which each linguistic area constitutes a region of greater cultural homogeneity. The recognition of the greater homogeneity of each linguistic area should not lead to the ignoring of the larger unity, and still less should it ignore the special connexions with some or all of the neighbouring areas.

A village in the Kannaḍa, Telugu, or Tamil country is a group of houses and huts huddled together in a confined space with fields and gardens stretching all round. But a different type of village prevails in Coorg Proper where Coorgs predominate: every Coorg house is built on its ancestral estate, and near it live the servants of the house, usually men of low caste, in huts of mud and bamboo with thatched roofs. On the other side of the hill or valley lives another Coorg joint family with its satellite families living close by. A few such houses and their dependent huts scattered over the hills and valleys are lumped together and called a village (*ūr*). An eastern plainsman used to seeing villages as close physical entities would be tempted at first to assert that there are no villages in Coorg Proper. Such a view, however, would be wrong. A village in Coorg Proper is real in the sense that its boundaries are known to elders, and the people of the village see themselves as a unity against other villages.

The members of a village have to co-operate on certain occasions such as weddings, funerals, festivals of the village-deity, harvest

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●621 festival, hunts, dances, and thatching a newly built house. Rivalry between villages is still prevalent, and formerly feuds (*maradalé*) between villages were frequent.

162 Most people in Coorg live in villages, either themselves cultivating or supervising the cultivation of land. Exact figures are available only for 1931 when sixty out of every thousand lived in towns, while the rest lived in villages: i.e. 94 per cent. of the population lived in villages.[1] Even now, excepting educated men in government service, or in one of the learned professions, and a few commercial men, others in general prefer to live in their natal villages on account of their close attachment to their ancestral lands.

[361] There are only two towns in Coorg, Mercara, the capital, with a population of 7,112, and Vīrarājpēṭ, with 4,106.

The 1941 Census mentions the total population of Coorg as 168,726, but it does not enlighten us as to the composition of this population. The details are, however, available for 1931 when the total population was 163,327, and of this, 146,007 were Hindus, 13,777 Muslims, 3,425 Christians, and the balance of 118 was accounted for by Jains, Buddhists, and Parsis. Coorgs, with a strength of 41,026, formed the largest single group amongst the Hindus.[2]

III

197 All the important languages spoken in Coorg are Dravidian, with the exception of Hindusthāni and English. Again, detailed figures are available only for 1931 when 62,769 spoke Kannaḍa, 44,585 Koḍagi, the dialect of Coorgs, 14,914 Malayāḷam, 14,275 Tuḷu, and 10,026 Yerava, the dialect of the Yerava tribe. There were 3,007 Tamil-speakers, fewer in fact than the speakers of the Indo-Aryan language, Hindusthāni, who numbered 4,378.[3]

Professor M. B. Emeneau considers that 'the Dravidian language spoken by Coorgs is an independent language, and shows characteristics that in part connect it closely with Kannaḍa, in part with the languages of the Malabar coast, especially Malayāḷam'.[4]

[212] Coorgs make use of the Kannaḍa script on those occasions when they wish to reduce Koḍagi into writing. Such occasions are not,

[1] *Census of India*, 1931, vol. xiii, p. 7.
[2] Ibid., pp. 41–42.
[3] Ibid., p. 38.
[4] In a letter to the author.

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ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

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emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 672 Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 572 596 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the [628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

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are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [623]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

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634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 504 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

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621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [558] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

● 621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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621 wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the
585 huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the
574 guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

621 The members of a village in which a death has occurred are
765 required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning
574 and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

621 Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally
574 dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormé*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

585 On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's
574 house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

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596 622 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 621 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 829 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 [342] The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 572 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

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769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.
787 Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka* [621] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.

[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

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796 occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that
526 are not destructive of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this
578 part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these
596 festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all
796 the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the
621 harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *sib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *sib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

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must be carried by a member of another *sib* along with that of his own *sib*. It is the *sibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *sib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

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596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[567] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages [461] (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

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[p. 176]

VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Ganēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621 two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). 796 The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776 Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346 whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621 made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796 dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535 villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvṭi respectively. The services of 791

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the
796 women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

796 The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various
621 high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

796 According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas*
773 which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

796 The festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in
621 south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 621 Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805] The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannaḍa and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[783] [2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the first of *kādiyār* (Taurus), at about 8 a.m., the members of Kuklūr village gather together before the temple of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. The Brahmin priest of the temple worships the deity, and then the Bhadrakāḷi oracle, Shri Tātaṇḍra Kāryappa, becomes possessed by the deity and, while possessed, he issues instructions as to how to conduct the festival. He allots the work of the festival among the various Coorg *okkas* in the village and decides the dates of the fast and festival days. These days as well as the work which each *okka* has to do have already been decided by custom, and one might say that the oracle only decides according to custom. Sometimes, however, he makes minor alterations to suit special circumstances.

An elder of the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka* then administers the festival vows to the assembled villagers. The headmanship of the Bhadrakāḷi temple runs in the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and to him as *dēva takka* belongs the right of administering oaths. A member of the Kuṭṭaṇḍa *okka* then dances the 'peacock dance' before the temple, carrying a bundle of peacock feathers. The dancer dances to the beat of the Poleya's drum.

No ritual is performed on the second day. On the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the representatives of the Kuṭṭaṇḍa *okka* dances the peacock dance a hundred and one times round the stone post before the temple. Four Coorgs sing the Bhadrakāḷi song to the beat of a big drum (*dōḷu*).

On the eighth day a partial fast is observed till dusk when a horn is blown which puts an end to the fast. At night, after dinner, there is a fancy-dress (*bōḍu*) show in which Coorg men take part. They dress themselves as *sanyasis*, Māpiḷḷa traders from Malabar, Mēda drummers, and so on. The ways and customs of different castes and people from different parts are satirized in the fancy-dress show. In 1941 (when I witnessed the festival) the marriage of a Coorg girl with a Tamil Mudaliar man was satirized. Coorgs do not approve of marriage with non-Coorgs and this disapproval expresses itself in a variety of ways.[1] Such marriages are still unusual.

After the fancy-dress show at the threshing-yard (*kaḷa*) of the

[1] I remember an attempt to pass a formal resolution of censure against a high-placed Coorg gentlemen who had married a non-Coorg. This was during the harvest festival when the various branches of the *okka* are expected to assemble at the ancestral house. The attempt failed conspicuously as a very important branch of the *okka* living outside Coorg failed to turn up.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Nandiyanḍa *okka*, those taking part in the fancy-dress as well as
621 the spectators go to the temple along with the Poleya oracles. The latter dance outside the temple, before the platform where representations of their deities are kept. After this dance the fancy-dress men proceed to every high-caste house in Kuklūr, beginning with the house of the *nāḍ*-headman and ending with the house of the Brahmin priest of the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The order in which they should proceed to the various houses has been fixed by custom. At each house the fancy-dress men are treated to coffee, coconut, plantains, and cooked rice dough (*puṭṭ*).

The duties, contributions in cash or kind, and offerings which each Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr has to make are clearly laid down. These duties run in the *okkas* concerned, and they may not be altered except with their consent. When an *okka* dies out or migrates to a different part of Coorg and a new *okka* from outside buys its property, the latter steps into the rights and duties of the former.[1]

The performance of the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi requires the co-operation of several castes. In the case of all the co-operating castes except Coorgs the contribution to the work of the festival is on the basis of caste. In the case of Coorgs, however, it is on the basis of *okka*. Every Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr is a priestly *okka* at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi.

The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇanḍra, and Nandiyanḍa *okkas* are each required to make offerings of an *ettu pōraṭa* (rice loaded on a pair of bullocks), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), and *kuduré* ('horse'). These offerings are made on different days towards the end of the festival. A young boy from each of the three *okkas* is dressed as a girl and he is called a 'prostitute'. On the eleventh afternoon the three 'prostitutes' run a race and this is followed by a race of the three 'horses'.

A hollow 'horse', minus legs and tail, is made with plaited split bamboo, and in the middle of its back the 'horse' has an opening large enough to allow a man's head and shoulders to pass through. One man sits on the shoulders of another and the head and shoulders of the top man are made to pass through the opening in the bamboo 'horse'. The lower man's head is hidden by the bamboo frame. The frame is decorated with garlands of flowers.

[1] At the Kētrappa festival the immigrant Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* now perform all the duties which once belonged to the Ayyanḍa *okka*. The latter died out and the Paṭṭamāḍa bought their lands and settled down in Bēngūr.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him 791
greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, 796
who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from [789]
possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of [437]
some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is (2) ●
in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village, and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed. This was easier in the past because the hierarchy was tacitly accepted by the people, and low castes like Mēdas and Poleyas did not object to participating with the other castes in the village at a lower level, or even being completely excluded on certain ritual occasions. Again the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nāḍs* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste.

At the *tappaḍaka* ritual, the members of the village or *nāḍ* celebrating the festival of the local village-deity undertake to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions while the festival lasts. The villagers may not kill an animal or break an egg or coconut for the table; and toddy may not be tapped within the village. Villagers who want to consume these articles have to import them from outside. The festival-priests, who are more important than ordinary villagers, may not consume even imported meat and toddy. They have to observe strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. They are also required to observe strict continence and avoid touching laymen.

In the Kētrappa festival, women in their periods are required to leave the village and return to it only after the festival is over. Such a woman is in a condition of pollution; and her presence in the village is regarded as inconsistent with the ritual status of the village. People in a condition of birth- or death-pollution are also not allowed to participate in the festival.

No marriage may be performed during the festival. If a person dies in the village he has to be buried quietly, without the customary firing of guns and band.

These restrictions serve to show that the village (or *nāḍ*) is the concerned entity in the festival. The restrictions increase as concern increases—the festival-priests have to observe more restrictions than the laymen. The village (or *nāḍ*) observing the festival is marked off from other villages by these restrictions. Every villager knows that failure by any one of them to observe the restrictions might result in some misfortune to the entire village. The unity of the village is projected to the 'mystical' plane and is supported by ritual sanctions.

A brief account of a part of the ritual of enumeration of restric-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[62] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 842 846 789 855 553

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

at least in the first few years of marriage, is a much more important relative for a girl than even her husband. And this relationship is basically one of conflict. A girl is also in a relation of conflict with her husband's sisters, married as well as unmarried, and with her husband's brother's wives. 596 606

The conflicts between the women in the patrilocal *okka* strike at its solidarity. Elsewhere in south India where partition is easy, they lead to division of the joint family. But in Coorg where the *okka* is a very strong entity, and where partition is legally forbidden, they make the harmonious working of the *okka* extremely difficult. 596 602

Besides the conflicts mentioned above, certain lines of cleavage in the *okka* are obvious. The distinction between the sexes, which is present in the whole of the society, is also present in every unit of it. So is the distinction between members of different generations. Enormous emphasis is laid on seniority, and this is visible not only between members of different generations, but also between members of the same generation. The younger member has to behave deferentially towards the older.

Before the introduction, in however grudging a form, of the principle of partition, and of the new ideals associated with industrialization and Westernization, the elementary family was not a powerful unit. It obtained only a grudging recognition in ritual, which was quite consistent with its relative lack of emphasis in the total structure. A tendency of recent times is the strengthening of the elementary family at the expense of the *okka*. The elementary family is increasingly becoming the real residential, commensal, and economic group with certain ties with the *okka* from which it is emerging, or has just emerged. 594 178 596

The existence of these divisions inside the *okka* did not prevent it from acting as a unit in relation to other *okkas*. The *okka* was the basic unit of society, and certain offices like the headmanship of the village, *nāḍ*, and the local temple traditionally ran in certain *okkas*. Again, contribution to collective tasks was on the basis of the *okka*. For instance, each local high caste *okka* had to send at least one man and one woman for every Coorg wedding in the village. Similarly, it had to send representatives to the festival of the village-deity, and for repairing roads and building bridges. All the adult men in an *okka* were required to attend a collective dance or hunt. 596 [622] 476

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest. 621 796 776

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village. 622 [364] [363] [485]

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter. 622 829

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a proverb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances. 622 623 [539] [367] [344]

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior
622 agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one
621 woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till
829 death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a
[342] Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to
572 another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that [788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 164 782 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual importance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head. 22 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of [631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of 629 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are, [634] however, the headmen of *stmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
● 622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Coorgs in National Costume

622
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A Village Takka (headman)

[facing p. 50]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Police.

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[635]

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

[615]
[628]

47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 at the rate of Rs. 2—8 per 100 butties, the whole extent of Umbali-tenure would be about 448,900 butties.

651 423 622 An addition, at least in name, to these Umbali-holdings has been lately made at the recommendation of Capt. Cole, who proposed "that a fixed remuneration in the shape of a reduction in the assessment on the land, held by each Patél, be allowed to him as a "*Gaud-Umbali*" for the large additional work thrown on the Patéls by the effects of advancing civilization, by the opening out of the country and by the settlement of Europeans." This measure was hailed with satisfaction by the Patéls; most of them fixed the Umbali on the hereditary lands of their houses and in some cases the Umbali amounted to the entire assessment on their lands, which by this remission became virtually Jhágir or free, so that the "Gaud-Umbali" should be classed with the Inám-lands or freeholds.

651 423 The *Jódi-tenure* (from the Can. jódi, a favourable quit-rent) is the holding of land which has been alienated to the office of the Patéls in the Yélusávirashíme- and Nanjarájpatna-taluq and for the maintenance of religious establishments, in all parts of Coorg. Half of its original assessment having been relinquished in favour of the holders, the Sirkar receives only Rs. 5 per 100 butties as from Jamma-land. Like this the former cannot be sublet and, if left uncultivated, it is at the disposal of the district officers and may be given by them to any ryot on Ságu-tenure, when 5 Rs. of the land-tax are paid to Government and the other 5 Rs. to the religious establishment to which it belongs. The revenue of the Jódi-tenure in 1869-70 was Rs. 5,930—5—7.

All these different holdings were liable to three additional taxes payable to Government viz: ghee-house- and Dhálipaddy-tax.

The *ghee-tax* amounted to half a seer of ghee for every 100 butties of land and was paid in consideration of the Sirkar's expense on feasting the Coorgs, who assembled at

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

Jamma tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [23]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēṅgunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven. 634

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1] [101]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg. 634 184

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs. 634

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly. [623]

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants. [167]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *stmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *stmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *stmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 504 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengar, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621
but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796
pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776
a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622
headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364]
dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363]
kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485]
tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622
From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829
conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622
nāḍ), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623
headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539]
verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367]
in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344]
(*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623
681

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 775 782 182 771 157 648 627 871 623 692

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyastaru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, which he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyasteru", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

623 692 681 623 692 662 182 [273] 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

585
[539]

Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in castes, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva
[624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies.
764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 [203]

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rajah. 692 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Police.

671 177 625 [635]

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

671 177 625 622

43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

[685] [628]

47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable" neither." See Corrigenda, Cor. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: this should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

Polé kanḍa mangala was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

Mangala is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

Mangala carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr-mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

526 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kūl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[656] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

●627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍināḷknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours, who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembán, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children. Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 672 Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 572 596 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the [628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

1:Srinivas. E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pāṇḍira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter
●628 half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen,
634 that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *maradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore
634 bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between
539 Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to touch the see-saw.

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamuṇḍi). The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *ṇammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvti respectively. The services of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

621 are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village, and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed. This was easier in the past because the hierarchy was tacitly accepted by the people, and low castes like Mēdas and Poleyas did not object to participating with the other castes in the village at a lower level, or even being completely excluded on certain ritual occasions. Again the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nāḍs* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste.

796 At the *tappaḍaka* ritual, the members of the village or *nāḍ*
621 celebrating the festival of the local village-deity undertake to
784 observe certain dietetic and other restrictions while the festival lasts. The villagers may not kill an animal or break an egg or coconut for the table; and toddy may not be tapped within the village. Villagers who want to consume these articles have to import them from outside. The festival-priests, who are more important than ordinary villagers, may not consume even imported meat and toddy. They have to observe strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. They are also required to observe strict continence and avoid touching laymen.

796 In the Kētrappa festival, women in their periods are required to
784 leave the village and return to it only after the festival is over. Such a woman is in a condition of pollution; and her presence in the village is regarded as inconsistent with the ritual status of the village. People in a condition of birth- or death-pollution are also not allowed to participate in the festival.

No marriage may be performed during the festival. If a person dies in the village he has to be buried quietly, without the customary firing of guns and band.

These restrictions serve to show that the village (or *nāḍ*) is the concerned entity in the festival. The restrictions increase as concern increases—the festival-priests have to observe more restrictions than the laymen. The village (or *nāḍ*) observing the festival is marked off from other villages by these restrictions. Every villager knows that failure by any one of them to observe the restrictions might result in some misfortune to the entire village. The unity of the village is projected to the 'mystical' plane and is supported by ritual sanctions.

A brief account of a part of the ritual of enumeration of restric-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[521] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

643 648 174 177 [578] [564] ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648] To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

695 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be
671 taken from them.
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74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

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76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an individual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

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77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses may be residing in another country, the district-servants are to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Police.

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

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47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Name of Talugs and Nádu	Area.	No. of villages.	Seat of Kacheries.
I. Mercara-talug	*209*	*57*	*Mercara.*
1. Mercara-Haléri-nád	49	15	Mercara.
2. Kagodlu-nád	40	6	Talatmáne.
3. Horur-nárokkal-nád	39	11	Boykeri.
4. Hudikéri-kanta-murnád	49	14	Murnád.
5. Ulugulo-Mudikéri-nád	32	11	Sunticopa.
II. Padinálknád-talug	*413*	*57*	*Napoklu.*
1. Padinálknád	142	12	Nálkanád Palace.
2. Katiednád	51	12	Bhávuli
3. Tavunád	139	9	Bhágamandala.
4. Benganád	42	11	Kolagadála.
5. Kuyinkéri 1	39	13	Pálur.
III. Yedenálknád-talug	*210*	*49*	*Virájenderpet.*
1. Yedenálknád	92	22	Virájenderpet.
2. Beppanád	41	8	Arméri.
3. Ammatnád	77	19	Cólepét.
IV. Kiggatnád-talug	*400*	*63*	*Hudikéri.*
1. Anjikérinád	89	15	Hudikéri.
2. Thavalakérinád	110	15	Thavalakéri.
3. Hattugatnád	113	13	Ponnappet.
4. Betiednád	89	20	Kuntagráma.
V. Nanjarájpatna 2	*262*	*114*	*Frasérpet.*
1. Surlabi-Gadinád	113	21	Mádapur (Mahádévapur).
2. Yedavanád	94	37	Sómawárpet.
3. Nanjarájpatna-Hobli	55	26	Frasérpét.
4. Rámaswámi-kanavó-Hobli		30	Kampur. 3
VI. Yélusávirashtra-talug.	*91*	*168*	*Saniwárante.*
1. Kodli-Hobli	27	55	Kodlipet.
2. Bilhada-Hobli	18	40	Saniwárante.
3. Nidhada-Hobli	46	73	Gandhalli.
Grand Total	*1585*	*508*	

1, 2, 3 [Errata: These names should read "Kuyinkéri-nad, Nanjarájpatna-talug and Rampur" respectively. See corrigenda, cat 116, p. 479. Ar.]

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Muddu Rāja (1633–86), the grandson of the founder of the dynasty of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas, moved the capital from Hālēri to Mercara in 1681, and this continues to be the capital today. It is not certain whether it was Muddu Rāja or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II) who reorganized the administration, altering the existing *nāḍ*[1] boundaries and creating a clear hierarchy of headmen (*takkas*), and four appellate courts (*paṭṭis*) for the settlement of disputes. 175

The consolidation of the authority of the Rājas which began with the founder was completed only during the time of his great grandson Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II). During the latter's reign we hear of the efforts of Uttu Nāyaka, a chieftain in Armēri in Beppunāḍ, to get the country invaded from the south by Kōṭangaḍi Vīra Varma while Vīra Rāja II was defending the country from the Mysoreans in the east. Vīra Rāja II was luckily able to beat off both the eastern and southern invaders.

The struggle between Mysore and Coorg which began during the time of the Hoysaḷas and continued till the end of the reign of Vīra Rāja II assumed a particularly severe form in the latter half of the eighteenth century, after the usurpation of the Mysore throne by Haider Ali. The severity reached its climax during the reign of Tippu Sultan, Haider's son, and only ended with his death in 1799. Coorgs fought repeatedly for their king and country against the invaders, paying a heavy price for their loyalty.

Haider conquered Bēḍnūr in 1763, and he seems to have thought that this entitled him to suzerainty over Coorg, a claim which he tried to assert by force as well as cunning. In the complicated struggle between him and the Rājas of Coorg, he does not seem to have made any considerable progress so long as the question of succession to the Coorg throne was clear and undisputed.

But the death in 1770 of Muddu Rāja II and Muddayya Rāja, who were both jointly ruling Coorg as representatives of the different segments of the dynasty of Lingāyaṭ Rājas, gave rise to succession disputes between Linga Rāja I, younger brother of Muddu Rāja II, and Dēvappa Rāja, son of Muddayya Rāja. Dēvappa Rāja was successful in the struggle, and the unsuccessful Linga Rāja I sought the help of Haider, who was eagerly waiting for such an opportunity. Haider helped Linga Rāja I to ascend the Mercara throne, and after the latter's death in 1780 he assumed

[1] Coorg was traditionally divided into thirty-five *nāḍs*, each *nāḍ* containing several villages. [63]

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Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

Jamma tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1]

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate.

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought.

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community.

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro-

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 duced were few and far between. The authority of village elders
631 and of the hereditary village headman was recognized and the established administrative institutions were continued.

This phase, however, ended soon after 1858 when the administration of India was taken over by the British Government from the East India Company. Coorg then became part of the territories administered directly by the British in India and of the elaborate administrative and judicial machinery stretching over the whole of
[671] India. Numerous Acts like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Indian Stamp Act applied to every part of India including Coorg.

Under the British, Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's Province, a position which continues even today. Until 1942 the British Resident in Mysore State was also the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Coorg was governed from Bangalore, the headquarters of the Resident. In 1942, the two offices of Resident of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg were separated and a distinguished Coorg, Dewan Bahadur Kēṭōḷira Chengappa was appointed Chief Commissioner. Below the Chief Commissioner was the Superintendent who lived in Coorg. A legislative council consisting of twenty members (fifteen elected and five nominated), presided over by the Chief Commissioner, was constituted in 1924. The council had the right to vote on the budget, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions.

567 A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN COORG

Slavery was widely prevalent in pre-British Coorg. The slaves and agricultural labourers did most of the actual work of the farm under the supervision of their masters who held the land from the state on one of the several forms of tenure prevalent in Coorg. The number of slaves in 1834, when the British annexed Coorg, was estimated at 6,089, but we do not know whether this included the slaves on the Rāja's farms (or *paṇyas*), who were variously estimated at 1,757, 1,720, 1,500, and 1,233.

Slaves were referred to as *jammada āḷu* (or '*jamma* servants'),[1] and there were two classes of slaves, one praedial, called *bhūmi jammada āḷu* (*bhūmi* = land), and the other personal, called *okkalu*

[1] It probably meant that they were slaves of the man holding land on *jamma* tenure.

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are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [23]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

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[p. 58]

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3. Map showing Administrative Divisions in *circa* 1850

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634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *simé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *simé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *simé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village-[23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 504 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:
782

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[598] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *sīmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytúrappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálúr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree. 173 539 [796]

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon. 173 631

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS. 174

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 [651] [712] [627] [211] Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Nád. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

B. THE ADMINISTRATION OF COORG.

1. SUBDIVISION OF COORG FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, SKETCH OF THE SEVERAL TALUQS AND TOWNS.

631 On the assumption of Coorg by the British Government, [177] the existing administrative organisation of the country, hallowed by age and routine, was as little as possible interfered with; but in progress of time such changes took place, as were deemed necessary for the better administration of the [184] province. At present Coorg is divided into six taluqs and twenty-four náds, each of which is again subdivided into grámas or villages, which in "Coorg Proper" are made up of a number of vargas or farms rather, than of a number of houses joined into one community, for, as already observed, the Coorgs live on detached farms. In Yélusávirashímo—and part of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, the subdivisions are denominated "Hoblis" instead of náds, and in these two taluqs the greatest number of regular villages is found.

631 In the following table the divisions of Coorg are exhibited,
128 together with the area in square miles, the number of villages
131 and the seat of the Kacheri of each taluq and nád, from which
632 statement it will be seen, that Coorg on an area of 1585
103 square miles contains 508 villages besides the towns: Mádapet (Mercara), Vírájpet, Fraserpet, Sómwárpet, Kodlipet and Ponnappet.

/Specific information on the duties of the Rajahs as heads of the Coorg state will be found in category 643./

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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634
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632
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[131]
[175]

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 361 [485] Frank Vardon, the intrepid companion of Dr. Livingstone in South-Africa. He died on the 21st June 1860. At the junction of the three Ghat-roads rises the *Roman Catholic Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat, stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where, though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding [205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front [697] of the Superintendent's Kacheri is the *Post-Office* and the *Jail-garden*, and below it the dome of the *Onkáréswara-temple* with its gilt orb peeps out from a hollow round which the dwellings of the Coorg officials and of Brahmins are clustered amid a dense mass of vegetation. Some of these houses are two [206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house, attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a broad bund, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or *Mahádévapet* in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines. An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by allotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme has not made much progress since. The new portion was

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

632 361 [362] [162] [764] [177] [364] [312] 632 443 438 439

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti 2 Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a 1

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1296 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol, which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurnbas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[556] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Lakshmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramára, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bisslyghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Frasrpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava- 563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-3 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Nádu. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shivácháries possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavánád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Fraserpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Fraserpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 [485] of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General [162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now [361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus. [368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the [795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of [131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad [362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected [162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178 [241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91 [437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-nduvé (village-jungles)

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusávirashíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

● 632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[286] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44¼ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi-
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. In the time of the Rájahs.

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchayat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

632, 633 Coorg AW5

[Additional data on individual cities has been marked for either 361 or 369 or both. For reference to these cities see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the 621
womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve 572
food to the mourners. 596

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg 631
except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation 621
that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is 621
not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village [623]
has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the 634
sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 58]

631
634

3. Map showing Administrative Divisions in *circa* 1850

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven. 634

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1] [101]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg. 634 184

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs. 634

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly. [623]

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants. [167]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people [533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village- [23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. 564 The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
[796] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

mined to become a great fighter: he would challenge every village 634
and *nāḍ* to produce someone to fight him in single combat (*otté* 539
poyi). He would defeat them all and this would bring great glory to his *nāḍ*. He travelled about Coorg sitting in a palanquin, challenging every village either to produce someone to fight him or give him a sum of money in acknowledgement of defeat. His technique was to go to the village temple and order the priest to stop worshipping the deity till either his challenge was met or the sum of money asked for was paid. The latter course was chosen by most villages.

His challenge was, however, accepted by a mere boy called Appayya (of the Kaiyandira *okka*) in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. When Appayya's mother remonstrated at his having accepted the challenge of a great fighter like Chondu, the spirited boy replied, 'Until now you were my mother, but from now on my *nāḍ* is my mother.' Appayya defeated and killed Chondu by resorting to trickery: he first of all blinded Chondu by suddenly throwing sand into his eyes and then stabbed him.

Honours were showered on the boy-hero by a grateful *nāḍ*. The ceremony of *mangala* (see Chapter III) was performed for him. He was placed in a position of seniority to everyone in the *nāḍ* and none was allowed to call him by name. He had to be addressed as '*pĕriya moli*' which means 'big elder'. He was prohibited from touching anyone's feet in salutation. Also, as he had ensured the continuity of worship at the Choli Povvedi temple in Arapaṭ, certain privileges were conferred on Appayya *vis-à-vis* the temple: he could go there even when under pollution (*polé*), and he could go to the annual festival of the deity sitting in the palanquin in which his opponent had sat during his journey through Coorg.

The office of the 'big elder' was hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka* till the latter became extinct. The headman of the *okka* was the 'big elder', and when he died his successor became the 'big elder'. The honour was conferred at a *mangala* ceremony which was performed in the open quadrangle of the Kaiyandīra house.

Coorg was traditionally divided into twelve *kombus*, but the 634
kombu appears as a shadowy unit beside the *nāḍ* and the village; and the occasional coming together of two or three *nāḍs* under a chief during the pre-Lingāyaṭ days, or to discuss a matter of common interest, cannot be treated as a permanent feature of the structure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pānḍira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter
628 half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen,
634 that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *naradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore
634 bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between
539 Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa 628
Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to 634
touch the see-saw. 539

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, 538
fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is 628
made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They 634
describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side 634
were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most 628
sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 176]

VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Gaṇēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[524] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with 634 other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had 628 been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts 634 of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in 628 the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) 536 was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. 634 Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira 628 Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the 539 Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* 634 suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple 787 was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:
782

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[59] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *sīmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names: Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayyappa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry hall, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Chátu, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

16
• 634

Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajenderpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161 648 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

[Errata: This should read "exiles," See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

years (from 1687-1736) war-trenches (Cadangas) already existed to which he added new ones, as the passage in the Rájéndranáma states: "He caused ditches and trenches, etc. "to be dug all over the Coorg kingdom, erected frontier "gates, etc. repaired all the *war-trenches* within the country and "thus fortified the Principality of Coorg." 712

These Cadangas stretch over hills, woods and comparatively flat countries for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill tops. In the Méndalanád they show a great conformity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggatnád they are of smaller dimensions. As stated in the preceding quotation they were "*war-trenches*," but it is more than probable, that at the same time they formed at least to some extent also the boundaries between different náds. In their conflicts with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Coorg Rájas strengthened these works, established Ukadas or guard-houses wherever a road or pathway intersected them, every opening being faced with rough stone-walls and even in the last campaign at the taking of Coorg in 1834 the Cadangas proved no contemptible obstacle to the advance of the English troops. [634] [648]

Other remains of defensive works in Coorg are the *Fort at Mercara*, the *Fort ruins at Fraserpet*, *Beppunád*, *Bhágamandala* and *Palupáre*.

Mercara Fort is still in pretty good preservation, but of little strategical value, as it is commanded by hills all round within short range of cannon. The Fortress was originally built by Muddarája Vodeya in 1680 or thereabout, and then consisted probably of mud walls, but it was rebuilt with stone by Tippu Sultan, who called it "Jaffarabad," and it was held by his generals till 1790, when Jaffar Ali Beg evacuated the place and left it with all its guns and ammunition to the Rája, Dodda-Virájender. It simply consists of a rampart

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Náds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[464] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
●634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlightened and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people 634
especially the Kádu-Marattiea, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yelenálknnád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurnbas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception
[55] of the large and influential house of the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 999 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the
[634] northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bissly-
[131] ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It
[162] covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Frasserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice
635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards
133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore
635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-
563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high 648
and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg.

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during 177
the last ten years the[1] admission of pleaders into the Courts 692
and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary.

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided 635
over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal juris- 692
diction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town- 177
Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and [634]
police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in-

[1] [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchayatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government
423 was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!
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General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagára of Náda bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close,
423 we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue
635 and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much
● 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

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Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhóga shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 (kei-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Huzur."

635 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government 634 allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee	of assessment	in January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

651 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-*
423 *bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceeded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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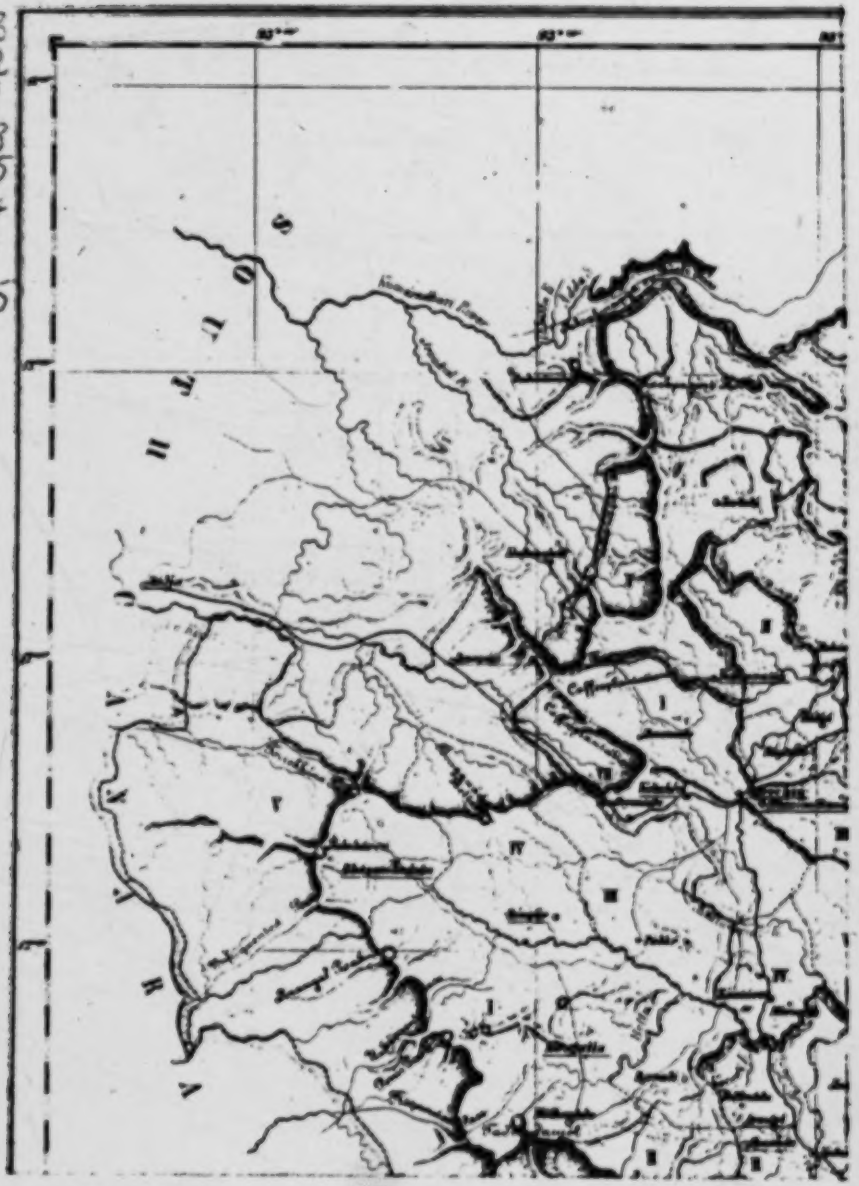

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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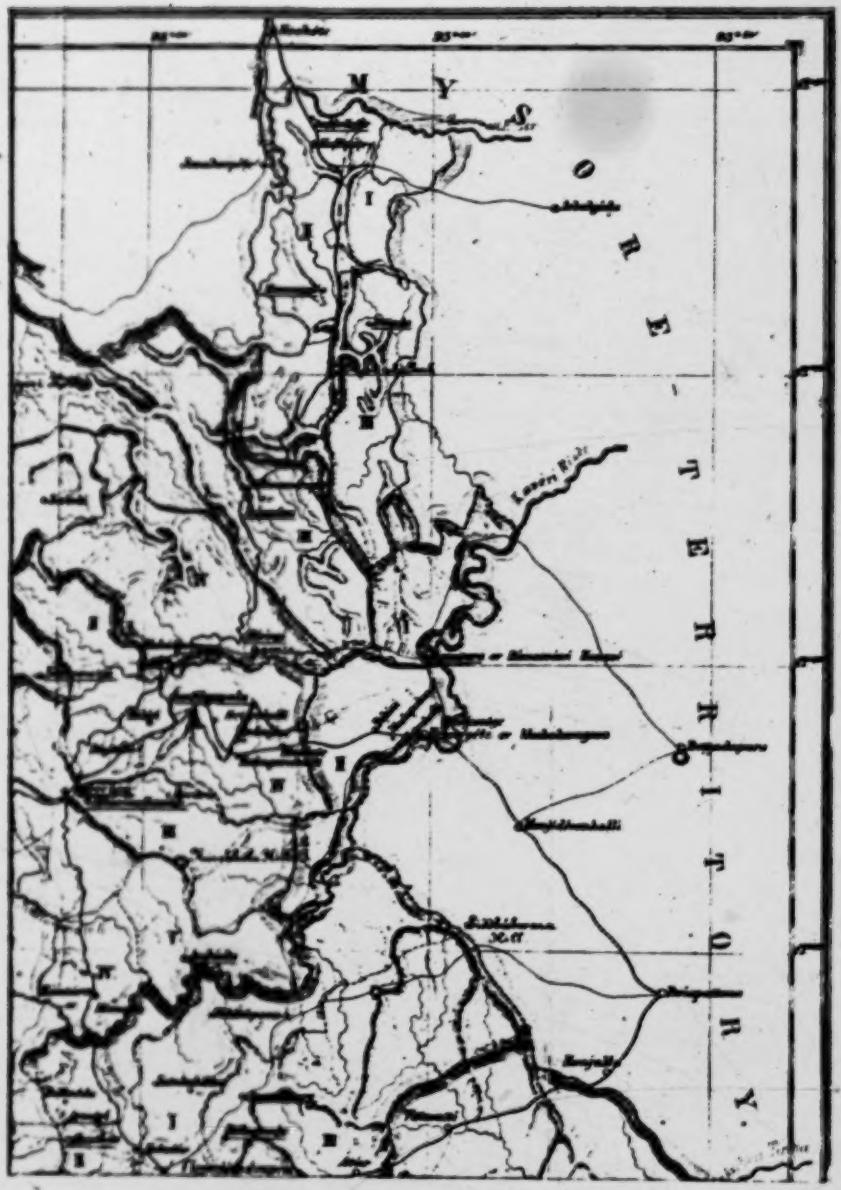

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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● 634
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[End Map (C)]

[The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

13 *Mercara-taluq* with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies
● 635 the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a po-
634 pulation of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814
[162] Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever
[563] flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry
635 crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The
634 four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and
245 Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the
[491] great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Belta-
[443] mally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted
[464] to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the
635 proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems
634 to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers,
565 besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

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[131]
[175]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632
443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several *European Shops* which are well supplied to minister to the wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great *variety of drives*, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads are generally in a very good condition and the rides along the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very enjoyable.

635 *Padinálknád-taluq* with its five Náds is twice the size of
634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz. 57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635 ●
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yelenálknád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congregation (1857).

632 The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Virájendrpet*, a
[131]

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
632 house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
[789] head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[783] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

● 635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
[634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[55] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lúmbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

•635 [634] [131] [162] *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bissly-ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Frasserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice 635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards 133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpátna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore 635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when offered, do not exert themselves to retain the boon. However, their wants are not overlooked, a new school will shortly be re-established in Gadinád. These people, who with the exception of the inhabitants of Surlabi-Muttunád behaved badly towards the English Government in 1837, are much under the influence of the Jangams residing in these Náds. There are two Mathas of note here, Mádapur and Abbi-matha, where the Shiváchárics possess rich endowments.

The Kanavé-Hoblis are inhabited by a set of people identical with that of the adjoining Mysore ryots. They are chiefly cultivators of dry land and produce horse-gram, rági, various kinds of beans, tobacco, bangh, flax, sesamum and also cotton. The sandalwood tree grows extensively in this taluq. In Yedavanád some rice-fields which have a good water-supply yield two crops; there the wild sago-palm is also carefully attended to for the sake of the toddy drawn from it and for the farinaceous substance, prepared for food by the poorer classes from the inner part of the tree. Honey of the best quality is largely collected in June and much appreciated by the people. Near the village Beradi-kanavé there was the Back-stokade from which the northern column of the Coorg field-force was repulsed in 1834. (Bakka, *Kg.* door-way to a narrow passage.)

Frasérpet is the seat of the taluq and Nád-Kacheri of Nanjarájpatna and the monsoon Head-quarters of the Superintendent. It lies 20 miles to the east from Mercara on an elevation of 3,100 feet above the sea. Situated on the left bank of the river Kávéri in a bent formed by a sudden turn of the river, opposite the Mysore frontier, with which it is connected by a fine stone bridge, and the country, though open, being dotted by rounded grass or wood-clad hillocks on which the European houses are built, Frasérpet offers a most varied and pleasing landscape, especially from the travellers' bangalow, which occupies a rocky eminence, the site

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára-Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the sum- [172]
mit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

635 are densely wooded, other hills are bare and precipitous.
[133] The narrow valleys, in which rice-cultivation is carried on,
[243] are terraced to a considerable extent to enlarge their area. Only some well watered fields yield a scanty second crop. Transplanting is not much practised, the seed is sown broad-
[134] cast in most instances. The cultivated lands of Yélusáviraishíme possess none of the characteristic fertility of Yedenálknád- or Kiggatnád-taluq. The soil of the higher grounds consists of a thin stratum of gravelly earth, barren and arrid, producing only a few dwarfish shrubs especially the Dwarf-date-palm, (Phoenix farinifera), and a tall thin grass, the decay of which
[249] yields little humus, to enrich the paddy fields. The soil for
[273] the cultivation of dry grain consists generally of a light friable earth and the kind of produce especially tobacco is similar to that in the Kanavé districts of Nanjarájpatna-taluq, but not so good. Toddy is extensively drawn and forms the habitual beverage of the people.

632 The seat of the Taluq-Subadár and of the Subadár of Bilháda
443 Hobli is *Saniwársante* (Saturday-market), a market-place of
[361] little importance, but prettily situated on the top of a broad
[131] hill, which towards the south presents a beautiful encamping
[162] ground. It lies on the highroad to Manjarabad, 12 miles
[362] from Sómawárpet and 38½ from Mercara. Among its 483 in-
[236] habitants who live in 101 houses, of which 4 only are tiled, there are 46 families of weavers, who in the most primitive style ply their craft in the street, manufacturing coarse cotton fabrics.

632 *Kodlipet*, near the northern frontier of Coorg, is a small
[131] town on the Manjarabad highroad and 44½ miles from Mer-
[361] cara. It lies in an elevated, open and healthy locality with
[362] a tank at its entrance. Its 141 houses, of which 87 are tiled,
[363] are arranged in broad streets and give the place a tidy, well-
[162] to-do appearance. It contains 730 inhabitants, mostly Lingaites who are busily engaged in trade. There are 31 cloth-

Police.

671 177 625 [635]

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

671 177 625 622

43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

[685] [628]

47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg. 648

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during the last ten years the[1] admission of pleaders into the Courts and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary. 177 692

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal jurisdiction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town-Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and police duties by 24 Párapatisgárs, 13 of whom had been in- 635 692 177 [634]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 -- Analyst]

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchayatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!

General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagárs of Nádu bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

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Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close, we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much

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the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

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Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhóga shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

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423 (kei-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Huzur."

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634 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee	of assessment	in January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

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423 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.

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Appendix VIII.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COFFEE-ESTATES IN COORG,

THEIR REPUTED PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS IN 1870.

I. In the Mercara-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Aberdour	337·21	120	J. Russell	J. Russel	
2	Abyal	344	not known	Major G. M. Martin	K. Chittyanna	
3	Angare-holli	183·8	do.	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
4	Ballétre	150·97	90	Herbert Taylor	H. Taylor	
5	Beauvoir	44·63	44·63	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
6	Belta-male	478·70	450	do.	do.	
7	Belta-male	350·8	300	W. S. Boyd	W. Bidie	
8	Bhaktana-kotte	412·42	0	S. Jup	do.	resigned.
9	Bhima-kandi	859·58	0	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
10	Boykéri	80	80	H. Taylor	H. Taylor	
11	Cheppe-kéd	125·86	125	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
12	Closeburn	231·46		Major Martin and Dr. Kirkpatrick	P. Pearson	
13	Coorg-Coffee-Company	2095·46	800	Coorg-Coffee-Company	F. Rylett	
14	Culdees	1023·64	165	H. Bain	Scobie	
15	Edrington	46·71	not known	Capt. Marshall	Jagannath	
16	Fanny-vale	205·76	175	D. Stewart	J. A. Young	

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
17	Fisher	489·91	400	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
18	Glen-Coorg	3013·52	400	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
19	Glen-more	173	132	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
20	Hôleri-kôtekâd	161·18	150	H. A. Mangles	F. Mangles	
21	Holen-bally	467·79	100	S. G. Tipping	S. G. Tipping	
22	Horumale-nâd	455·53	300	H. Mann	C. M. Grant	
23	Hordr-kôtekâd	369·12	150	A. C. Campbell		
24	Kadlan-kâd	115·27	118	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
25	Kagodlu-nâd	174·66	174	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
26	Kânan-kâd	107·60	25	J. P. Hunt		
27	Kapale-kâd	184·94	180	A. C. Campbell, A. Fowler and Mr. N. A. M. Denoon	James Fowler	
28	Kâro-kolli	461·72	0	late Dr. Macpherson		abandoned.
29	Kimale-male	214·13	175	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
30	Knoll	93.81		Major Martin	Major Martin	
31	Do.	40·49		do.	do.	
32	Kunni-motte	138·40	136	Henry Mann		
33	Kundalan-kolli	203·32	175	F. W. Hill		
34	Lilford	113·93	95	W. Drummond	H. Drummond	abandoned.
35	Lower Kimale	198·52		Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
36	Lower Belta-male	345·9	190	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allay	
37	Made-nâd	341·13	290	H. Mann	J. W. Finlayson	
38	May-male	369·71	300	W. S. Boyd	A. Stephen	
39	Mercara-Estate	243·65	190	Mrs. A. M. Denoon, A. Campbell & J. Fowler	J. Fowler	
40	Pachanda-male	566·69	150	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allen	

41	Padachi-kád	155·30	155	J. P. Hunt and J. W. Hill			
42	Péndi-male	435·66	300	H. Mann	A. G. Aspinall		
43	Salop	299·91	220	Nicol William and Co.	F. H. Hayes		
44	Sampige-kolli	197·47	140	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston		
45	Santi-koppa	372·50		late Dr. Macpherson			
46	Upper-himale	488·24	280	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	resigned.	
47	Wéto-kolli	480·74	250	Donald Stewart	J. Russel		

II. In the Padinálknád-taluq.

1	Anepdro-kád	455·88	167	Ch. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler		
2	Athumarada-Déru	204·42		J. W. Finlayson			
3	Banada-kolli	200		Nicol Duckworth and Co.			
4	Bantar	384·59	179	W. U. Arbuthnot and 3 others			
5	Chetti-male	225·78	200	J. W. Finlayson	Turner		
6	Eyenkallia-male	200	80	W. Burnett and A. Stephen	A. Stephen		
7	Eyenkasungandi-kád	100		J. W. Finlayson			
8	Iñakutumbe-male	417·54		do.			
9	Kartha-kád	85·70	70	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler		
10	Kutanganda-Déru	94·51		J. W. Finlayson			
11	Machanda-Déru	94·52		do.			
12	Mukati-kád	100		do.			
13	Padiche male	337·45	10	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler		
14	Patti-male	811·29	150	Capt. R. Taylor	Whish		
15	Thórikád	197·62	42	C. Grant and Aspinall	H. A. Wheeler		
16	Umale	283·2	150	Edg. Ludlow			
17	Wavenay Valley	282·50	100	H. L. Johnstone and Brewer	J. Morgan		

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III. In the Yedenálknád-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Allépu I.	262·49	180	G. R. Evans	F. Marsden	
2	Do. II.	329·16		F. Marsden	do.	
3	Allathan-kád	580·16		D. Stewart		
4	Anandapur	96·82	25	Rev. H. A. Kanadinya	David	
5	Bari-kád	816·72	165	Marquis Viviano	W. Ross.	
6	Beechlands	732·8		J. Tanner	Pedicombe	
7	Clothe	426·95	400	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	A. Mc. Innes	
8	Eyan-betaretu-kád	300		G. MacGregor		waste.
9	Fairlands and Oaklands	356·3	330	J. Wright of Edinburgh	J. Chisholm	
10	Fowler	808·6		Mrs. A. M. Duncan		uncultivated.
11	Do.	300		do.		do.
12	Do.	139·95		do.		do.
13	Glen Moristem	282·81	130	James Fowler and Co.	James Fowler	
14	Glen Urquhart	211·60		James Fowler		abandoned.
15	Hanchi-betta	168·17	0	Rev. H. A. Kanadinya		resigned.
16	Handi-gutta-betta	260·60		N. Stewart		
17	Kaberádu-male	300		Major Beddock and Mrs. Hearn		
18	Kákunda	862·28	500	Donald Stewart		
19	Kayem-kád	491·78	40	late Dr. Maxwell	C. Lawrence	
20	Kávéri-Estate	299·4	150	Kávéri-Coffee-Company	Pereira	
21	Kombo-kolli	876·61	250	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young		
22	Kanchuri		75	Rev. G. Richter and J. Haller	J. Haller	

23	Methada-kâd	195·58		N. Stewart		
24	Muchalhera	141·46	50	late P. James and P. Kennedy		
25	Nalla-hôta	296·46	250	N. Stewart	W. T. Simpson	
26	Puiambâdi	266·54	140	late Dr. Maxwell	W. Ross	
27	Pûl-hotta	315·93	240	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
28	Pulla-kâd	42·90		Donald Stewart		
29	Pulla-hotta	1066·88	700	H. P. Minchin and W. R. Arbuthnot	H. P. Minchin	
30	Rockliffe	960·44		J. Stewart		resigned.
31	Rockville	151·53		F. Brown		
32	School-Plantation	301	50	Central-School-Endowment	Rev. G. Richter	
33	Siddhapur	183·70		J. P. Hunt		waste.
34	Strathmore	1011·74	320	Nicol Dickworth and Co.	C. Macdonald	
35	Tanada-hotta	387·33		H. Forman	H. R. Craig	
36	Thanir-halla	506·87		N. Stewart		waste.
37	Woodside	509·95		D. Stewart	J. Miller	
38	Wodder-halli	303·34	150	J. P. Hunt	Hobbert	
39	Yennegundi	785·33	450	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young	W. Turnbull	

IV. In the Kiggatnâd-taluq.

1	Athal I.	175·96	140	J. W. Savage and		
2	Do. II.	152·64	90	H. J. Marsden	J. W. Savage	
3	Bambu-kâd	159·17	45	J. W. Hayes		
4	Benlomond	252	170	A. C. Burnett and G. Ross	A. Burnett	
5	Bernside	277·76		G. Anderson		
6	Clifton	233·70	150	Alex. Deacon	James Fowler	
7	Cleny	368·70		Cols. A. Cadell & Barrow	H. P. Drummond	
8	Cudial	114·03	106	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Ross	H. A Ross	

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage. Total.	Acreage. Cultivated.	Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
9	Kyguda	419·48	300	Capt. R. Taylor	F. Jequier	
10	Karia-male	1032·99	455	H. G. Roberts, D. Rose, and D. Peebles	J. Rose	
11	Kayim-kolli	667·62	147	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
12	Kikód	109·45	80	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Rose	H. A. Rose	
13	Koka-male	894·56	180	McGregor and J. Martin	J. L. Martin	
14	Kohéri	102·62		H. P. Gordon	H. P. Horton	
15	Mathigód	480·94		D. Stewart		
16	Puggadi-male			H. J. Roberts, D. Rose and D. Peebles		waste.
17	Paletód	1565·12	400	C. W. Dawson		
18	Poonambáru			W. V. Drummond		
19	Roosmath		45	W. Rose	J. Rose	waste.
20	Shulashéri	198·75		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		
21	Singi-mane			do.		resigned.
22	Sévirabatti-kód			G. Wilson		do.

V. In the Nanjarájpatna-taluq.

1	Alle-hatte	151·18		H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	
2	Bettada-rási	238·64	100	Col. Cunningham and Barrett	S. Barrett	
3	Carten	278·61	200	R. T. Carr		abandoned.
4	Hamyal	1461·29	120	Campbell and Fowler		
5	Lowden valley	450·18	100	Mrs. E. Wright and W. Wright	W. Wright	
6	Kombe-kód		165	H. R. East	H. R. East	
7	Kavina-kolli	212·21	70	H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	

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(A)	(B)
(C)	(D)

Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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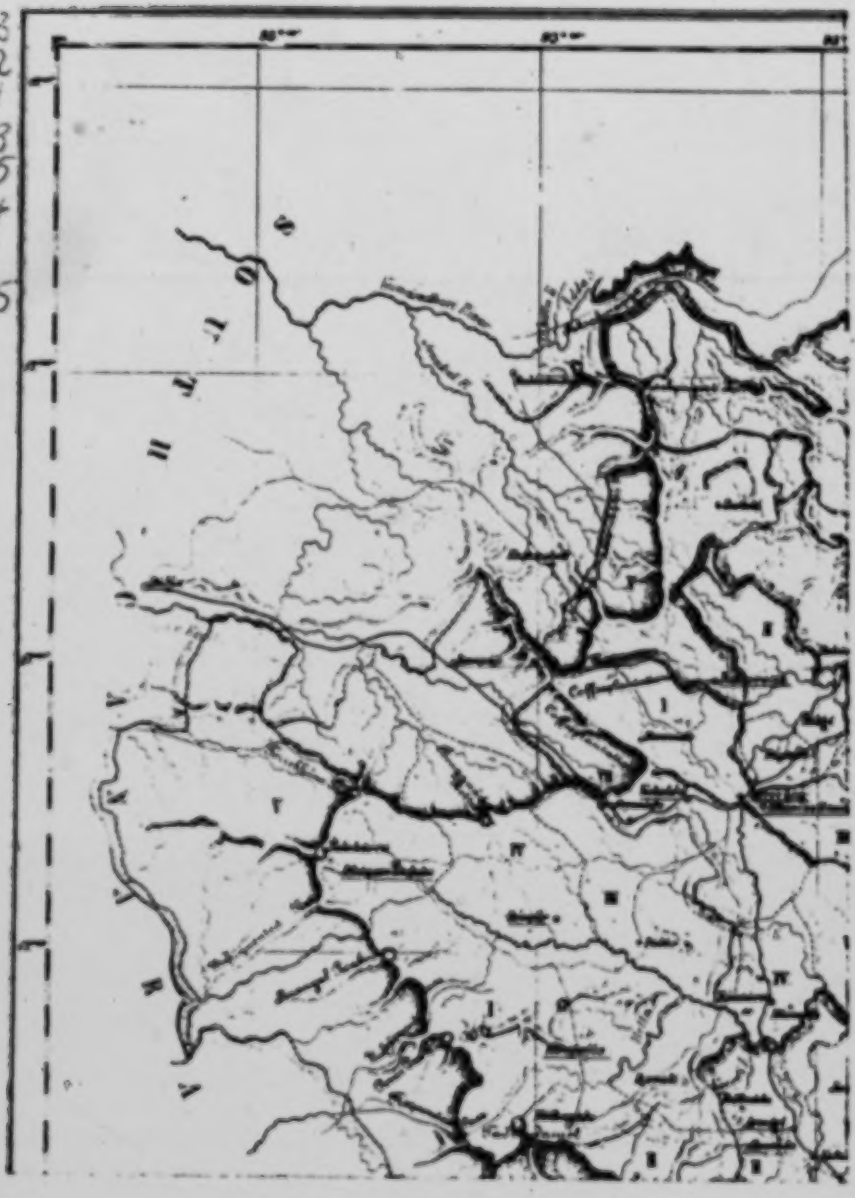

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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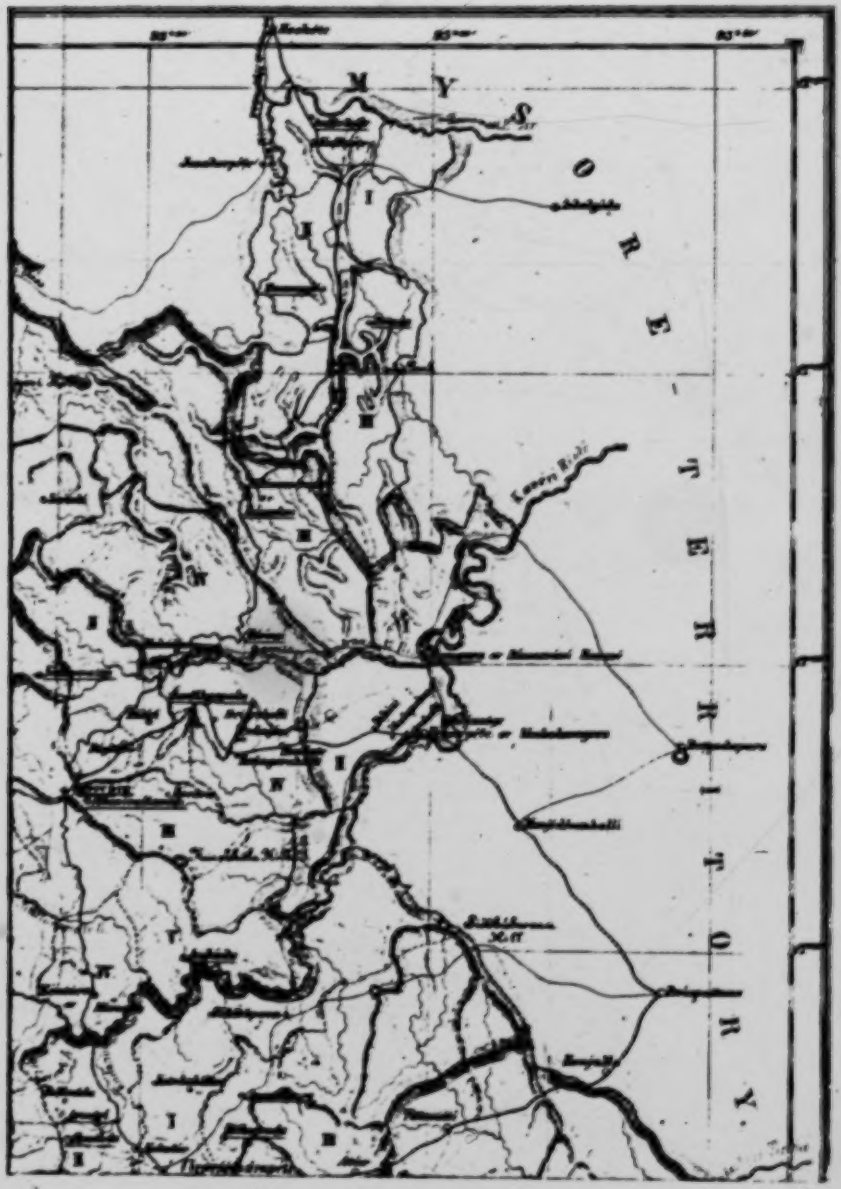

[End Map (B)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (c)]

1 [The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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most presumptuous hazard an opinion as to the propriety of his commands or actions; but fear alone produces this instantaneous compliance with his will, however capricious; and obedience is maintained by an exemplary severity that, however it may command submission, cannot create affection.

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"The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery; under so arbitrary a sway safety of person and permanency of property must depend on the precarious will of the ruler; political freedom forms no part of the elements of an Asiatic system of government, nor perhaps is it desirable it should; but the inhabitants of this little state are interdicted from almost any share of that practical liberty which their neighbours enjoy."

Col. Fraser, in his despatches to the Supreme Government dated 7th April 1834 states: "The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking, seem to be concentrated in the Rájah himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Rájah shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear."

Again under date 12th April 1834: "Their minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Rájah or they have not a motive for doing so."

Again in a letter dated 14th July 1834: "If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom, that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of government under which they were placed, an effect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India."

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4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RĀJAHS AS DELINEATED IN THE RĀJENDRANĀME AND FROM OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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The Rájendranáme (account of Rájendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virájendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rájahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rájah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rájah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWS Coorg AW5

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time with- [586] out being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembán, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Nádu. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Nádu, the Padinalknád Karanembáu Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
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That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháriés. These are most [771]
numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received
by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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643 648 174 177 [578] [564] ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648] To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still [787]
write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

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643 175 most presumptuous hazard an opinion as to the propriety of his commands or actions; but fear alone produces this instantaneous compliance with his will, however capricious; and obedience is maintained by an exemplary severity that, however it may command submission, cannot create affection.

643 643 175 "The rigorous exercise of such unbounded power will of course be tempered by customs and usages, which having the force of law and sanctity of religion, must challenge some respect, but the real situation of the people is complete slavery; under so arbitrary a sway safety of person and permanency of property must depend on the precarious will of the ruler; political freedom forms no part of the elements of an Asiatic system of government, nor perhaps is it desirable it should; but the inhabitants of this little state are interdicted from almost any share of that practical liberty which their neighbours enjoy."

Col. Fraser, in his despatches to the Supreme Government dated 7th April 1834 states: "The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking, seem to be concentrated in the Rájah himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Rájah shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear."

Again under date 12th April 1834: "Their minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Rájah or they have not a motive for doing so."

Again in a letter dated 14th July 1834: "If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom, that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of government under which they were placed, an effect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be

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found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India."

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4. HISTORY OF THE COORG RÂJAHS AS DELINEATED IN THE RÂJENDRANÂME AND FROM OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

From 1633 to 1807.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

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The Rájendranáme (account of Rájendra, the king of heroes) is the work of Dodda-Virájendra Vodeya, the hero of Coorg History and the beau ideal of the Coorgs of a warrior king, and comprises, from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years 2 months and 7 days.

A manuscript copy of the Canarese original was found in the Archives at Mercara in 1834, and, with the original English translation obtained from the records of the Chief Commissioner's Office at Bangalore, was edited by Dr. Moegling and printed for the Madras Government in the Mangalore Mission Press in 1857. The subjoined seal of the Coorg Rájahs ornaments the front page. The names of the Rájah and of his ancestors as well as those of English Governor Generals, Governors and other high functionaries are written with red ink throughout the book. The chronicle is very well written. It gives the history of Coorg, especially the account of the Rájah's exploits and of his intercourse with the officers of the East India Company in simple language. Not one foolish story, not one improper expression, disfigures this Canarese

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There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi-
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. *In the time of the Rájahs.*

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchâyat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

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423 651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

423 643 648 [567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,8724 buttics of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

311 651 423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

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872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

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them in and about his capital. The Konkanis are noted for their industry and skill of adapting themselves to circumstances. Dodda-Vírájender eagerly welcomed them into his depopulated country, granted them land at Vírájpet, procured for them a Priest in the person of Father John de Costa, a native of Goa, assisted in building a chapel and allotted to its maintenance a stipend of 84 butties of paddy and a certain amount of oil and candles, which allowance his successors continued and which the English Government since 1835 commuted into a monthly grant of Rs. 20, "its continuance being dependant not only on the Priest's conduct, but that of his flock, in as far as he may justly be considered responsible for it." This stipend is now looked upon as the Priest's salary from Government and attempts have been made, to get it increased, but Sir Mark Cubbon declared: "that the amount, the Priest enjoyed, had no doubt been deemed proportioned to the ordinary duties of his office, but if called to the discharge of any extra duties by the requisition of the members of his congregation, the Commissioner conceived that the latter should contribute the means of enabling the Priest to meet such extra-official calls."

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Pastoral jurisdiction having been claimed by the Archbishop of Goa, the Rev. F. Bernardino De Sta. Agnes, Bishop-Coadjutor, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore addressed in 1846 the Superintendent of Coorg in the following letter:—

The Mission of Coorg, by a Firman passed by the Rájah in 1805, was founded to remain always under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, who has ultimately transferred it to me. No jurisdiction ever it was ever or is now possessed by the Archbishop of Goa. The jurisdiction of His Grace does not extend beyond that Portuguese territory as shewn by various Bulls which have emanated from Rome regarding the same, but the Archbishop, actuated by certain national presumption, pretends to possess something like an omnipotence in the spiritual throughout the whole of India and therefore sends his emissaries to excite dissensions and disturbances among the Roman Catholics, subject to the Vicars Apostolic, and he has

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/For a history of the Coorg Rajahs and their position in the political organization of the state, see category 116, pp. 236-246, 248-333, 342-345, and 354-360./

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*175 to prevent, as far as it lay in his power, any re-enactment of
*643 former scenes of sanguinary violence. It was proposed that
*648 Captain Mahoney, the former Resident, should return, take
158 charge, if necessary, of the administration of affairs, and settle the question of the succession in case of the decease of the Rájah. Mr. Cole himself offered to proceed in person to Mercara. When Dr. Ingledew arrived, the end of Vírarája was at hand. It does not appear from the records, that Dr. Ingledew had an interview, or, if he had, that he was recognized by the dying Rájah. During his last days he seems to have been more favorably inclined, than formerly, towards the Sóde Rájah, who was appointed to transact business for him, and whom he desired, it was said, to act as Devan during the minority of Dévammáji. On the 9th June 1809 the unhappy prince called his beloved daughter to his bedside, gave his seal into her hands, and shortly afterwards breathed his last. He lies buried in one of the Mausoleums, which grace the hill overlooking the town of Mercara.

*175 A sad spectacle! A noble vessel, after having gallantly
*643 weathered the storms of Mussulman domination and conquest, is torn from its moorings by the swell of wild grief and passion, and drifts into the breakers of sanguinary phrensy and suicidal despair, to perish there a miserable wreck, with many to look on, but none to help!

*175 And how awfully has the Righteous Ruler of the whole
*643 earth executed judgment upon the guilty prince and the ob-
644 jects of his love and hope! The forlorn Rájah lived ages of anguish from the day of the death of his beloved wife, 17th May 1807, to the date of his own decease, 9th June 1809. His idolized daughter was married and had four children, two sons and two daughters. She was deprived of the throne and of her father's legacy, and lived in obscurity. Before the end of 1833 her husband was murdered in the palace, she herself carried a prisoner to Mercara, her property seized by her

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cousin, the late Rájah, (one lac of pagodas at one sweep,) and shortly after she herself was murdered at Mercara, and her three children (one boy appears to have died a natural death), at Nalknád, by orders of her relative, and their corpses thrown into pits.

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B. LINGARÁJENDRA.

1809—1820.

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1. *Lingarájendra's Intrigues.*

Dr. Ingledew, on the sudden death of Vírarája, had to fulfil the duties of a British Agent quite ex-improviso. He acted, it is true, with considerable tact and prudence and with perfect honesty; but he was not equal to the deep play of the Coorg parties, and was not sharp sighted enough to discern the principal mover in the scenes acted before him. Thus he failed in the task, devolved upon him by a most unforeseen combination of circumstances and persons upon a ground he had scarcely explored. He ought to have carried out the wishes of the late Rájah, as far as they had received the approbation and sanction of the British Government. But it happened otherwise.

When Vírarájendra died, there seemed to be a good prospect of peace and prosperity for Coorg. A short time before his decease, Vírarája permitted the Sóde Rájah to act for him as principal Devan, and expressed a desire, that his son-in-law should have the regency of Coorg, during the minority of Dévammáji, in conjunction with an Agent of the East India Company to be appointed by the Governor General. He had once given to Dr. Ingledew a testamentary document, expressive of these wishes, but had afterwards recalled and never returned it. As soon as the Rájah had expired, his daughter Dévammáji was acknowledged as Ráni of Coorg, by the assembled chiefs. The Sóde Rájah continued to perform the

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had some ambition to shine as a poet. Some of his pieces, addressed to one of his wives, are still preserved. They have no merit, and were perhaps made for him. However, he may have been a Nero in a small way. Cruelty seems to have been his sport. He liked to kill his victims with his own hand, with gun, bow or knife. For small offences people had their ears cropped, their noses cut, or their tongues clipped. For an impertinent answer men or women had their mouths rinsed, that was the phrase, i. e. their lips were cut off all round their mouths, and they were left to perish without food or drink. Others were thrown down a precipice on the hill side, near the "Rájah's seat" in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Lingarája had as great a passion for gold as for blood.

During the first years of his reign he was restrained from giving full vent to his atrocious propensities by the influence of his Devan, Kshauryakere Appanna, who seems to have been a man of character and independence, bold enough to lecture the tyrant whom he had placed on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, the Rájah of Sóde. But by degrees Lingarája became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Rájah's gratitude, continued to exhort, to warn and, at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man. One day the Devan was seized and carried before the Rájah. He was charged with treason. He knew, that he was doomed. The Rájah himself conducted the investigation. "Confess your guilt," he cried. "I am guilty indeed," replied the intrepid minister, "of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, Rájah of Coorg." Lingarája was mad with rage. Appanna, with several other so called accomplices, was carried out into the jungle to a distance of some miles. There they were nailed to some large trees, the Rájah feasting his eyes on the torments of his help-

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less victims, who died with curses on their lips. A large number of people, the families, relations and friends of the condemned men, were slaughtered on the occasion. Some say, that the Devan had entered into a conspiracy against the Rájah's life, and that on a hunting excursion a shot, aimed at Lingarája, passed close by him, whereupon he seized the traitors and exterminated them and their party; but this may only be an invention of the Rájah, calculated to throw a veil over a crime of a dye too dark even for Coorg. In 1820 the miserable tyrant died. He believed that he was destroyed through magic arts and demoniac influences employed by secret enemies. He had held possession of Coorg for eleven long years. The complete ignorance of his subjects, whom he managed to isolate entirely from the surrounding countries, subject to the East India Company, combined with the terror of his arm, kept up by frequent executions, and a system of treacherous espionage, fostered by the Rájah among his terrified slaves, laid the Coorgs prostrate at the feet of their rapacious and blood-thirsty master. He died forty-five years of age amidst the gloom of dread superstitions. His queen, who preferred death to the fate which, she thought, awaited her from the hatred of the young Rájah, swallowed diamond powder, and was buried with Lingarája in a splendid sepulchre near the tomb of Vírarájendra.

3. *Lingarája's character.*

Of Lingarája's personal character, Lieut. Connor who made his acquaintance gives us the following graphic picture:—

"The late Chief, anxious to prevent his brothers from acquiring any influence, retained them in a species of exile; Appáji Sáib, the elder, is represented as having been of a violent temper and impatient of control; this turbulent spirit hurried him to a premature end, and Lingarája had nearly shared the same fate, but seems to have owed his safety to

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of system, however, he was most reluctant, and when Mr. Casamajor pressed the point, he turned round and asserted, that he would do as he pleased, Coorg was an independent country, etc. Mr. Casamajor replied, that Coorg had been subject to Tippu, and was now subject to the Company, as was proved by the annual tribute of an elephant, in lieu of the former payment of Rs. 24,000. When the Resident requested the Rájah, to treat Dévammáji and the other members of his family kindly, he answered, that he required no such admonitions; but as for Dévammáji and her family, they were all dead, long since. This was the most barefaced lie. Dévammáji indeed, and her sister Mahádévammáji had been murdered, probably before the end of 1832, a month or two before Mr. Casamajor's visit, but her three children were still alive, and were murdered at Ṇalkanád, when the British troops crossed the frontiers of Coorg. 175* 643* 648*

4. *Assassination of the Rájah's family.*

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The end of the two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájender was most miserable and surpasses in horror all the other abominations of this monster tyrant. Shortly after the flight of Channa Basava and his wife, Dévammáji, her sister Mahádévammáji and their children, were taken by the Rájah's orders and by his sepoys to the Appagalla Panya, one of the private farms belonging to the Rájah, about four miles distant from Mercara. After some days, the Devan Basava and an eunuch, named Mandaya, a Jemadar of the palace, came there one morning early, conveyed Dévammáji and her sister Mahádévammáji, to the fort at Mercara, and confined them in the store-room in rear of the palace, placing a strong guard over them. The same morning, before noon, the Devan with the same eunuch came to the store-room, and in presence of some of the guard, compelled the prisoners to put their hands into boiling ghee. They left them shut up till about 2 o'clock P. M.,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 ●644

when the Devan and the eunuch came again, and ordered one of the Jemadars on guard to bring two ropes. When brought, the Devan himself adjusted them round Dévammáji's neck, who made great resistance and implored to be taken before the Rájah, whilst the Jemadar and some of the guards held her hands, and pulled at the rope, which was thrown over a beam in the roof. In this manner both sisters then and there were put to death. As soon as life was extinct, they were taken down, wrapped up in matting and placed just outside the store-room beneath a small plantation of sugarcane. In the meantime orders had been sent by the Devan to the guard of Válekára, Pariahs, at the Kumblagiri barrier, about a mile from the fort, to dig a hole for two bodies in a secluded part of the jungle, and for some of the said guard, to be in attendance in the evening at the Sallyport, (a secret passage, leading under the ramparts) by 7 P. M. Several of them attended and, with the help of some of the men from the store-room-guard, conveyed the two bodies to the hole already prepared; the Devan accompanying the party and witnessing the interment.

Perhaps Dévammáji had revealed the place, where she had deposited her wealth, on a promise that her life would be spared, and therefore, in her anguish, desired to be brought before the Rájah. Certain it is, that the Rájah learned from her the exact spot, where her jewels had been immured; for he despatched a Munshi of his, a Yedavanád man, of the name of Kálingaya, in company with the Devan Basava to Dévammáji's house, some time after her removal from it, and instructed the Devan to break the wall of the room adjoining Dévammáji's bedroom, a little above the floor, where he would find the treasure. "On our digging," Kálingaya says, "a brass vessel of a size holding one and an half seer of water, with the mouth properly closed, was discovered. It could have been lifted with one hand. We did not open the mouth of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the vessel, but brought it to Mercara, and the Devan Basava delivered it to the Rájah. It was not opened in my presence. I am not aware, what description of coins or jewelry or precious stones it contained. The vessel was not full, as on taking it up in the hands the contents were shaking about." Dévammáji probably had given her treasure to the Rájah as a ransom for her life; but by this very surrender of her wealth she sealed her doom. Dévammáji is described as a person of a commanding figure, fair complexion and round face. Her sister Mahádévammáji was short and slender, but also fair. Thus ended two daughters of Dodda-Vírarájendra and of his beloved Ráni.

175* 643* 644 ●

The grand-children of Dodda-Vírarája and the remaining members of Appáji's and Lingarája's families, the nearest relatives of the Rájah, were carried to Nalkanád palace, when he himself retired to that secluded spot, in March 1834. Their removal to Nalkanád boded no good. They were kept in a couple of garden houses, under strict watch. General Fraser states:—

"One day subsequent to our troops entering the country, orders were given in the morning by the Devan, to dig a pit for a dozen persons, and in the dusk of the evening five women were put into one house and seven children into another, and the Kaplas (a jungle-tribe residing in the Nalkanád forest) and some of the Yedavanád men (Kunta Basava's especial followers), who had assisted in the murder of Dévammáji and Mahádévammáji, were sent into both houses with ropes, and then and there strangled every one of them, and afterwards tied them up in mats, the Devan Basavappa standing outside and accompanying the party, when the bodies were interred. The Rájah, also on this occasion, was close by the scene of murder, though not present. On the following morning, when walking with the Devan in front of the Nalkanád palace, on observing the Kaplas, he said to the Devan, that as they, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *644 Kaplas, had executed the murders, they had better be put to death also. But the Devan interceded for them. They are old servants, he said, who have come from a foreign country (the Malayalam). He suggested, that they might be sent out of the country, and a present given to them, which was done accordingly. But instead of quitting the country, they proceeded with their families some miles distance into the jungle, where they remained about a month; and when all was quiet, they returned to Nalkanád."

This account shows that, sometimes at least, the Devan was more humane than his master.

*175 *643 *648

5. *The war and the Rájah's surrender.*

The personal conference of Mr. Casamajor with the Rájah in the beginning of 1833 having proved fruitless, the Resident returned to Mysore. The accounts from Coorg continued as bad as ever. The Rájah harboured rebels, intrigued with Mysore and scarcely cared for appearances. Mr. Casamajor recommended the quartering of a native Regiment in the neighbourhood of Mercara, to keep the Rájah in check and to protect his subjects, but the Government were still loath to go to extremities. Since the Rájah had taken a personal dislike to Mr. Casamajor, Mr. Graeme, the Resident at Nagpore, then residing for the benefit of his health at Bangalore, was requested to proceed to Coorg and charged to make a last attempt at an amicable settlement. However, the Rájah was unwilling again to meet an English representative, seized and kept in durance two native envoys of Mr. Graeme viz. Daraset, a Parsee merchant of Tellicherry and Kulputty Karnikára Manoon, a Sheristadar of the Collector of Malabar, who had gone to Coorg furnished with passports from Mr. Graeme. The former the Rájah allowed to return to Tellicherry, but the latter he refused to set at liberty until the Rájah's relatives were given up to him by the Government. Having an extraordinary

4: Richter M, G-S (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ance of which Government allowed Rs. 2000 per annum. But the Coorg Headmen exposed his designs so cleverly in an official report to Government, that it is quite refreshing to read their clear and telling arguments, which evince a most loyal disposition to the new Sircar. They plainly state it as their private opinion, "that Channa Basava is obnoxious to the Coorgs and that if he be aggrandized in any respect, a discontent will be created in the country." Thus he remained in his obscure position as a farmer at Appagalla. He died on the 3rd August 1868 at his farm. His widow, Dévammáji and his only son Sómashékarappa, are the only surviving legitimate relations remaining in the province. Two daughters are married to Polygars in Mysore. 175* 648* 643*

Of the other members of the Rájahs' family, two relics of Tippu Sultan, *Dévammáji* and *Nílammáji*, cousins of Dodda-Vírajender, had the palace at Nálkanád assigned for their residence without, however, any claim or title to the property. Dévammáji died there before 1852 and was buried in the garden behind the Palace. Nílammáji followed her in 1865 and was buried by her side according to Mussulman rites. 175* 644 ●

There were three more distant female relations residing at the palace at Haléri, of whom Rájammáji, the widow of Vírappa, died on the 26th September 1868 and Lingavva, the widow of Nanjundappa, brother of Vírappa, and both sons of Appáji Arasu, younger brother of Dodda-Vírájender, on the 8th May 1869.

4. ABHRAMBARA, THE IMPOSTOR.

These two brothers, Vírappa and Nanjundappa, together with fourteen others of their relations were apprehended by order of the Ex-Rájah, immediately after his father's death in 1820, and confined in a building in the Fort of Mercara, called the Kótemane, where the whole of them died of starvation and misery within three months after their imprison- 175* 643*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

● 648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

indolent will then have to work for subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations.[1] 648 178

One of the first reforms introduced by the British was the abolition of slavery. Every high-caste landholder had apportioned to him, from ancient times, one or more families of slaves according to the size of his estate. These slaves belonged to a very low caste like the Poleyas. The legal abolition of slavery did not, however, materially affect the landholders, many of whom were Coorgs. But when, in the fifties of the last century, coffee plantations were opened up all over Coorg and there was a sudden demand for coolie labour, many of the slaves deserted their former masters to work for cash wages on the plantations. It was only then that the condition requiring a person holding land on the *jamma* tenure not to sublet his land was relaxed to the extent of permitting him to sublet a fourth of his estate. 648 567 245 178

Before the coming of coffee, rice was not only the staple crop, but also the chief commercial crop, as not many people owned the evergreen forests where cardamom throve. The cultivation of rice was the most important concern of every landholding joint family and its slave-families. Excess of rice was disposed of in Malabar where articles not available in Coorg were bought. [243]

As a food crop rice has an intrinsic importance which no purely commercial crop can adversely affect, but coffee soon took a place next only to rice in its importance. It is necessary to mention here that the cultivation of coffee, in the beginning at any rate, was subject to the hazards of destruction by pests like the 'bug' and 'borer'. It was also bound up with the vagaries of a world market.

Coffee changed the face of Coorg. It brought in European planters who settled down all over Coorg; it cut the bonds binding the slaves to their traditional masters; it induced the seasonal inflow of labour from Mysore and South Canara, and finally it brought money to the planter as well as to the labourers on the plantations and to the total community. [563]

The annexation of Coorg by the British did not mean a complete break with past administration. The British administrative system was at first based on the old system, and the modifications intro- 648 631

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

•648 631 duced were few and far between. The authority of village elders and of the hereditary village headman was recognized and the established administrative institutions were continued.

This phase, however, ended soon after 1858 when the administration of India was taken over by the British Government from the East India Company. Coorg then became part of the territories administered directly by the British in India and of the elaborate administrative and judicial machinery stretching over the whole of [671] India. Numerous Acts like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Indian Stamp Act applied to every part of India including Coorg.

Under the British, Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's Province, a position which continues even today. Until 1942 the British Resident in Mysore State was also the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Coorg was governed from Bangalore, the headquarters of the Resident. In 1942, the two offices of Resident of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg were separated and a distinguished Coorg, Dewan Bahadur Kēṭōḷira Chengappa was appointed Chief Commissioner. Below the Chief Commissioner was the Superintendent who lived in Coorg. A legislative council consisting of twenty members (fifteen elected and five nominated), presided over by the Chief Commissioner, was constituted in 1924. The council had the right to vote on the budget, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions.

567 A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN COORG

Slavery was widely prevalent in pre-British Coorg. The slaves and agricultural labourers did most of the actual work of the farm under the supervision of their masters who held the land from the state on one of the several forms of tenure prevalent in Coorg. The number of slaves in 1834, when the British annexed Coorg, was estimated at 6,089, but we do not know whether this included the slaves on the Rāja's farms (or *paṇyas*), who were variously estimated at 1,757, 1,720, 1,500, and 1,233.

Slaves were referred to as *jammada āḷu* (or '*jamma* servants'),[1] and there were two classes of slaves, one praedial, called *bhūmi jammada āḷu* (*bhūmi* = land), and the other personal, called *okkalu*

[1] It probably meant that they were slaves of the man holding land on *jamma* tenure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

567 The slave was a member of the master's household and a proverb compares him to one's eldest son. The master had to provide funds for the slave's wedding and have him looked after during illness and old age. On his side the slave was required to perform [702] every type of service. He was also liable to be called upon to bear arms in times of war.

The remedy at the disposal of the slave against harsh treatment was running away either to a different part of Coorg, or to cross the border into a neighbouring country. There was, of course, the risk of being pursued, but it is presumed that the slave took this extreme step only when harsh treatment made his position intolerable. Between the farmers of Kiggaṭnāḍ in the extreme south and those in Wynāḍ, however, there was an agreement by which neither followed up absconding slaves who had crossed the frontier. This usually worked in favour of Coorg, where wages were higher than in Wynāḍ, though work was correspondingly heavier. The slaves in Kiggaṭnād and Wynāḍ regularly crossed the frontier once every few years and they had masters on either side. It was very probable that these slaves belonged to one of the several tribes inhabiting the mountains of Wynāḍ, like the Yerava, Beṭṭa Kuruba, Jēnu Kuruba, and so on. They had the reputation of being absconders and thieves and idlers in comparison with Poleyas from the Kannaḍa country. Yeravas and Kurubas from Wynāḍ fetched a lower price than Poleyas in the market. In any case the price of a slave never exceeded Rs13 (about £1).

564 Slavery had a caste component. The masters invariably belonged 567 to the higher castes while the slaves belonged to very low castes. In Coorg the masters generally belonged to castes like Coorgs, Tuḷu Gauḍas, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Airis (smiths) while the slaves came from Untouchable castes like Poleyas, Pāleyas, and Mādigas, and tribes like Yeravas, Aḍiyas, Kuḍiyas, and Beṭṭa Kurubas, and Jēnu Kurubas. It is probable that very poor members of the high castes and castes just above the Untouchables, like the Mēdas (makers of basketry work), hired themselves out as agricultural labourers.

It has already been said that a large body of slaves worked on ●648 the farms of the Rājas. In 1834 when the British annexed Coorg 567 there were twenty such farms producing nearly 47,000 *bhaṭṭis* of rice with about 1,757 (according to the highest estimate) slaves working on them. The British, who wanted to abolish slavery,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

started by freeing the slaves on the royal farms, and this was later extended to include all slaves.

There was a landslide in the general economy of the country when the slaves suddenly left their masters to work on the coffee plantations. The masters then found that they were unable to cultivate all the wet land in their estate, but under the conditions of *jamma* tenure they were required to pay an assessment of five rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land on all wet land irrespective of whether it was under the plough or not. It was then that the government permitted them to sublet not more than a fourth of the wet land.[1]

[1] 'No remission of *jamma*-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the *jamma* ryots [peasants] are allowed to pay Rs 10 per 100 *bhaṭṭis* for the quantity of land which has been cultivated, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole* farm. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house to permit the whole of the *jamma* lands to be sublet on *vāra* tenure [division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord] for periods ranging from one to five years according to the particulars of each case.' Richter, op. cit., pp. 402–3.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 1]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government.

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilization, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India.

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáma" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. 3]

The Coorg Country.

1. Geographical Features.

The Coorg country is formed by the summits and eastern declivities of the Western Ghats, which separate it on the south and west from the woody tracts of North Malabar (Wynád) and South Canara (Tulu); in the north and east it merges into the table-land of Mysore with the only partially, natural boundary of the rivers Kumáradhári, Hémávati and Kávéri. Its greatest length from north to south, from the river Hémávati to the Brahmagiris, extends over 60 and its greatest width from west to east, from Sampáji to Fraserpet, about 40 English miles. Geographically speaking, the whole country lies between north latitude 11° 55′ and 12° 50′, and east longitude 75° 25′ and 76° 14′. Its area comprises 1,585 square miles. Before the annexation of Coorg by the English, the limits of this little kingdom extended over a larger tract and included the two taluqs of Canara, Amra Sulya and Puttúr, comprising an area of about 580 square miles, which at the request of the inhabitants were separated from Coorg and added to the Collectorate of South Canara.

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The present shape of Coorg, as represented on a map, is not unlike a baby's sock, a little contracted at the instep and with a loop at the top, by which it is suspended. In this situation the heel points north-west and the toe south-east, whilst the sole, heel and back seam are formed by the Ghats

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat [578] swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; • 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. Le HARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They have experience on their side. Of the large number of people,
[648] whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the
[167] thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757]
use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajenderpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos.	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161 648 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

[Errata: This should read "exiles," See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

or 6000 armed men, has during the long period of peace and prosperity under the British Government considerably increased and may now be estimated at about 30,000 souls. 161 648

2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE, OCCUPATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE COORGS. 101 564

The Coorgs, or Kodagas as they are properly called, are the principal tribe of the country and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. In the Hindu scale they are Sudras and not pork-eating "Bastard Kchetrias," as some mocking Brahmins would have it; but it ought to be the pride of the Coorgs to discard the notion of caste altogether, which in fact does not apply to them, and to stand upon their own merits as "Kodagas", the remarkable mountain clan of Coorg. Reserving an enquiry into their origin for the historical part, I would only remark, that the Coorgs of the present day are as distinct from the Malayálam and Canarese people on the western coast, as they are from the Mysoreans in the north and east, though their peculiarities are to some extent allied to the habits of the one as well as to those of the other race, and even their language is but a mixture of the Dravidian tongues. 101

Look at a group of Coorgs of the better class by the side of some Mysoreans or people from the western coast. The difference is striking. The Coorgs are tall, muscular, broad chested, strong limbed and swift-footed. Men of 6 feet and above are not uncommon. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose and finely chiselled lips set off by a well trimmed mustache which in the "gala-mishe" terminates in a broad volute as worn by their Rajahs and men 142 [302 554]

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the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712]
ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and superstitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

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000 775 782 cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may 182 despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come 771 to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of 157 their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance 648 self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours, who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. 627 It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

871 The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

623 692 The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

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"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

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754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

754 787 648 [683]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

782 173 [776] As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Gráma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindádu and Koninchéri-gráma in Katiednád, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pánikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (álu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, ádu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellúr in Távaligherri-múrnád of Kiggatnád-taluq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[775] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appáchoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

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years (from 1687-1736) war-trenches (Cadangas) already existed to which he added new ones, as the passage in the Rájéndranáma states: "He caused ditches and trenches, etc. "to be dug all over the Coorg kingdom, erected frontier "gates, etc. repaired all the *war-trenches* within the country and "thus fortified the Principality of Coorg." 712

These Cadangas stretch over hills, woods and comparatively flat countries for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill tops. In the Méndalanád they show a great conformity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggatnád they are of smaller dimensions. As stated in the preceding quotation they were "*war-trenches*," but it is more than probable, that at the same time they formed at least to some extent also the boundaries between different nádu. In their conflicts with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Coorg Rájas strengthened these works, established Ukadas or guard-houses wherever a road or pathway intersected them, every opening being faced with rough stone-walls and even in the last campaign at the taking of Coorg in 1834 the Cadangas proved no contemptible obstacle to the advance of the English troops. [634] [648]

Other remains of defensive works in Coorg are the *Fort at Mercara*, the *Fort ruins at Fraserpet*, *Beppunád*, *Bhágumandala* and *Palupáre*.

Mercara Fort is still in pretty good preservation, but of little strategical value, as it is commanded by hills all round within short range of cannon. The Fortress was originally built by Muddarája Vodeya in 1680 or thereabout, and then consisted probably of mud walls, but it was rebuilt with stone by Tippu Sultan, who called it "Jaffarabad," and it was held by his generals till 1790, when Jaffar Ali Beg evacuated the place and left it with all its guns and ammunition to the Rája, Dodda-Virájender. It simply consists of a rampart

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rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Belllála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Zádu branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mlénchhas or Mussulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Histories of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

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175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembán, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembán Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174 177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795] maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144] required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

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643 648 174 177 [578] [564]

ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 186 175 [628] [648]

To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes could have been formed into an almost homogenous body, I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a comparatively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

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itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still (787)
write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

so

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Though fully alive to their
material interests, the town-people have little desire for or 632
perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They [871]
seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar- [443]
routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.)

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for [485]
which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very [133]
picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta [245]
with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have [172]
lately been found.

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part 635
of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in [131]
length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 [162]
square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past.
The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, [648]
Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some [133]
mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles)

695 671 177 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be taken from them.

74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 671 177 694 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an individual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 671 177 694 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses may be residing in another country, the district-servants are to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

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671 177 766 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, 671 leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár 177 or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the de- 429 ceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain 768 their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the head-man of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

● 648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

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merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high 648
and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg.

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during 177
the last ten years the† admission of pleaders into the Courts 692
and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary.

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided 635
over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal juris- 692
diction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town- 177
Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and [634]
police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in-

† [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchâyatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

● 648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1*st December* 1868 *the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of* 1868 *came into operation.* Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of . . . . . Rs. 100.

Subadárs of the the 1st class . . . . . „ 300.

Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class . „ 1000.

Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class . . „ 3000.

The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

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and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

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423 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of
567 British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question
648 to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by
423 the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then
427 prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-
648 lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

1st to the holder of the farm,
2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,
3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by
423 the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had
427 availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

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651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

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[567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,872¼ butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

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423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years	one year's assessment is remitted,			
15 „ 25 „	two „	„	„	„

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oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

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shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656 423 425

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold.

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and bounderies of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ less than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency beyond $\frac{1}{10}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{10}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the _____ day of _____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of _____ of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. _____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of _____ in _____ of the _____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: _____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

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And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area. 648 656 423 425

And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the.... day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____ duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____ in the taluq ____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

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648 656 423 425 The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

651 423 245 *Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.*

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

[249] VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the fifth year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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655 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department
654 is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg
185 and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

[651]

1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . .	„	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	„	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . .	„	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October
● 648 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, [1] Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

[1] [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 — Ann Nst]

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The extensive cultivation of coffee and the consequent acreage-assessment rendered a Revenue-survey necessary and the Field-establishment organised in 1863 under the superintendence in succession of Mr. Plumb, Lieut. W. Freeth and Lieut. R. M. Clerk has ever since been at work. A detailed revenue survey of thousands of petty holdings is, however, a far more laborious and tedious task than a topographical survey, and consequently requires much more time. As a beginning of a new topographical survey of Coorg, Horurndrokkalnád in Mercara-talu: has been completed by Lieut. Freeth, and the work is continued by Lieut. Clerk along with the revenue survey. The reasons given for the delay in completing the operations of the survey are the reduction of the establishment, interruptions from heavy monsoons, subordinates being prostrated with fever etc. added to the incorrectness of the data upon which calculations were based.

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The mapping of the field-work is executed in the Madras Central Office.

MEMO. shewing the number of estates surveyed, mapped etc. from the commencement of Survey in 1863 up to 31st March 1870.

Estates Surveyed.	European.		Native.		No. of estates mapped.	No. of estates lithographed.	Remarks.
	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.			
2365	168	64809	2197	29496	1592	1164	Horur-ndrokkalnád topographically surveyed and mapped—Area 20856 acres, at a cost of Rs. 2075 or 1 As. 7 P. per acre.

There are still about 21 European and 1,753 native estates to be surveyed. The cost to the Planter of surveying

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

54 648 651 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three annas per acre.

d. *Abkári.*

651 273 [656] Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 273 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 178 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 491 653 Coorg is crossed by two trunk-roads from east to west and from north to south, intersecting each other at Mercara, and by a branch-road near Vírájpet the western and eastern highroads are connected.

Previous to the occupation of the country by the British in 1834, the roads were in a primitive state, wholly impracticable for wheeled carriges and scarcely less so for bullocks, it having been part of the policy of the Rájahs, to render their country as little accessible as possible, from an idea common to the mountaineers in all parts of the world, that the chance of invasion and conquest was thereby diminished. For the same reason some of the more direct and practicable lines, leading to Mercara were shut up and travelling by them prohibited.

The *Eastern trunk-road* from Mysore enters Coorg at Fraserpet, where it crosses the Kávéri, which is spanned by a fine masonry bridge of 7 arches and 516 feet in length. The part of the line between Fraserpet and Mercara is 19¼ miles in length and was commenced in January 1835 and completed in 1837 by a detachment of Sappers under Capt. Underwood, Lieuts. Rundall, Doria and Fast. The Kávéri-bridge, however, was built in 1846-48 by Capt. Ch. J. Green with the material of the dismantled Fort at Fraserpet. It bears the inscription: "The Most Noble George Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, Major-General Mark Cubbon Commissioner of Mysore. Fraserpet Bridge. The first stone of this bridge was laid on the 1st day of January 1846 by Capt. W. G. Onslow, Superintendent of Coorg and it was opened to public traffic on the 12th day of May 1848. Charles James Green, Capt. in the Madras Engineers, Architect."

(4 185) To break the distance of 19¼ miles, there is a Traveller's Bangalow at Suntikoppa, 9 miles from Mercara. The elevated situation is pretty, but the present condition of the Bangalow wretched.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The upper portion of this road near Mercara has in several places too steep a gradient and should, as the Chief Engineer proposes, be reconstructed. The *Sampáji-Ghat* or the line from Mercara towards Mangalore, which, however, ought to be called "*Fast's Ghat*" in honor to the professional skill of the young Engineer Officer who planned and executed this great work and who fell a victim to jungle-fever, was commenced after the monsoon in 1837 and offered considerable engineering difficulties, as it followed for many a mile through dense jungle. It is for the most part very direct; the soil is generally good and, except in two places, so gentle is the slope down the Ghat of 19¼ miles in length, that for bandy traffic it offers no difficulty. Between the 9th and 10th miles only the gradient for a very short distance is as much as 1 in 12 and 1 in 6 or 7. The total fall in the first 15 miles of this Ghat is about 2900 feet, which gives 1 in 37 for the whole line. From the foot of the Ghat to Sampáji, 4¼ miles, the fall is only 55 feet. The cost of cutting out the roadway of these 19¼ miles, including the removal of rocks, trees, etc. but without bridges amounted to about 3500 Rs. per mile, exclusive of the pay of the Sappers and cost of tools. Whithin a short time the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, whilst the easy access to a market gave stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg and with the advent of coffee-planters, whose extensive estates line both sides of the road, its importance became invaluable. 648 491 653

The stages on this road from Mercara are: 6 miles to Madyanád, 14 to Sampáji, 13¼ to Sulya, 11 to Káu, 10¼ to Puttúr, 15 to Pánemangalore, 7 to Feringapet and 9 to Mangalore with a Traveller's Bangalow at each stage and all in healthy localities except that at Sampáji. 491 [485]

The road from Cannanore into Coorg through the Periambády Ghat and the Anachaukur road were finished some twelve years later, chiefly for military purposes. The line [653]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

5. POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

Besides the regular postal service with Offices at Mercara and Vírájpet, there is a local post called Anché, originally established by the Rájahs and still principally used for official communication between the district functionaries and the heads of departments, who are exempt from postage, but it is open also to the public both for letters and packages on the same terms as the Queen's Post. By its means 160,999 letters, etc. have been despatched in 1869-70, whilst the Queen's Post at the two offices transmitted 147,309 letters, etc. over the three lines, Mercara—Mysore,—Cannanore,—Mangalore. For the Anché-tappál there are five lines: 205

1.	from Mercara to	Frasérpet	20	miles.
2.	" "	Kiggatnád	35	"
3.	" "	Kodlipet	46	"
4.	" "	Nálkanád	20	"
5.	" "	Madyanád	5	"

In localities away from these lines postal communication is very imperfect and public business much impeded and often seriously inconvenienced.

Mercara has lately become the Head-quarters of the Malabar Coast Division of the *Government Telegraph Department* and consequently the Bangalore, Cannanore, and Mangalore lines are here united and Mercara is brought into telegraphic communication with all parts of the civilized world. During 1869-70 1595 messages have been received and despatched, and yielded an income of Rs. 1,798—8. 655

6. MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

Considering the military services rendered by the Jammaryots in the times of the Coorg Rájahs and their martial spirit and loyalty, so often applauded by the English Government, 701 648

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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● 648 it may cause surprise, that no advantage has hitherto been taken of such excellent material for local military service, by organising all able-bodied men into a Coorg militia under English Officers and keeping a small body of men for short periods on duty at Mercara, instead of a Sepoy-Regiment, especially since it was the loyal Coorgs and not the Sepoys, who suppressed the insurrection anno 1837. Lately some proposal was indeed put forward to abolish Mercara as a military station, but the strategical position of the country, adjoining the foreign territory of Mysore on the one side and the Mopla inhabited districts of Madras on the other, was deemed of sufficient importance, to continue its occupation by a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

712 Mercara having been declared a *Military Cantonment*, (vide page 1009 Fort St. Georg Gazette 1856) the following are the specifications of bearings and distances of its boundaries.

Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
1	210°	312	Station 1. Opposite entrance to Fort. Boundary follows outer side of main road to station 5.
2	201	225	
3	174	315	
4	121	288	Station 5. Opposite the gate of the Roman Catholic Priest's house; boundary leaves the main road and ascends the hill in rear of the Roman Catholic Priest's house, skirting the compound which it leaves outside the limits, it continues to follow the crest of the range of hills overhanging the Mangalore ghat till it reaches Station 18.
5	261	150	
6	181	173	
7	126	77	
8	148	73	
9	200	374	
10	285	130	
11	275	191	
12	178	318	Station 18. A slightly elevated peak intersected by a Coorg ditch and rampart, boundary follows this ditch down the slope of the hill to the burying ground which it encloses, traversing its west and south side to station 20 and thence descending the valley in which the Lines are situated to station 21. At 390 feet it strikes the bank of a Nullah along which it continues to station 28. From 23 to 34 it runs through enclosed gardens
13	261	184	
14	218	165	
15	259	90	
16	212	162	
17	185	181	
18	285	485	
19	23	175	
20	41	215	

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
21	9	720	and thence follows a pathway till it reaches the Artillery drivers-lines which it encloses. It here skirts the edge of a hill (from station 29) and joins a bandy-road on the borders of a semicircular excavation at station 35.
22	347	280	
23	307	315	
24	0	200	
25	324	175	
26	337	95	
27	352	250	From station 35 boundary follows the bandy-road above alluded to till it joins the main road by a signag path at the commencement of the causeway leading to the town at station 39.
28	358	238	
29	39	238	
30	65°30'	188	
31	103	105	
32	145	150	From station 39 boundary follows the outer side of the main road to the north corner of the Artillery bullock shed compound; it then turns to the south enclosing the main road at station 42, continues along its outer edges as before till it terminates at station 1.
33	80	128	
34	51	27	
35	41	172	
36	81	78	
37	99	20	
38	70	240	
39	105	220	
40	77	310	
41	166	265	
42	201	340	

(Signed:) A. CUPPAGE, Lt. Col.
Comdg. Mercara.

Mercara,
26th Sept. 1856.

G. M. MARTIN,
Offg. Supt. of Coorg.

True Copy.

(Signed:) H. O'CONNELL Capt.
Ag. Dy. A. Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Army.

7. MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

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The requirements of the Military and Civil service in Coorg render the presence of a Medical Officer indispensable; it has been even proposed, to constitute Mercara into a separate charge of a Civil Surgeon, but Government thought the Military Doctor sufficient for all the wants of the station, considering probably, that the European settlers in the pro-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,916, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 established at Vírájpet, Kiggatnád and Fraserpet with a total of 245 pupils are to serve a double purpose. Being affiliated to the Central School, they form for the younger children in the distant Náds convenient seminaries to learn near home the elements of English and in time supply the Central School with a better prepared class of scholars, who will at once join the third form. With the opening of two more Schools at Padynálkanád and Kodlipet, each taluq will have an English School. The teachers, with one exception are pupils of the Central School.

658 The *Central School at Mercara* gradually advanced to its
648 present position, the first decisive step having been taken in
873 1862, when the Coorg Headmen petitioned Government for assistance. A copy of their Petition will show both the earnestness of the Coorgs and the extent of the scheme:—

From the Headmen of Coorg

To

Capt. JOHN CAMPBELL,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Headmen of Coorg, being the representatives of our countrymen, beg most respectfully to lay before you what is now uppermost in our minds and what appears to us of the greatest importance for the welfare of our people. If our humble petition should meet with your favourable consideration and approval, we would further beg you, to convey our wishes to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, J. Bowring Esq., with such recommendations and improvements as you may deem proper.

Though the noble[1] generosity of the late lamented Chief Commissioner, General Sir Mark Cubbon, K. C. B., the blessing of education has been extended to us six years ago, though we did not appreciate it then, as we do now. Our minds were darkened and full of prejudice as to its possible effect; but the influence of the established English School at Mercara, its steady progress and the temperate, judicious and devoted manner in which it has been carried on for the last six years, have disarmed all our fears and we earnestly desire, that all our children should be benefitted by the instruction there given. The great influx of European settlers into our country makes the

[1] [Errata: this should read "Through the the noble". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 474 -- Ah.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

education of our children appear to our minds doubly necessary, since our own ignorance renders our intercourse with the Planters difficult and disadvantageous to us.

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The peculiar circumstance, however, that Mercara, though the capital of the province, contains but a few Coorg-houses, enables only a limited number of Coorg boys to attend the school. To remedy this disadvantage, we have resolved to collect a sum of money amongst ourselves sufficient to build and endow a boarding house for about 100 boys.

The Coorg officials and the Pensioners (vide p. 365) are ready to contribute half a month's pay, which together with the subscriptions of the Coorg farmers will amount to about Rs. 6,000. This is all we can do at present; but we earnestly desire, that also our daughters should receive some education and for them we would have to build a similar house.

The question now arises, where to build the houses. Certainly near the School. The present English School, however, is on a slope of the hill on which the Fort is built and within military limits, it is enclosed by two roads, the compound belonging to it very small and in the vicinity no suitable spot available. The school-house itself, which was originally the Rájahs' elephant's stable and had afterwards been turned into a travellers' Bangalow, has no suitable arrangements for schoolrooms and does not admit of an increased number of scholars. It was the generous gift of Sir Mark Cubbon for the school and has answered its purpose very well for the beginning, but now it is too small and larger premises are required.

We therfore most humbly beg, that Government may give us a helping hand to carry out our plans. We propose to have all the School buildings required within the same compound and under the eye of the resident Principal, and for this purpose no other spot in Mercara seems to us in every respect more suitable than the site of the old palace. It is central, spacious and healthy. The few remaining walls would yield some building material and the foundations might serve for the new school-house with the Principal's dwelling; the compound would afford an extensive playground and gymnasium and enough room for a garden, to be cultivated by our children. We beg that this piece of ground be granted to us for this purpose.

We estimate the cost of the school-house, the Principal's dwelling, the boarding house and out-houses, the gymnastic apparatus and the laying out of the garden at about Rs. 20,000; towards which we bind ourselves to collect Rs. 6,000; the sale of the present school-house may yield Rs. 3,000 and if Government would grant the rest, we should feel deeply grateful.

Mr. Richter, the Principal of the English School, who has conducted it for the last six years and won our entire confidence, has not only given the

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first impulse to this movement, but also declared himself with his esteemed partner most willing, to carry out the proposed plans and since both have hitherto acted as father and mother towards our children, we have not the least hesitation in confiding them also for the future to their parental care; the inner arrangements of the boarding houses, however, will be managed by our own people.

On the proposed site our Rájahs built a palace for the sole accommodation of their English friends during their visits at Mercara, whom they hospitably entertained and amused with all the wild sports of our native country (vide p. 297 ff.); how much nobler would be the task of our present benevolent Rulers, if on the ruins of the same palace they assisted us in erecting the desired buildings for the accommodation of our sons and daughters and entertained them in the halls of wisdom and knowledge with sublimer sport than the wild jungles of Coorg could furnish; and while even these palace ruins are in some degree honorable to our late Rájahs, we are fully convinced, that the new buildings will be a more lasting and brighter memorial to the honor of the paternal Government of India!

From the kind interest, which we rejoice to hear, the present Chief Commissioner entertains towards us and especially in educational matters, we have great hopes of a favourable result of this Petition.

Assuring Government of our heartfelt gratitude for received favors and of our devoted loyalty, we subscribe ourselves

Sir,

&c. &c. &c.

Mercara, 26th August 1862. 65 Signatures.

In transmitting the Petition to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Capt. J. A. Campbell remarked:—

"I have the greatest satisfaction in being the medium of bringing this most interesting movement on the part of the people of Coorg to the notice of Government, and I beg to bear my testimony to the genuineness of the feeling expressed in this petition, both as regards the earnestness of the people to progress in knowledge, their readiness to make sacrifices in the cause, and the esteem in which they hold the present Headmaster and his wife, to whom they have already given so much of their confidence."

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The Petition was forwarded by the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, accompanied by the following letter:— 658 648 873

Sir,

I have particular pleasure in submitting to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg together with a request, which may be deemed a national one, on the part of the Coorg people to be admitted to those benefits of education which others in more favoured positions have already received.

There is a genuineness of expression about this address, which I beg to send in original, that, I feel assured, will secure the hearty approval of the Government of India. It has probably rarely happened in India that a whole race has come forward in this manner, putting aside traditional prejudices, to meet half way the earnest wish of their Rulers, that they should educate themselves, and it is especially remarkable among mountaineers in this country, as the hill races are generally far below those of the plains in their acquisition of knowledge.

I have informed the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg, that I would lose no time in laying the address before His Excellency in Council, and that I feel convinced, that the Government will receive with peculiar pleasure the spontaneous expression of the good will borne by the Coorg race towards their Rulers.

In respect to the site solicited, there is no difficulty, and I have signified my assent to its being made over for the School in conformity with the existing practice in regard to building grants at Mercara.

With reference to the sum required to enable the people to carry out their wishes, I have no hesitation in soliciting that the sanction of Government may be accorded to the project being undertaken, so that the Coorgs may receive early intimation, that their earnest wish for their own enlightenment has been made known to and has been approved of by the Viceroy in Council, as the knowledge of the interest, taken in their welfare by the Head of Her Majesty's Government cannot but be an additional link to bind them to British rule. The detailed accounts required for the Budget can be estimated for in due course.

The Government of India may perhaps also be pleased to make known their approval of Mr. Richter's exertions.

I have etc. etc.

Bangalore 27th October, 1862.

(Signed) L. BOWRING,
Commissioner.

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658 In the extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honor-
248 able the Governor General of India in Council in the Home
873 Department, under date 15th January 1863 after a summary of the preceding correspondence: "The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the grant of a sum of money not exceeding Rs. 11,000 for the purpose indicated." "His Excellency in Council also notices with approbation the exertions of Mr. Richter, the Head Master of the School in question, who is stated to have won the 'entire confidence' of the people, and to have been the means of giving the first impulse to the present movement."

Rejoiced at the good news, the Coorgs enabled Mr. Richter to set at once to work. A building committee was formed consisting of the late Superintendent, Major Martin, and the three Head-Coorg-Officials, and having received the needful instructions at Head-quarters in Bangalore, the Principal planned and executed within the next five years under the most trying difficulties the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548—11—7, towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,721—15—5, the Europeans in Coorg Rs. 471, the sale of the old school-house produced Rs. 6,500 and the balance was liberally paid by the Government.

The boys' boarding-house is now being fitted up for occupation in the beginning of 1871 and the girls' boarding-house will shortly be ready too. It is being built by Colovandá Cariappah, the first Coorg pupil of the English School of 1856, and now Subadár of Mercara-taluq and always with his friend, Chepudira Soobiah, the staunchest and most liberal supporter of the cause of education amongst his people.

871 The Basel Missionary Society, in whose connection Mr.
797 Richter hitherto stood, observed with uneasiness the extraordinary educational movement in Coorg and were apprehensive of being thereby involved in responsibilities which they considered foreign to their missionary operations; they

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797 was appointed here in 1852. The Rev. Mr. Fennell B. A. succeeded him early in 1853, and the Rev. M. O. Deane B. A. took charge in December 1866, and was followed by Rev. J. Wynch M. A. in December 1868, who left in December 1869, when the chaplancy was vacated till December 1870 and then filled by the Rev. C. H. Deane M. A.

3. THE PROTESTANT MISSION OF THE BASEL SOCIETY.

797 648 When the account of the reduction of Coorg arrived in England, considerable interest was awakened in behalf of the inhabitants of the new Province, whom British arms had delivered from cruel bondage, and whose brave and frank character seemed to establish a peculiar claim upon the sympathies of the friends of Indian missions.

General Fraser on the 10th June 1834 in a letter to Mr. McNaughton, the Secretary to the Government of India remarks:—

"There is not probably a spot of ground in all India of this limited extent capable of so much improvement as Coorg. The people appear to have little or no attachment to the debasing superstition of the country and their minds seem to me to be more open than those of any other Indians, I have seen, to be prepared for receiving the light of the Christian religion, while their intellect may be expected rapidly to expand under the influence of that education, they are themselves soliciting." The noble-hearted General offered his share of the prize-money as an endowment of a Protestant Mission and the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Societies were inclined to extend their operations to Coorg, but both Societies subsequently found, that they could not spare men for a new Mission at a distance from their older stations, and thus a good opportunity was lost. General Fraser subsequently established a school at Fraserpet which he endowed

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a sum of Rs. 300, the interest of which goes towards the teacher's pay. The school is now under Government management and incorporated with the Anglo-Vernacular School. 797 648 [871]

In the year 1834 the Basel Missionary Society commenced operations on the western coast, in the neighbourhood of Coorg, and extended their stations to the north and south. Mercara and Vírájpet were now and then visited; but no proposal was made to the Committee to occupy Coorg. Thus the country remained nearly twenty years under British rule without the establishment of a Mission, until Dr. Moegling in 1852 was in an unforeseen and singular manner led to commence the long delayed work.

Being on the point of returning to Germany to recruit his shattered health, he was visited by a Coorg man, disguised as a Sanyási, who applied for instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was an intelligent and astute Coorg and the story of his life highly interesting. Having been baptized on the 6th January 1853, Stephanas Someyah of Alunanda in Beppunád, returned unexpected and unnoticed to his house. His wife received him with great joy and declared that she would live and die with him. On the following day Stephanas took formal possession of his house, and Dr. Moegling, who had accompanied him, resolved on standing by the family and becoming security to the creditors, who speedily assembled for the liquidation of the debts of the convert. Two days afterwards his neighbours and relatives drove him and his family out of their house at night and forced them to take refuge with the missionary at Vírájpet. The Superintendent enquired into the case and the Chief Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, to whom the matter was referred gave the following decision:— 797 578

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Appendix I.

Statement shewing the dates of assumption of charge of the Chief Commissioners and the Superintendents of Coorg.

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Date of assumption of charge.	Names of the Chief Commissioners.
3rd March 1834	Lieut. Col. J. S. Fraser.
18th January 1836	Lieut. Col. Mark Cubbon.
1st March 1861	C. B. Saunders Esq., C. B.
21st April 1862	L. B. Bowring Esq., C. S. I.
10th September 1866	C. B. Saunders Esq., C. B.
11th November 1867	L. B. Bowring Esq., C. S. B.
21st February 1870	Col. R. J. Meade, C. S. I.
	Names of the Superintendents.
2nd September 1834	Captain C. F. Le Hardy.
11th March 1843	do. G. Haines.
2nd March 1844	do. W. C. Onslow.
7th June 1846	do. H. F. Gustard.
16th January 1855	do. G. M. Martin.
27th October 1856	Major H. F. Gustard.
31st December 1856	do. G. M. Martin.
21st June 1859	Captain H. M. Elliott.
31st December 1861	do. F. M. Mc. Hutchin.
8th March 1862	do. Tredway G. Clarke.
28th April 1862	do. J. A. Campbell.
6th May 1862	Lancelot Ricketts Esq.
5th July 1862	Captain J. A. Campbell.
17th November 1862	do. Ralph N. Taylor.
20th July 1864	William Hobart Kerr Esq., M. C. S.
3rd March 1865	Captain Robert Andrews Cole.
13th October 1865	William Hobart Kerr Esq., M. C. S.
23rd February 1866	Captain R. A. Cole.
2nd July 1869	Lieut. Edmund S. Ludlow.
6th October 1869	Captain R. A. Cole.
2nd December 1869	Major Hugh Gordon Thomson.

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Appendix VIII.

STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COFFEE-ESTATES IN COORG,

THEIR REPUTED PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS IN 1870.

I. In the Mercara-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Aberdour	337·21	120	J. Russell	J. Russel	
2	Abyal	344	not known	Major G. M. Martin	K. Chittyanna	
3	Angaro-kolli	183·8	do.	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
4	Ballétre	130·97	90	Herbert Taylor	H. Taylor	
5	Beauvoir	44·63	44·63	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
6	Belta-male	476·70	450	do.	do.	
7	Belta-male	380·8	300	W. S. Boyd	W. Biddle	
8	Bhaktana-kotte	612·42	0	S. Jup	do.	resigned.
9	Bhima-kandi	359·58	0	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
10	Boykéri	80	80	H. Taylor	H. Taylor	
11	Cheppo-kád	125·86	125	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
12	Closeburn	231·46		Major Martin and Dr. Kirkpatrick	P. Pearson	
13	Coorg-Coffee-Company	2095·46	800	Coorg-Coffee-Company	F. Rylett	
14	Culdees	1023·64	165	H. Bain	Scobie	
15	Edrington	46·71	not known	Capt. Marshall	Jaganath	
16	Fanny-vale	205·76	175	D. Stewart	J. A. Young	

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
17	Fisher	489·91	400	W. U. Arbuthnot	F. H. Baker	
18	Glen-Coorg	3012·52	400	Donald Stewart	J. Woodman	
19	Glen-more	173	132	J. P. Hunt	J. P. Hunt	
20	Hálleri-kótekád	161·18	150	H. & Mangles	F. Mangles	
21	Helen-bally	467·79	100	S. G. Tipping	S. G. Tipping	
22	Herumale-nád	455·53	300	H. Mann	C. M. Grant	
23	Hordr-kótekád	369·12	150	A. C. Campbell		
24	Kadlen-kád	118·27	118	Rev. A. Fennell	Rev. A. Fennell	
25	Kagodlu-nád	174·66	174	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
26	Kánan-kád	107·80	25	J. P. Hunt		
27	Kapale-kád	184·84	180	A. C. Campbell, A. Fowler and Mr. N. A. M. Deacon	James Fowler	
28	Kóre-kolli	461·72	0	late Dr. Macpherson		abandoned.
29	Kimade-male	214·13	175	H. Mann	J. Brewer	
30	Knoll	93.81		Major Martin	Major Martin	
31	Do.	40·49		do.	do.	
32	Kunni-motte	136·40	136	Henry Mann		
33	Kundalam-kolli	203·32	175	F. W. Hill		
34	Lilford	113·93	95	W. Drummond	H. Drummond	abandoned.
35	Lower Kimale	198·52		Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
36	Lower Belta-male	345·9	190	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allay	
37	Made-nád	341·13	290	H. Mann	J. W. Finlayson	
38	May-male	369·71	900	W. S. Boyd	A. Stephen	
39	Mercara-Estate	242·65	190	Mrs. A. M. Deacon, A. Campbell & J. Fowler	J. Fowler	
40	Pachanda-male	566·69	250	W. S. Boyd	A. G. Allen	

41	Padachi-kád	155·30	155	J. P. Hunt and J. W. Hill		
42	Pándi-mala	435·66	300	H. Mann	A. G. Aspinall	
43	Salop	299·91	220	Nicol William and Co.	F. H. Hayes	
44	Sampige-kolli	197·47	140	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	W. T. Drake and A. R. Alston	
45	Senti-koppa	372·50		late Dr. Macpherson		resigned.
46	Upper-kimale	488·24	280	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	J. H. Young	
47	Wóte-kolli	480·74	250	Donald Stewart	J. Russel	

II. In the Padinálknád-taluq.

1	Anupdro-kád	455·88	167	Ch. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
2	Athumanda-Dóre	204·42		J. W. Finlayson		
3	Banada-kolli	200		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		
4	Banter	384·59	170	W. U. Arbuthnot and 3 others		
5	Chetti-mala	235·76	200	J. W. Finlayson	Turner	
6	Eyenkallia-mala	200	80	W. Burnett and A. Stephen	A. Stephen	
7	Eyenkanungandi-kád	100		J. W. Finlayson		
8	Iriakutumbo-mala	417·54		do.		
9	Kartha-kád	85·70	70	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
10	Kutanganda-Dóre	94·51		J. W. Finlayson		
11	Mechanda-Dóre	94·52		do.		
12	Mukati-kád	100		do.		
13	Padicha-mala	327·45	10	C. Grant and Aspinall	A. Wheeler	
14	Patti-mala	811·29	150	Capt. R. Taylor	Whish	
15	Thórikád	197·62	42	C. Grant and Aspinall	H. A. Wheeler	
16	Umala	283·2	150	Edg. Ludlow		
17	Waveney Valley	282·50	100	H. L. Johnstone and Brewer	J. Morgan	

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III. In the Yedenálknád-taluq.

No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage.		Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
		Total.	Cultivated.			
1	Allépu I.	268·49	180	G. R. Evans	F. Marsden	
2	Do. II.	329·16		F. Marsden	do.	
3	Allathan-kád	580·16		D. Stewart		
4	Anandapur	96·82	25	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya	David	
5	Bari-kád	816·72	165	Marquis Viviano	W. Ross.	
6	Bonhlands	722·8		J. Tanner	Pudicombe	
7	Clutha	426·95	400	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	A. Mc. Innes	
8	Kyan-hatarutu-kád	300		G. MacGregor		waste.
9	Fairlands and Oaklands	386·3	350	J. Wright of Edinburgh	J. Chisholm	
10	Fowler	808·6		Mrs. A. M. Duncan		uncultivated.
11	Do.	300		do.		do.
12	Do.	139·95		do.		do.
13	Glen Morison	282·81	130	James Fowler and Co.	James Fowler	
14	Glen Urquhart	211·80		James Fowler		abandoned.
15	Hanshi-betta	168·17	0	Rev. H. A. Kaundinya		resigned.
16	Handi-gutta-betta	240·60		N. Stewart		
17	Kaharálu-malo	300		Major Boddock and Mrs. Hearn		
18	Kákunda	962·29	500	Donald Stewart		
19	Kayan-kád	491·78	40	late Dr. Maxwell	C. Lawrence	
20	Kávéri-Estate	299·4	150	Kávéri-Coffee-Company	Pereira	
21	Kombu-kolli	378·61	250	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young		
22	Kumbari		75	Rev. G. Richter and J. Haller	J. Haller	

23	Methada-kád	195·88		N. Stewart		
24	Muthalbera	141·46	50	late P. James and P. Kennedy		
25	Kalle-hóle	296·46	250	N. Stewart	W. T. Simpson	
26	Puriambádi	266·54	140	late Dr. Maxwell	W. Rose	
27	Pili-hotta	315·93	240	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
28	Polle-kád	43·90		Donald Stewart		
29	Polle-hotta	1066·88	700	H. P. Minchin and W. R. Arbuthnot	H. P. Minchin	
30	Rockliffe	960·44		J. Stewart		resigned.
31	Rockville	151·52		F. Brown		
32	School-Plantation	301	50	Central-School-Endowment	Rev. G. Richter	
33	Siddhapur	185·70		J. P. Hunt		waste.
34	Strathmore	1011·74	320	Nicol Duckworth and Co.	C. Macdonald	
35	Tunda-hotta	387·33		H. Forman	H. R. Craig	
36	Thunir-halla	506·87		N. Stewart		waste.
37	Woodside	508·95		D. Stewart	J. Miller	
38	Wodder-halli	803·34	150	J. P. Hunt	Hobbert	
39	Yennagundi	735·33	450	W. R. Arbuthnot and J. Young	W. Turnbull	

IV. In the Kiggatnád-taluq.

1	Athel I.	178·96	140	J. W. Savage and		
2	Do. II.	152·64	90	H. J. Marsden	J. W. Savage	
3	Bambu-kád	159·17	45	J. W. Hayes		
4	Benkumond	252	170	A. C. Burnett and G. Ross	A. Burnett	
5	Berenide	277·76		G. Anderson		
6	Clifton	233·70	150	Alex. Denoon	James Fowler	
7	Cluny	363·70		Cols. A. Cadell & Barrow	H. P. Drummond	
8	Cadial	114·03	100	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Ross	H. A Ross	

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No.	Names of Estates.	Acreage. Total.	Acreage. Cultivated.	Proprietors.	Managers.	Remarks on Estates.
9	Eyguada	418·48	300	Capt. R. Taylor	F. Jaques	
10	Kario-male	1032·99	435	H. G. Roberts, D. Ross, and D. Peebles	J. Ross	
11	Kayim-kolli	667·62	147	R. St. John Shaw	R. Shaw	
12	Kikód	106·45	50	Maj. Renton, Capt. Magrath & H. A. Ross	H. A. Ross	
13	Koko-male	894·55	160	McGregor and J. Martin	J. L. Martin	
14	Kohári	103·62		H. P. Gordon	H. P. Horton	
15	Mathigód	488·94		D. Stewart		waste.
16	Puggadi-male			H. J. Roberts, D. Ross and D. Peebles		
17	Palatód	1565·12	400	C. W. Dawson		
18	Poonambére			W. V. Drummond		waste.
19	Rosemath		45	W. Ross	J. Ross	
20	Shalankári	193·75		Nicol Duckworth and Co.		resigned.
21	Singo-mone			do.		do.
22	Sévirabetti-kód			G. Wilson		

V. In the Nanjarájpatna-taluq.

1	Alle-hatte	151·18		H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	
2	Battada-rási	239·84	100	Col. Cunningham and Barrett	S. Barrett	
3	Carton	278·81	200	R. P. Carr		abandoned.
4	Hamyal	1461·29	130	Campbell and Fowler		
5	Lowden valley	460·18	100	Mrs. E. Wright and W. Wright	W. Wright	
6	Kumba-kód		145	H. R. East	H. R. East	
7	Kavina-kolli	212·21	20	H. A. Mangles	G. F. Deeds	

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/For a history of the foreign relations of the Coorg, particularly with the British Colonial Government, see category 116, pp. 236-274, 278-279, 281-312, 317-325, 328-357, 361-365./

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 553

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The extent of actual cultivation is difficult to estimate, owing to the survey being incomplete. The land under coffee cultivation on the 1st April 1870 was 5,222 acres less than on the same date in 1869, when 55,750 acres were held by Europeans and 29,930 acres by natives, or a total of 85,780 acres, yielding a landtax of Rs. 91,251 whilst the acreage in 1869-70 produced only Rs. 89,942. The assessment for each holder is, after an exemption for the first 4 years, from the fifth to the ninth year 1 rupee per acre and rupees 2 ever after whether cultivated or uncultivated land. The planters, however, hope that Government will reduce this landtax to 1 rupee per acre in consideration of the sore disappointments and losses from unforeseen causes, under the pressure of which 204 acres have already been resigned by planters and, to recover rupees 3,497 for assessment due, several estates amounting to 3,702 acres have been resumed and sold by Government. 245 311 245 651

Chinchona cultivation, has been initiated on a small scale by Government in 1863 in a favourable locality 3 miles to the east of Mercara. There are now several hundred trees in a thriving condition, that yield quantities of seed for distribution and for rearing new plants in the hothouse, which was erected for the purpose on the premises of the Central School. Plants have already been distributed to those taluq cutcherries, in the compounds of which they were thought likely to grow, and the experiment has to some extent proved successful. Seed and plants have also been given to private persons. On several coffee estates small patches have been planted with chinchonas for estate use; but the special cultivation on a large scale has not found favour with any planter, though there is little doubt, that, wherever in the open coffee grows, which belongs to the same natural order viz: Chinchonaceæ, the Chinchona will also thrive. There is some diffidence as to its success as a financial speculation, seeing that the Govern- 249 [245]

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175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembáu, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Gauda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

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of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[7] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812[8] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umboli and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[7] [Errata: this should read "remarkable" or "neither". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]
[8] [Errata: this should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

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651 423 565 701 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards, escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 651 433 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660¾, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 731 423 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

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and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

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423 567 648 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

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1st to the holder of the farm,

2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,

3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 423 427 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

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to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

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651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

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[567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,8724 butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

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423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years	one year's assessment is remitted,		
15 „ 25 „	two „	„	„

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,		311
35 „ 50 „	four „	„ „	651
above 50 „	five „	„ „	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—, it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [184]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 at the rate of Rs. 2—8 per 100 butties, the whole extent of Umbali-tenure would be about 448,900 butties.

651 423 622 An addition, at least in name, to these Umbali-holdings has been lately made at the recommendation of Capt. Cole, who proposed "that a fixed remuneration in the shape of a reduction in the assessment on the land, held by each Patél, be allowed to him as a "*Gaud-Umbali*" for the large additional work thrown on the Patéls by the effects of advancing civilization, by the opening out of the country and by the settlement of Europeans." This measure was hailed with satisfaction by the Patéls; most of them fixed the Umbali on the hereditary lands of their houses and in some cases the Umbali amounted to the entire assessment on their lands, which by this remission became virtually Jhágir or free, so that the "Gaud-Umbali" should be classed with the Inám-lands or freeholds.

651 423 The *Jódi-tenure* (from the Can. jódi, a favourable quit-rent) is the holding of land which has been alienated to the office of the Patéls in the Yélusávirashíme- and Nanjarájpatna-taluq and for the maintenance of religious establishments, in all parts of Coorg. Half of its original assessment having been relinquished in favour of the holders, the Sirkar receives only Rs. 5 per 100 butties as from Jamma-land. Like this the former cannot be sublet and, if left uncultivated, it is at the disposal of the district officers and may be given by them to any ryot on Ságu-tenure, when 5 Rs. of the land-tax are paid to Government and the other 5 Rs. to the religious establishment to which it belongs. The revenue of the Jódi-tenure in 1869-70 was Rs. 5,930—5—7.

All these different holdings were liable to three additional taxes payable to Government viz: ghee-house- and Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The *ghee-tax* amounted to half a seer of ghee for every 100 butties of land and was paid in consideration of the Sirkar's expense on feasting the Coorgs, who assembled at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the Huttari- and Gauri-feast at the Rájah's palaces for exhibiting their national dance, accompanied by singing and instrumental music. At the general request of the people it was abolished, as the English Government neither fed nor gave the dancers presents on these occasions. 651 423

The *house-tax* is paid by every farmer at the rate of 9 As. 7 P. per family, Pariahs paying only half that sum. Merchants and other classes pay according to their caste or trade from 3 As. 2¼ P. to 3 Rs. 10 As. 10 P. per house. 243 423 651

The *Dhúli-paddy-tax* was originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily given to the Haléri-Jangam who first pretended to be satisfied with an offering of the refuse paddy (Dhúli *Can.* dust) but, who on having usurped the Coorg Samsthán, imposed the tax by right on all ryots, vide p. 230. Since 1834 the rule was, that ryots, cultivating from 25 to 50 butties of wet land, had to pay ¾ of a butty of paddy—but no refuse!—and for 50 and upwards 1¼ butty of paddy to Government. In Gadinád and Yedavanád the ryots paid three Hannies or six seers in addition to every rupee paid for the land rent instead of the Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The paddy thus collected amounted in 1835 to 3,323 butties and in 1868-69, when this impost was commuted into a money payment of Rs. 3—3—7 per 1¼ butty or 120 seers,—this being the average market price of paddy for the 5 previous years—, it yielded Rs. 18,304—6—3 which at the above rate represents 8,516 butties, an increase of nearly 2¼ times and a considerable item in the land revenue!

The *Inám-holdings*, or rentfree lands, are either granted to religious institutions or for service rendered to the State and represent a nominal land-tax of Rs. 17,298—8—4. For *Dry-cultivation* the land is divided into fields and pieces of ground, denominated in the Registers respectively "Sargas" and "Tundus," each of the latter measuring from one to two cawnies and the former comprising from one to eight tundus. 423 651

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca: 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 Though the name, situation, size and extent of each tundu is minutely specified in the Registers, no mention is made of their estimated produce. Practice has, however, established the rule, that Government should receive one sixth of the gross produce, which in 1869-1870 effected a revenue of Rs. 9,362—3—5. When several families unite in cultivating pieces of dry land, each ryot contributing his share of labour and agricultural stock according to his means and receiving a corresponding proportion of the produce, such a farm is called "Hola-kula" or family field. The house-tax is, however, collected from each ryot.

423 651 245 With the year 1866-67 a new source of land revenue arose from the *assessment on land* taken up *for coffee cultivation.* After much deliberation and correspondence on the part of the "*Coorg Planters' Association*" and *Government*, the latter finally resolved in October 1863, to abolish the "Halut" or excise duty of 4 as. per maund of 28 lbs., or one rupee per hundredweight of clean coffee and to substitute on acreage rental on the following terms:

From the first to the fourth year the land is rentfree from the date of acceptance by the District Officer of the tender for the grant.

From the fifth to the ninth year one rupee per acre on the whole area, except a certain proportion of waste grass land.

From the tenth and subsequent years two rupees on the same area.

The Planters' Association (in September 1864) expressed itself entirely satisfied with these Rules which on the whole were considered both "just and liberal." A six years' experience, however, under adverse circumstances of bad seasons, Bug and Borer convinced the Planters, that the assessment, having been fixed upon too sanguine expectations of coffee-produce and therefore wrong premises, had turned out to be unjust and illiberal, and in some instances had become actually

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

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Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

[249] VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 8th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over. 651 423 245

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Nádu, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Bánc-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Nádu, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is 651 423 249

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!

General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have peen removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párspatisgére of Náds bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 5[illegible] to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

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Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close, we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

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Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhógs shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 423 (kei-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Huzur."

635 634 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee	of assessment	in January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

651 423 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

655 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department
654 is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg
185 and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

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1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . .	„	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	„	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . .	„	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October
648 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, [1] Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

[1] [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 — Ed.]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extensive cultivation of coffee and the consequent acreage-assessment rendered a Revenue-survey necessary and the Field-establishment organised in 1863 under the superintendence in succession of Mr. Plumb, Lieut. W. Freeth and Lieut. R. M. Clerk has ever since been at work. A detailed revenue survey of thousands of petty holdings is, however, a far more laborious and tedious task than a topographical survey, and consequently requires much more time. As a beginning of a new topographical survey of Coorg, Horur-núrokkalnád in Mercara-talu: has been completed by Lieut. Freeth, and the work is continued by Lieut. Clerk along with the revenue survey. The reasons given for the delay in completing the operations of the survey are the reduction of the establishment, interruptions from heavy monsoons, subordinates being prostrated with fever etc. added to the incorrectness of the data upon which calculations were based.

The mapping of the field-work is executed in the Madras Central Office.

Memo. shewing the number of estates surveyed, mapped etc. from the commencement of Survey in 1863 up to 31st March 1870.

Estates Surveyed.	European.		Native.		No. of estates mapped.	No. of estates lithographed.	Remarks.
	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.			
2365	168	64809	2197	29496	1592	1164	Horur-núrokkalnád topographically surveyed and mapped—Area 20856 acres, at a cost of Rs. 2075 or 1 As. 7 P. per acre.

There are still about 21 European and 1,753 native estates to be surveyed. The cost to the Planter of surveying

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

654 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three
648 annas per acre.
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d. *Abkári.*

651 Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or
273 sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best
[656] intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet
273 and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret
178 of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Bitianda Cariappah, Head-Munshi. 873
Kuttetira Eyappa, Treasurer.
Korovanda Ponnappa.
Shamana.
Chaurira Appeya,
Timappeya Appeya.
Bittandra Mutteya.
Appaneravana Acheya."

The Plantation not succeeding so well as was anticipated, though it is now in a hopeful condition, the Principal suggested another plan and in September last (1870) the Coorg Headmen passed and submitted to Government for sanction the following resolutions:— 871 651

1. "With the sanction of Government an *Educational Cess* should be levied on the ryots of Coorg in the shape of a plough-tax, the mode and extent of levying which is to be left with the Superintendent's approval and authorisation, to the Headmen as on former occasions.

2. From the children of the ryots thus taxed, no schooling fees should be levied; the fees from other children in the *Anglo-vernacular Schools only* should be added to the local-cess-fund.

3. The money thus raised, which may amount to Rs. 3 or 4000, is not to supersede, but to supplement the ordinary educational Budget-grant and should be spent upon the *maintenance of the Mercara boarding-houses, the upkeep of the Vernacular and Anglo-vernacular school-houses and the extension of Vernacular education throughout Coorg.*

4. The management of the Cess-fund should be vested in the Principal of the Central School conjointly with the three principal Coorg Officials and the eight Subadárs."

Thus the Government system of education in Coorg may be said to be of a comprehensive and an expansive character, resting on the sure and proper basis of Government assistance and conjoint local exertions and claiming the interest of all classes of the Coorg population. The work is still in its infancy, but promises well for the future. 658

Appendix II.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE COORG REVENUE.

Sources of Income.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Land Revenue	89,915	6	3	102,270	9	4	127,118	14	10	162,664	12	7	182,859	15	8	286,560	4	9
Forest	7,348	4	11	65,032	12	10	13,950	1	5	38,522	12	10	102,218	10	4	106,658	8	6
Excise on Spirits and Drugs	4,445	0	0	17,609	8	0	25,983	13	4	32,266	0	0	142,510	10	10	66,374	11	7
Assessed Taxes, etc.	5,797	13	4	8,076	6	7	9,733	15	9	10,955	3	11	13,333	7	5	3,027	13	0
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17,262	8	3	33,741	14	1
Post and Service Lables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,129	8	2
Post Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	1	2
Electric Telegraph	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,863	12	0
Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
Public Works	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70,480	3	2*
Miscellaneous	3,591	0	4	4,054	2	3	3,939	9	6	6,339	7	9	10,638	12	4	7,302	3	10
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,518	15	2
Sáyers or Inland Customs	5,923	14	2	8,267	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	117,021	7	0	205,310	15	6	180,726	6	10	250,748	5	1	468,824	0	10	594,460	5	6

Note:—Forest includes Cardamoms and Sandalwood.

Assessed taxes include Mohaturfa or tax on houses and shops, Income-tax and License-tax.

*Nearly the whole amount is a mere treasury-transaction for the accommodation of the Mysore Government.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where
grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is
generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds
according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the
most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and
the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for
marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its
production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suc-
kers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with
its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the
giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Arto-
carpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house
and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak*
or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excel-
lent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very
large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission
Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and
the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is
employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or pújáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 177

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Onkarésvara-dévastána". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

Appendix II.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE COORG REVENUE.

Sources of Income.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Land Revenue	89,915	6	3	102,270	9	4	127,118	14	10	162,664	12	7	182,859	15	8	286,560	4	9
Forest	7,348	4	11	65,032	12	10	13,950	1	5	38,522	12	10	102,218	10	4	106,658	8	6
Excise on Spirits and Drugs	4,445	0	0	17,609	8	0	25,983	13	4	32,266	0	0	142,510	10	10	66,374	11	7
Assessed Taxes, etc	5,797	13	4	8,076	6	7	9,733	15	9	10,955	3	11	13,333	7	5	3,027	13	0
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17,262	8	3	33,741	14	1
Post and Service Lables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,129	8	2
Post Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	1	2
Electric Telegraph	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,863	12	0
Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
Public Works	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70,480	3	2*
Miscellaneous	3,591	0	4	4,054	2	3	3,939	9	6	6,339	7	9	10,638	12	4	7,302	3	10
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,518	15	2
Sáyers or Inland Customs	5,923	14	2	8,267	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	117,021	7	0	205,310	15	6	180,726	6	10	250,748	5	1	468,824	0	10	594,460	5	6

Note:—Forest includes Cardamoms and Sandalwood.

Assessed taxes include Mohaturfa or tax on houses and shops, Income-tax and License-tax.

*Nearly the whole amount is a mere treasury-transaction for the accommodation of the Mysore Government.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Appendix III.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF CHARGES AGAINST THE COORG REVENUE.

Heads of Expenditure.	1834—35.			1839—40.			1849—50.			1859—60.			1864—65.			1869—70.		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Civil Establishments	63,949	4	10	64,510	10	7	62,515	2	7	60,021	1	6	127,513	8	11	154,763	4	4
Judicial	1,841	0	11	5,191	8	1	7,570	15	8	7,696	15	2	12,827	9	0	19,308	4	5
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	831	0	5	2,532	9	5
Police	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,152	0	0
Public Works	0	0	0	75,350	11	11	51,519	15	10	21,446	1	1	92,595	0	4	124,651	7	10*
Education	626	6	4	1,080	0	0	1,080	0	0	3,870	0	0	18,160	8	0	14,088	7	5
Post Office and Anche	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,188	0	0	5,385	13	7
Superannuation and retiring allowances	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,972	12	0
Ecclesiastical	224	10	8	240	0	0	240	0	0	240	0	0	2,876	8	0	4,836	7	8
Allowances and assignments under treaties & engagements	127,946	6	7	141,801	7	11	93,216	3	10	25,670	3	10	26,661	9	9	21,469	11	5
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15,788	3	1	7,873	1	4
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,322	2	5
Grand Total	194,587	13	4	288,174	6	6	216,142	5	11	118,944	5	7	301,441	15	6	360,356	1	8

*These charges are debited to the Imperial Revenue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country.

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery!

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 Coorg is crossed by two trunk-roads from east to west
491 and from north to south, intersecting each other at Mercara,
653 and by a branch-road near Vírájpet the western and eastern highroads are connected.

Previous to the occupation of the country by the British in 1834, the roads were in a primitive state, wholly impracticable for wheeled carriges and scarcely less so for bullocks, it having been part of the policy of the Rájahs, to render their country as little accessible as possible, from an idea common to the mountaineers in all parts of the world, that the chance of invasion and conquest was thereby diminished. For the same reason some of the more direct and practicable lines, leading to Mercara were shut up and travelling by them prohibited.

The *Eastern trunk-road* from Mysore enters Coorg at Fraserpet, where it crosses the Kávéri, which is spanned by a fine masonry bridge of 7 arches and 516 feet in length. The part of the line between Fraserpet and Mercara is 19¼ miles in length and was commenced in January 1835 and completed in 1837 by a detachment of Sappers under Capt. Underwood, Lieuts. Rundall, Doria and Fast. The Kávéri-bridge, however, was built in 1846-48 by Capt. Ch. J. Green with the material of the dismantled Fort at Fraserpet. It bears the inscription: "The Most Noble George Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, Major-General Mark Cubbon Commissioner of Mysore. Fraserpet Bridge. The first stone of this bridge was laid on the 1st day of January 1846 by Capt. W. G. Onslow, Superintendent of Coorg and it was opened to public traffic on the 12th day of May 1848. Charles James Green, Capt. in the Madras Engineers, Architect."

[4 85] To break the distance of 19¼ miles, there is a Traveller's Bangalow at Suntikoppa, 9 miles from Mercara. The elevated situation is pretty, but the present condition of the Bangalow wretched.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The upper portion of this road near Mercara has in several places too steep a gradient and should, as the Chief Engineer proposes, be reconstructed. The *Sampáji-Ghat* or the line from Mercara towards Mangalore, which, however, ought to be called "*Fast's Ghat*" in honor to the professional skill of the young Engineer Officer who planned and executed this great work and who fell a victim to jungle-fever, was commenced after the monsoon in 1837 and offered considerable engineering difficulties, as it followed for many a mile through dense jungle. It is for the most part very direct; the soil is generally good and, except in two places, so gentle is the slope down the Ghat of 19¼ miles in length, that for bandy traffic it offers no difficulty. Between the 9th and 10th miles only the gradient for a very short distance is as much as 1 in 12 and 1 in 6 or 7. The total fall in the first 15 miles of this Ghat is about 2900 feet, which gives 1 in 37 for the whole line. From the foot of the Ghat to Sampáji, 4¼ miles, the fall is only 55 feet. The cost of cutting out the roadway of these 19¼ miles, including the removal of rocks, trees, etc. but without bridges amounted to about 3500 Rs. per mile, exclusive of the pay of the Sappers and cost of tools. Whithin a short time the cost of the road was more than covered by the increase of the Salt Revenue on the coast, whilst the easy access to a market gave stimulus to the agriculture of Coorg and with the advent of coffee-planters, whose extensive estates line both sides of the road, its importance became invaluable. 648 491 653

The stages on this road from Mercara are: 6 miles to Madyanád, 14 to Sampáji, 13¼ to Sulya, 11 to Káu, 10¼ to Puttúr, 15 to Pánemangalore, 7 to Feringapet and 9 to Mangalore with a Traveller's Bangalow at each stage and all in healthy localities except that at Sampáji. 491 [485]

The road from Cannanore into Coorg through the Periambády Ghat and the Anachaukur road were finished some twelve years later, chiefly for military purposes. The line [653]

Appendix II.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE COORG REVENUE.

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	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Land Revenue	89,915	6	3	102,270	9	4	127,118	14	10	162,664	12	7	182,859	15	8	286,560	4	9
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Assessed Taxes, etc.	5,797	13	4	8,076	6	7	9,733	15	9	10,955	3	11	13,333	7	5	3,027	13	0
Stamps	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17,262	8	3	33,741	14	1
Post and Service Lables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,129	8	2
Post Office	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	880	1	2
Electric Telegraph	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,863	12	0
Law and Justice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5,075	2	1
Registration Fees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,847	4	0
Public Works	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70,480	3	2*
Miscellaneous	3,591	0	4	4,054	2	3	3,939	9	6	6,339	7	9	10,638	12	4	7,302	3	10
Local Funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,518	15	2
Sáyers or Inland Customs	5,923	14	2	8,267	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	117,021	7	0	205,310	15	6	180,726	6	10	250,748	5	1	468,824	0	10	594,460	5	6

Note:—Forest includes Cardamoms and Sandalwood.

Assessed taxes include Mohatarfa or tax on houses and shops, Income-tax and License-tax.

*Nearly the whole amount is a mere treasury-transaction for the accommodation of the Mysore Government.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [514] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round [825] the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws!" See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wind strong and cold, gains the ascendency and clears the sky; in November, however, it often carries heavy clouds from the eastern coast, which discharge themselves chiefly upon the east and south-east of Coorg. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightful, clear and fresh, the thermometer falling to a minimum of 50°. 132

The meteorological observations in Coorg are almost confined to Mercara, the principal station. From the tables in the appendix which are based upon my observations for 7 years, the following facts may be deduced for the meteorological condition of Mercara, near the Central School. The mercurial barometer shows its maximum height during the hot weather months and reaches 26° 60′ and its minimum during the monsoon, when it falls to 26° 15′. The thermometer indicates a moderate temperature, owing not to the latitude, but only to the elevation of the country. During the cold months, from October to January inclusive, the daily average variation ranges over 24° Fahrenheit between the extremes, giving a daily mean of 65°; during the hot weather months, February to May inclusive, the daily mean temperature is 70°, deduced from the average extremes 57° and 82° which show a daily variation of 25°; during the monsoon, from June to September, the temperature is most equable, moving between the extremes 60° and 75° which leave only a daily variation of 15° and a daily mean of temperature of 65° for these months. [654]

The prevailing winds are: west wind just before and during the monsoon; north-east wind directly after the monsoon; and east to south-east wind during the remaining season.

The percentage of humidity, as exhibited by Dr. Bidie in his "Report on the Ravages of the Borer", varies between 48 and 87, the minimum occurring in December and the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

8. *Forest Conservancy.*

A glance at the Coorg Forests and their general Flora, as stated in page 16 ff., will show, that the formation of a Forest Conservancy Department in 1864 was an absolute necessity, and it is only to be regretted, that it was not five years earlier in operation, before some of the finest forests fell under the Planters' axe. There is, however, still scope enough for the energy and talents of a well trained Forest Officer in Coorg, and the more a scientific system of working the reserved forests is introduced such as was originated by Dr. Brandis and carried out in Burmah and other parts if India,[1] especially in the Madras Presidency under the able direction of Dr. Cleghorn and Major Beddome, the better will be the prospects of an ever increasing revenue from this department, which seems not yet to be in a very flourishing condition. Being left without rules fixed by law, the Forest Officer cannot act with that authority which is due to his position and necessary to the interests of Government. 654 185

Of the trees reserved by Government, Sandal and Teak are its monopoly, the Kuve or Poonspar is sold at the rate of Rs. 20 per tree, Blackwood and Anjili are sold at Rs. 10 and Ebony, Hone and Irupu at Rs. 6 per tree. All other timbers, bamboos and firewood are allowed free to the ryot paying land revenue to Government and also to all Government servants in Coorg whose pay does not exceed 10 Rs. per mensem, without written permission or any prohibition whatever, except that only mature trees must be cut and that the timber must be used solely for bona fide agricultural and building purposes and not for sale. For the same kind of trees which are free of charge to the ryots, traders have to pay from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4—8 per tree and Rs. 6 per 1000 bamboos, whilst non-ryot residents, if for their own use, pay only half price. 655 185 654 [435] [435]

[1] [Errata: This should read "of India". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

655 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department
654 is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg
185 and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

[651]

1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . . .	„	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	„	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . . .	„	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October
648 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, [1] Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

[1] [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The extensive cultivation of coffee and the consequent acreage-assessment rendered a Revenue-survey necessary and the Field-establishment organised in 1863 under the superintendence in succession of Mr. Plumb, Lieut. W. Freeth and Lieut. R. M. Clerk has ever since been at work. A detailed revenue survey of thousands of petty holdings is, however, a far more laborious and tedious task than a topographical survey, and consequently requires much more time. As a beginning of a new topographical survey of Coorg, Horurnárokkalnád in Mercara-talu: has been completed by Lieut. Freeth, and the work is continued by Lieut. Clerk along with the revenue survey. The reasons given for the delay in completing the operations of the survey are the reduction of the establishment, interruptions from heavy monsoons, subordinates being prostrated with fever etc. added to the incorrectness of the data upon which calculations were based.

The mapping of the field-work is executed in the Madras Central Office.

Memo. shewing the number of estates surveyed, mapped etc. from the commencement of Survey in 1863 up to 31st March 1870.

Estates Surveyed.	European.		Native.		No. of estates mapped.	No. of estates lithographed.	Remarks.
	No.	Area in acres.	No.	Area in acres.			
2365	168	64809	2197	29496	1592	1164	Horur-nárokkalnád topographically surveyed and mapped—Area 20856 acres, at a cost of Rs. 2075 or 1 As. 7 P. per acre.

There are still about 21 European and 1,753 native estates to be surveyed. The cost to the Planter of surveying

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54 648 651 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three annas per acre.

d. *Abkári.*

651 273 [656] Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spiritnous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 273 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 178 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

249 [655] tree is needed to reinvigorate them In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

245 [177] The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it fron them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegrantes, and jack fruit are abundant.,

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222
237
[431]
[32]

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But tht Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night. cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. [251] [252] When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

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of a crocodile. Under the knotty swellings of the bark of 137
the Matti tree small quantities of water are hidden, which the 313
lynx-eyed Kuruba readily discovers in his jungle-wanderings [312]
during the hot season and from which providential fountains
he draws a thirst-quenching draft. ⁄ The *Hony* or Kino tree
(Pterocarpus marsupium) yields an excellent yellowish timber
fit for exposure and a valuable brownish gum, the kino, which
oozes out from the wounded stem. Chunam brought in
contact with it turns bright yellow.

Teak or Tectonia grandis occupies a distinct girdle along the eastern boundary of Coorg, within the basin of the Lakshmanatirtha and in Nanjarájpatna and Yélusávirashíme taluq; but, with the exception of the Amali-topu in Kiggatnád, the teak forests in Coorg are neither so dense, nor so stately as those in Burmah, where trees of enormous size and height are found. The large and strongly nerved leaves, rough above, whitish and downy beneath, and the numerous white flowers in terminal branches on the high and many branched trunk, mark the beauty and strength of the tree. Both for house and ship building teak is the best of woods, easily worked and almost indestructible by climate or insects owing to its oily nature. Coorg teak is of most excellent quality, oily and free of heart-shake. It is a Government monopoly and sold [655] •
from wood-yards at the rate of 12 Annas per cubic foot.

In close proximity to teak and in an equally limited tract of dry and elevated slopes grows the *White Sandal-wood*, (Santalum album) scattered between other trees and on cultivated land. It is rather a small tree of a more or less crooked stem, but its spreading branches with tiny, light-green leaves and yellow or purple coloured small flowers give it an elegant appearance and a marked feature in the landscape. The [322]
wood is close-grained and hard, especially the duramen or heart-wood, which for these qualities and for its agreeable scent is highly prized and employed for ornamental boxes,

⁄ [Errata: This should read "draught;" See Corrigenda Sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Ed/PST]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

137 card cases, paper cutters, fans, walking sticks, etc. which are
313 made chiefly in Nuggur and North Canara. Sandal-wood is
[322] also a Government monopoly and is collected at an expense
[655] of one eighth of the value of the wood, trees when from 16
to 40 years old according to the nature of the soil, where grown, are cut down; the best yield a billet of 5 inches square
[652] and 4 or 5 feet long. The wood fetches at the public auctions
[437] periodically held by Government at the cotics or wood stores,
[439] from 70 to 98 Rupees per candy of 550 avoirdupois, and is generally exported to Bombay. Natives distinguish 3 kinds according to colour: the "red sandal" (sriganda) which is the most highly scented, the "yellow sandal" (arasana ganda), and the "white sandal" (bili ganda) which possesses but a faint
314 aroma and is least prized. The chips are burnt as perfume,
[302] or reduced to powder which enters into the composition for marking the foreheads of natives. The roots, containing the
[303] greatest amount of the essential oil, are chiefly used for its production. It is heavier than water and yields an excellent
245 perfume. The sandal tree is propagated from seed and suckers, springing up from the roots.

137 A stately though not very valuable tree all over these
313 parts of the country is the *Wild Mango tree*, which towers with its lofty crown far above its humbler neighbours. But the giant of these jungles is the *Ajini* or *Wild Jack tree* (Artocarpus hirsuta), the timber of which is most useful for house and ship building. The rosy-tinted, smooth-barked *Ben-teak* or Nandi (Lagerstroemia parviflora) is reputed for its excellent timber.

137 A splendid jungle tree, when in flower in February and
314 March, is the *Red Cotton tree* or Bombax Malabaricum a very large specimen, stands in front of the Anandapur Mission Church. Its flowers are large and of a deep red colour, and the many seeded capsules contain a silky cotton, which is employed for stuffing pillows and mattresses. The staple is

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137 Fraserpet to which the elegant lines of Southey so truly apply:—

"It was a goodly sight to see
That venerable tree.
For over the lawn irregularly spread,
Fifty straight columns propt its lofty head;
And many a long depending shoot,
Seeking to strike its root,
Straight like a plummet, grew towards the ground,
Some on the lower boughs, which crost their way,
Fixing their bearded fibres, round and round,
Some to the passing wind at times, with sway
Of gentle motion swang.
Others of younger growth, unmoved, were hung
Like stone drops from the cavern's fretted height.
Beneath was smooth and fair to sight,
Nor weeds nor briars deformed the natural floor
And through the leaf-cope which bower'd it over
Came gleams of checkered light.
So like a temple did it seem, that there
A pious heart's first impulse would be prayer."

(*The Curse of Kehama, Book* 13.)

The *Pippal* (Ficus religiosa) is likewise a large tree and found nearly in every temple in Coorg, but growing best in the drier districts. This tree proves most destructive to neglected buildings; when once rooted in crevices, nothing can with-
[262] stand its progress. More common than both preceding trees is the *Atti-mara* or "Ficus glomerata" with fruit much like the common fig and which is eaten by the natives. The *Indian Caoutchouc tree* "Ficus elastica" also occurs and is
[314] not only a useful but highly ornamental tree. The milky juice obtained from incisions into the bark is exposed to the air, when the *Caoutchouc* or elastic substance spontaneously separates, leaving a foetid whey-coloured liquid.

[655] Almost a stranger to Coorg and growing only in several places along the Kávéri between Fraserpet and Sómawarpet,

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is the *Tamaind*[2] *tree* (Tamarindus Indica) which Government has reserved and partly made over without tax to certain Brahmins in Ramaswámy Kanawé, partly formed out on yearly rent. It is a stately tree and yields a dense shade, under which however, many plants do not grow and natives do not like to sleep. 137 [655] [513]

It would lead me too far to enter upon a description of the many shrubs, herbs and grasses of these jungles. Suffice it to say, that there are many and very beautiful ones, but most of them are annually swept away by the periodical fires, the purifying messengers of nature, that run through every jungle from February to April. These fires once established in the high coarse hill-grass rush madly in their onward career to the very tops of the mountains, and beautiful is the sight at night of these distant serpentine lines of flame extending over whole ranges of hills.

Coorg is rich in ferns and as these elegant plants will always attract the lover of nature, it may perhaps prove acceptable, if I append a list of such, as have been collected about Mercara and identified according to Major Beddon's work on Ferns by an enthusiastic admirer of these humble productions of nature:— [127]

Alphabetical list of Coorg ferns.

Names.	Where to be found.
Acrophorus immersus	On trees and at the foot of trees, near Ball-practice ground, Falls, etc. common.
Acrophorus pulcher	On trees and rocks; near Ball-practice ground; abundant almost anywhere.
Adiantum capillus veneris	In a wall close to the Fort.
Do. candatum	Near Ramaswámy Kanawé.
Do. hispidulum	Near Ball-practice ground, 3rd milestone, Santi-coppain Road.

[2] [Errata: This should read "Tamarind", see Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

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Travancore Tribes AW64

while thus engaged, the Kurubas have a peculiar song, made for the occasion and expressing their feigned sympathy with the spoliated bees, so rudely disturbed of their nightly rest. The Kurubas sell the honey at 2¼ seers for the rupee. The wax has to be delivered for a pittance to the contractor of jungle produce, who as Government agent is alone entitled to sell it at the rate of 2¼ annas per seer of 24 rupees weight.

T 222 [533] T [439] C [655] C 136 *

Wasp and Hornet-nests, suspended from trees like inverted cabbage-heads, are frequently met with in jungles and are better left alone, for their inmates attack any intruder with painful stings. Small and large Ants of a black and red colour are very numerous and maintain the ferocious character of the family, pursuing the disturber of the domicile of their bustling community and inflicting severe bites upon the unfortunate victim. They play an important part in the cleansing and purifying department of the economy of nature. Their structures, domestic economy and transport operations of objects many times larger than their own bodies, excite admiration.

Of the numerous and most beautiful family of *Lepidoptera* or *Butterflies* and *Moths* Coorg presents a goodly show, but though fine collections of them have been made, their classification is still uncompleted. With the close of the monsoon the Lantana hedges and especially the sandy banks of streams seem to be the rendezvous of a great variety of butterflies, of which some are distinguished for their size and brilliant colouring. Three species of similar size and shape chiefly attract our attention: the . . . . . with black velvety upper wings of about 6 inches in width and light blue under wings; the . . . . . with similar upper wings and the swallow tailed lower wings ornamented with a pale yellow satin-like spot; the most beautiful, however, is the . . . . . the black upper and lower wings of which are dotted all over

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natives; but the handlabour of two coolies for turning it appears to them too severe and impracticable for large quantities of paddy. A winnowing machine would find greater favour. 243 [179]

The cultivation of Cardamom is to a great number of Coorgs next in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle is regarded as a mine of wealth. In the time of the Coorg Rajahs and for some time after, cardamoms were a Government monopoly, and the cultivators had to sell their produce at a fixed rate to the Sircar, receiving from 12 to 20 rupees per maund of 40 seers dry capsules. Now the jungles are held from the state on a lease of 10 years, at 3 lacs of rupees, but this revenue to Government has not yet reached the amount, cleared by the Rajahs which, owing to their monopoly of selling the spice, rose as high as 80,000 rupees per annum! Any jungles that are not disposed of at the lease-auction, are worked by the ryots for Government. 249 [556] [655]

The Cardamom plant (Elettaria cardamomum *Kg.* yélaki) grows spontaneously in the evergreen forests or Malcs along the Ghat-line and its spurs at an elevation of from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. Still, nature requires a certain stimulus to produce the plant in greater abundance and this is effected by a singular process, but though perfectly empirical on the part of the natives, no doubt it is based on a natural law which holds good in many other instances, where seed is kept in the ground in a state of vitality for a long period, till such a change in the climatic condition is brought about, as will favour its germination and subsequent growth. Of many other instances besides the cardamom, I need only mention: the Mexican thistle (Argemone Mexicana), the white weed (Ageratum cordifolium) and the charcoal tree (Sponia Wightii), all of which spring up spontaneously on newly cleared or broken, but favourable soil.

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b. *Forest Conservancy.*

A glance at the Coorg Forests and their general Flora, as stated in page 16 ff., will show, that the formation of a Forest Conservancy Department in 1864 was an absolute necessity, and it is only to be regretted, that it was not five years earlier in operation, before some of the finest forests fell under the Planters' axe. There is, however, still scope enough for the energy and talents of a well trained Forest Officer in Coorg, and the more a scientific system of working the reserved forests is introduced such as was originated by Dr. Brandis and carried out in Burmah and other parts if India,[1] especially in the Madras Presidency under the able direction of Dr. Cleghorn and Major Beddome, the better will be the prospects of an ever increasing revenue from this department, which seems not yet to be in a very flourishing condition. Being left without rules fixed by law, the Forest Officer cannot act with that authority which is due to his position and necessary to the interests of Government. 654 185

Of the trees reserved by Government, Sandal and Teak are its monopoly, the Kuve or Poonspar is sold at the rate of Rs. 20 per tree, Blackwood and Anjili are sold at Rs. 10 and Ebony, Hone and Irupu at Rs. 6 per tree. All other timbers, bamboos and firewood are allowed free to the ryot paying land revenue to Government and also to all Government servants in Coorg whose pay does not exceed 10 Rs. per mensem, without written permission or any prohibition whatever, except that only mature trees must be cut and that the timber must be used solely for bona fide agricultural and building purposes and not for sale. For the same kind of trees which are free of charge to the ryots, traders have to pay from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4—8 per tree and Rs. 6 per 1000 bamboos, whilst non-ryot residents, if for their own use, pay only half price. 655 185 654 [435] [435]

[1] [Errata: This should read "of India": see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 494 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

655 654 185 The Assistant Conservator in charge of the department is under the general control of the Superintendent of Coorg and in fact his Revenue Forest Officer, but departmentally he is a third Assistant to the Conservator of Forests in Mysore. His functions hitherto have been the inspection of and report on those forests which were applied for by coffee planters, the inspection and working of reserved forests, the cultivation of tree-nurseries and the superintendence of the collection and sale of sandalwood and forest produce, the latter comprising resin, pepper, tamarind, soapnut, gallnut, bees' wax and areca nut. The forest receipts in 1869-70 amounted to Rs. 92,668—1—6 and are thus accounted for:

[651]

1. Timber	Rs.	13,645—15—11.
2. Sandalwood . .	„	45,027—14— 3.
3. Forest produce .	„	1,198— 1— 2.
4. Cardamoms . .	„	32,796— 2— 2.
		92,668— 1— 6.

c. *Revenue Survey.*

654 648 In the time of Lingarája, from October 1815 to October 1817, a topographical survey of Coorg, which then also comprised the two taluqs Puttúr and Sulya, was completed by Lieut. Connor at the request of the Rájah. To judge from the "Memoir of the Codugu Survey," written by him, and his beautifully executed map on a scale of one mile to an inch, [1] Lieut. Connor's task, accomplished in so short a time, is a giant's work and a lasting memorial of his energy and high professional skill. On an area of 2,165 square miles, then far more densely wooded than at the present time, he made no less than 118 triangulations, ascertained and measured 732 boundary stations and took the bearing and distance of 454 villages from fixed trigonometrical points; and on his map, every plot of cultivated land was carefully laid down.

[1] [Errata: This should read "one inch to a mile." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 979 — Ann/ist]

654 648 651 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three annas per acre.

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273 178 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

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eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country. 273 171 [177]

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery! 656 273 [178] [655] ●

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád. 653

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5. POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

Besides the regular postal service with Offices at Mercara and Vírájpet, there is a local post called Anché, originally established by the Rájahs and still principally used for official communication between the district functionaries and the heads of departments, who are exempt from postage, but it is open also to the public both for letters and packages on the same terms as the Queen's Post. By its means 160,999 letters, etc. have been despatched in 1869-70, whilst the Queen's Post at the two offices transmitted 147,309 letters, etc. over the three lines, Mercara—Mysore,—Cannanore,—Mangalore. For the Anché-tappál there are five lines: 205

1.	from Mercara to	Fraserpet	20	miles.
2.	" "	Kiggatnád	35	"
3.	" "	Kodlipet	46	"
4.	" "	Nálkanád	20	"
5.	" "	Madyanád	5	"

In localities away from these lines postal communication is very imperfect and public business much impeded and often seriously inconvenienced.

Mercara has lately become the Head-quarters of the Malabar Coast Division of the *Government Telegraph Department* and consequently the Bangalore, Cannanore, and Mangalore lines are here united and Mercara is brought into telegraphic communication with all parts of the civilized world. During 1869-70 1595 messages have been received and despatched, and yielded an income of Rs. 1,798—8. 655

6. MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

Considering the military services rendered by the Jammaryots in the times of the Coorg Rájahs and their martial spirit and loyalty, so often applauded by the English Government, 701 648

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231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The [578] increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. Le HARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

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practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

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*136 "Rogues", are supposed to have been driven from the herd, to which they dare not return, and in consequence become furious in the highest degree.

[224] Elephants in Coorg are caught in pits, covered over with a slight framework to conceal them and placed accross the paths which the animals frequent. It is however no easy matter to beguile the sagacious creatures into this kind of [231] trap. If caught young they are easily tamed, but when of maturer age, a year and sometimes two are necessary to bring them into subjection. There are now no tame elephants kept in Coorg, but the Rajahs used to maintain many. Wild elephants are now far less numerous and the periodical elephant hunts less productive, though the Coorgs like true highlanders are as eager for sport as ever. The indiscriminate slaughter [656] of these useful beasts has however been forbidden by Government, and they are now only caught alive.

175 224 There is a granite slab in the Superintendent's Cutcherry in Mercara with an engraved record of a grand elephant hunt in the beginning of the reign of the late Rajah, which may well excite the jealous astonishment of modern Nimrods. The facts divested of oriental flourish are simply these: In 1822 the ryots complained of the great destruction of their fields and houses, caused by numerous herds of elephants, when the Rajah, "recollecting that it was the duty of a king to destroy the wicked and assist the helpless," resolved upon a wholesale destruction of the beasts and within 38 days he killed with his own hand 233 elephants and his soldiers caught 181 alive! Well may he exclaim in conclusion: "Is this not a great wonder, that men caught elephants alive, as if they were mice, and killed herds of them by using their seven weapons with the destructive force of roaring thunder?"

*136 The *Ornithologist* not less than the Botanist finds in Coorg a fruitful field for his researches, for birds of almost every tribe are plentiful throughout the country. The Mysore Museum

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of jungle and not resumed till after 5 or 6 years. This wanton jungle-waste has however been put a stop to by Government and brought within reasonable limits.

Bringing to a close the subject of Arbori-horti-culture in Coorg, it were ungrateful, did I omit to mention the many and beautiful exotic flowers and shrubs, that ornament the gardens of European residents and recall by their presence sweet remembrances of distant Home; I forbear however to enumerate any beyond the modest Violet, the fragrant Rose and the showy Dahlia, and leave it to the fancy of the reader to associate with these types of spring, summer and autumn the many other garden flowers, that are familiar to Europeans.

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oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal of waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

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shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656 423 425

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold.

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and bounderies of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ less than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency beyond $\frac{1}{10}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{10}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the ____ day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of ____ of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. ____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of ____ in ____ of the ____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: ____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

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And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area.

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And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the . . . day of _____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____in the taluq _____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

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648 The Registration of these Assurances according to Act
656 XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the
423 natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's
425 signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

651 *Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an*
423 *acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.*
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I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the 8th year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid. [249]

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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654 his estate has been fixed by Government at the rate of three
648 annas per acre.
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d. Abkári.

651 Abkári, or the revenue derived from the manufacture or
273 sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs, has, in spite of the best
[656] intentioned repressive measures of Government, proved a very expansive financial source, showing an increase of revenue since 1834, which indicates a most lamentable rate of consumption of spirituous liquors in so small a country:

Abkári revenue.

In 1834-35	Rs. 4,445.	In 1854-55	Rs. 20,022.
„ 1839-40	„ 17,409.	„ 1858-59	„ 32,266.
„ 1844-45	„ 15,646.	„ 1864-65	„ 140,491.
„ 1849-50	„ 25,983.	„ 1869-70	„ 75,146.

655 A Government Distillery having been erected at Fraserpet
273 and rented to licensed contractors who within its walls manufacture arrack of a certain strength and pay for the monopoly a still-head-duty; it is assumed, that no other native liquor is produced in the country; but there can be no doubt, that many ryots distil a superior article from rice for feasts and home-consumption in general; this practice is, of course, interdicted and punishable, but who dares to denounce trespassers!

273 In the Rájahs' times a few people only knew the secret
178 of distilling rice-brandy, and drinking was kept down by rules enforced in Coorg fashion, besides, it was dangerous in those days to get drunk; for if, according to the ancient adage "In vino veritas," there is truth in a bottle of wine, there must be a great deal of it in a bottle of brandy! Words spoken in an unguarded moment, if conveyed to head-quarters by one of the numerous channels of espionage, might cost the man his tongue, nose or head. There is no such fear now before the

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eyes of the Coorg inhabitants. They are prosperous, their climate favours the evil habit and drunkenness, in its very nature, is a growing vice. Moreover since the influx of so many European settlers in Coorg, the natives have become familiar with the strongest European drinks and the liquor dealers are not slow in improving their opportunities to the ruin of the people. Beer- wine- and brandy-shops are scattered over the country.

It is hard to say how Government ought to deal with this vital Abkári-question and what measures might be adopted, to stem the torrent of vice and ruin. The old barriers, raised against the moral and physical plague of drunkenness by the laws of Hindu religion and of caste, have been broken through and cannot be repaired. The system of Government monopoly appears at first sight most objectionable; yet the abolition of it would have consequences still more deplorable. There is one panacea and one only, against this, as against every other moral evil in individuals or nations—a renovation of moral life and strength through the Gospel. All else is quackery!

4. THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

It was not until the year 1862, that the wants of Coorg were sufficiently recognised, to induce Government to organize a regular establishment for the execution of Public Works in Coorg. A detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed in the Province since 1834, all the needful Public Works were carried out by them and after they had been withdrawn, an European Overseer took charge of the roads etc. The present effective establishment with an Executive Engineer (R. E.) at its head wants only funds to carry out large and important works, especially an iron bridge over the Kávéri with new highroads through Southeast Coorg into Mysore and Wynád.

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Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
21	9	720	and thence follows a pathway till it reaches the Artillery drivers-lines which it encloses. It here skirts the edge of a hill (from station 29) and joins a bandy-road on the borders of a semicircular excavation at station 25.
22	347	280	
23	307	315	
24	0	200	
25	324	175	
26	337	95	
27	352	250	From station 35 boundary follows the bandy-road above alluded to till it joins the main road by a zigzag path at the commencement of the causeway leading to the town at station 39.
28	358	236	
29	39	236	
30	65°30'	188	
31	103	105	
32	145	150	From station 39 boundary follows the outer side of the main road to the north corner of the Artillery bullock shed compound; it then turns to the south enclosing the main road at station 42, continues along its outer edges as before till it terminates at station 1.
33	80	128	
34	51	27	
35	41	172	
36	81	78	
37	99	20	
38	70	240	
39	105	220	
40	77	310	
41	166	265	
42	201	340	

(Signed:) A. CUPPAGE, Lt. Col.
Comdg. Mercara.

Mercara,
26th Sept. 1856.

G. M. MARTIN,
Offg. Supt. of Coorg.

True Copy.

(Signed:) H. O'CONNELL Capt.
Ag. Dy. A. Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Army.

7. MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

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The requirements of the Military and Civil service in Coorg render the presence of a Medical Officer indispensable; it has been even proposed, to constitute Mercara into a separate charge of a Civil Surgeon, but Government thought the Military Doctor sufficient for all the wants of the station, considering probably, that the European settlers in the pro-

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,916, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

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872 established at Vírájpet, Kiggatnád and Fraserpet with a total of 245 pupils are to serve a double purpose. Being affiliated to the Central School, they form for the younger children in the distant Náds convenient seminaries to learn near home the elements of English and in time supply the Central School with a better prepared class of scholars, who will at once join the third form. With the opening of two more Schools at Padynálkanád and Kodlipet, each taluq will have an English School. The teachers, with one exception are pupils of the Central School.

658 648 873 The *Central School at Mercara* gradually advanced to its present position, the first decisive step having been taken in 1862, when the Coorg Headmen petitioned Government for assistance. A copy of their Petition will show both the earnestness of the Coorgs and the extent of the scheme:—

From the Headmen of Coorg

To

Capt. JOHN CAMPBELL,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Headmen of Coorg, being the representatives of our countrymen, beg most respectfully to lay before you what is now uppermost in our minds and what appears to us of the greatest importance for the welfare of our people. If our humble petition should meet with your favourable consideration and approval, we would further beg you, to convey our wishes to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, J. Bowring Esq., with such recommendations and improvements as you may deem proper.

Though the noble generosity of the late lamented Chief Commissioner, General Sir Mark Cubbon, K. C. B., the blessing of education has been extended to us six years ago, though we did not appreciate it then, as we do now. Our minds were darkened and full of prejudice as to its possible effect; but the influence of the established English School at Mercara, its steady progress and the temperate, judicious and devoted manner in which it has been carried on for the last six years, have disarmed all our fears and we earnestly desire, that all our children should be benefitted by the instruction there given. The great influx of European settlers into our country makes the

[Errata: this should read "Through the the noble". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 994 -- Ed.]

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education of our children appear to our minds doubly necessary, since our own ignorance renders our intercourse with the Planters difficult and disadvantageous to us.

The peculiar circumstance, however, that Mercara, though the capital of the province, contains but a few Coorg-houses, enables only a limited number of Coorg boys to attend the school. To remedy this disadvantage, we have resolved to collect a sum of money amongst ourselves sufficient to build and endow a boarding house for about 100 boys.

The Coorg officials and the Pensioners (vide p. 355) are ready to contribute half a month's pay, which together with the subscriptions of the Coorg farmers will amount to about Rs. 6,000. This is all we can do at present; but we earnestly desire, that also our daughters should receive some education and for them we would have to build a similar house.

The question now arises, where to build the houses. Certainly near the School. The present English School, however, is on a slope of the hill on which the Fort is built and within military limits, it is enclosed by two roads, the compound belonging to it very small and in the vicinity no suitable spot available. The school-house itself, which was originally the Rájahs' elephant's stable and had afterwards been turned into a travellers' Bangalow, has no suitable arrangements for schoolrooms and does not admit of an increased number of scholars. It was the generous gift of Sir Mark Cubbon for the school and has answered its purpose very well for the beginning, but now it is too small and larger premises are required.

We therfore most humbly beg, that Government may give us a helping hand to carry out our plans. We propose to have all the School buildings required within the same compound and under the eye of the resident Principal, and for this purpose no other spot in Mercara seems to us in every respect more suitable than the site of the old palace. It is central, spacious and healthy. The few remaining walls would yield some building material and the foundations might serve for the new school-house with the Principal's dwelling; the compound would afford an extensive playground and gymnasium and enough room for a garden, to be cultivated by our children. We beg that this piece of ground be granted to us for this purpose.

We estimate the cost of the school-house, the Principal's dwelling, the boarding house and out-houses, the gymnastic apparatus and the laying out of the garden at about Rs. 20,000; towards which we bind ourselves to collect Rs. 6,000; the sale of the present school-house may yield Rs. 3,000 and if Government would grant the rest, we should feel deeply grateful.

Mr. Richter, the Principal of the English School, who has conducted it for the last six years and won our entire confidence, has not only given the

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first impulse to this movement, but also declared himself with his esteemed partner most willing, to carry out the proposed plans and since both have hitherto acted as father and mother towards our children, we have not the least hesitation in confiding them also for the future to their parental care; the inner arrangements of the boarding houses, however, will be managed by our own people.

On the proposed site our Rájahs built a palace for the sole accommodation of their English friends during their visits at Mercara, whom they hospitably entertained and amused with all the wild sports of our native country (vide p. 297 ff.); how much nobler would be the task of our present benevolent Rulers, if on the ruins of the same palace they assisted us in erecting the desired buildings for the accommodation of our sons and daughters and entertained them in the halls of wisdom and knowledge with sublimer sport than the wild jungles of Coorg could furnish; and while even these palace ruins are in some degree honorable to our late Rájahs, we are fully convinced, that the new buildings will be a more lasting and brighter memorial to the honor of the paternal Government of India!

From the kind interest, which we rejoice to hear, the present Chief Commissioner enterthins towards us and especially in educational matters, we have great hopes of a favourable result of this Petition.

Assuring Government of our heartfelt gratitude for received favors and of our devoted loyalty, we subscribe ourselves

Sir,

&c. &c. &c.

Mercara, 26th August 1862. 65 Signatures.

In transmitting the Petition to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Capt. J. A. Campbell remarked:—

"I have the greatest satisfaction in being the medium of bringing this most interesting movement on the part of the people of Coorg to the notice of Government, and I beg to bear my testimony to the genuineness of the feeling expressed in this petition, both as regards the earnestness of the people to progress in knowledge, their readiness to make sacrifices in the cause, and the esteem in which they hold the present Headmaster and his wife, to whom they have already given so much of their confidence."

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The Petition was forwarded by the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, accompanied by the following letter:— 658 648 873

Sir,

I have particular pleasure in submitting to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg together with a request, which may be deemed a national one, on the part of the Coorg people to be admitted to those benefits of education which others in more favoured positions have already received.

There is a genuineness of expression about this address, which I beg to send in original, that, I feel assured, will secure the hearty approval of the Government of India. It has probably rarely happened in India that a whole race has come forward in this manner, putting aside traditional prejudices, to meet half way the earnest wish of their Rulers, that they should educate themselves, and it is especially remarkable among mountaineers in this country, as the hill races are generally far below those of the plains in their acquisition of knowledge.

I have informed the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg, that I would lose no time in laying the address before His Excellency in Council, and that I feel convinced, that the Government will receive with peculiar pleasure the spontaneous expression of the good will borne by the Coorg race towards their Rulers.

In respect to the site solicited, there is no difficulty, and I have signified my assent to its being made over for the School in conformity with the existing practice in regard to building grants at Mercara.

With reference to the sum required to enable the people to carry out their wishes, I have no hesitation in soliciting that the sanction of Government may be accorded to the project being undertaken, so that the Coorgs may receive early intimation, that their earnest wish for their own enlightenment has been made known to and has been approved of by the Viceroy in Council, as the knowledge of the interest, taken in their welfare by the Head of Her Majesty's Government cannot but be an additional link to bind them to British rule. The detailed accounts required for the Budget can be estimated for in due course.

The Government of India may perhaps also be pleased to make known their approval of Mr. Richter's exertions.

I have etc. etc.

Bangalore 27th October, 1862.

(Signed) L. BOWRING,
Commissioner.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

658 248 573 In the extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council in the Home Department, under date 15th January 1863 after a summary of the preceding correspondence: "The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the grant of a sum of money not exceeding Rs. 11,000 for the purpose indicated." "His Excellency in Council also notices with approbation the exertions of Mr. Richter, the Head Master of the School in question, who is stated to have won the 'entire confidence' of the people, and to have been the means of giving the first impulse to the present movement."

Rejoiced at the good news, the Coorgs enabled Mr. Richter to set at once to work. A building committee was formed consisting of the late Superintendent, Major Martin, and the three Head-Coorg-Officials, and having received the needful instructions at Head-quarters in Bangalore, the Principal planned and executed within the next five years under the most trying difficulties the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548—11—7, towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,721—15—5, the Europeans in Coorg Rs. 471, the sale of the old school-house produced Rs. 6,500 and the balance was liberally paid by the Government.

The boys' boarding-house is now being fitted up for occupation in the beginning of 1871 and the girls' boarding-house will shortly be ready too. It is being built by Colovanda Cariappah, the first Coorg pupil of the English School of 1856, and now Subadár of Mercara-taluq and always with his friend, Chepudira Soobiah, the staunchest and most liberal supporter of the cause of education amongst his people.

871 997 The Basel Missionary Society, in whose connection Mr. Richter hitherto stood, observed with uneasiness the extraordinary educational movement in Coorg and were apprehensive of being thereby involved in responsibilities which they considered foreign to their missionary operations; they

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873 At the request of Government, "Botany" has been added to the list of lessons of the first class. Singing is a general lesson for the musical boys and upwards of 60 Canarese and English songs are practised. The Gymnasium engages twice a week the whole School and the exercises are very popular. A library and some philosophical apparatus are aids for evening lectures for the further instruction of studious youths who left the School.

873 157 On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which generally distinguishes Brahmin youths. They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound common sense. In a competitive examination, the quick-witted Brahmin, though not half so well informed, will outstrip the Coorg lad; but give the latter time and he will maintain his place due to his real worth. Coorg 873 464 lads and others, trained in the Central School, are now found in every office of the various departments of Government in Coorg and some fill important posts; but it is to be regretted, that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them. Some time ago the openings in the offices were so many, that the young men could not resist the temptation of well paid employments under Government and relinquished their studies. For the same reason none of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the Matriculation examination, though, in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, "if these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the Matriculation test of the Madras University." (vide his Report of 1869-70.)

873 658 Foreseeing the difficulty of permanently supporting the boarding-houses without the aid of public charity or Government assistance, the general speculation in coffee in Coorg

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Bilianda Cariappah, Head-Munshi. 873
Kuttetira Eyappa, Treasurer.
Korovanda Ponnappa.
Shamana.
Chaurira Appeya,
Timappeya Appeya.
Bittandra Mutteya.
Appaneravana Acheya."

The Plantation not succeeding so well as was anticipated, though it is now in a hopeful condition, the Principal suggested another plan and in September last (1870) the Coorg Headmen passed and submitted to Government for sanction the following resolutions:— 871 651

1. "With the sanction of Government an *Educational Cess* should be levied on the ryots of Coorg in the shape of a plough-tax, the mode and extent of levying which is to be left with the Superintendent's approval and authorization, to the Headmen as on former occasions.

2. From the children of the ryots thus taxed, no schooling fees should be levied; the fees from other children in the *Anglo-vernacular Schools only* should be added to the local-cess-fund.

3. The money thus raised, which may amount to Rs. 3 or 4000, is not to supersede, but to supplement the ordinary educational Budget-grant and should be spent upon the *maintenance of the Mercara boarding-houses, the upkeep of the Vernacular and Anglo-vernacular school-houses and the extension of Vernacular education throughout Coorg.*

4. The management of the Cess-fund should be vested in the Principal of the Central School conjointly with the three principal Coorg Officials and the eight Subadárs."

Thus the Government system of education in Coorg may be said to be of a comprehensive and an expansive character, resting on the sure and proper basis of Government assistance and conjoint local exertions and claiming the interest of all classes of the Coorg population. The work is still in its infancy, but promises well for the future. 658

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale 788
of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December.

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an in- 778
significant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or 793
pújáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karná- 778
taka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the 177
Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore.

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg 778
and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 659
share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually [652]
in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by

[1] [Errata: This should read "Onkarésvara-dévastána". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 659 private contributions. The lion's share of this large Government grant falls to the Mercara-Omkarésvara temple with Rupees 4,850, to the Bhágiamandala-dévastána with Rupees 3,956; to the Tale-Kávéri pagoda with Rupees 2,320 and to the Rajahs' tombs with Rupees 2,000 per annum—a total of Rupees 13,126! When the people once see the folly of their superstitious idolatry, what an amount of spiritual good for themselves and their children they may effect with these large sums, should Government continue its liberality!

778 795 The *Mattas* or *Jangams* are religious institutions, originated and endowed by the Coorg Rajahs, who were themselves Lingaites. They are now evidently of greater importance to the Siváchára-priests, who derive an easy living from the rich endowments, than of any practical use for the Coorg people, amongst whom this sect, in spite of its royal patronage, never struck any root. The Siváchárics are easily recognised by the silver capsule, enclosing the Linga, which they wear suspended round their necks. The 57 Mattas hold as endowments 31,457 batties of land, representing an annual revenue of 3,360 Rupees due to Government, if the land were held [659] by ryots. Government, therefore, contributes not only that amount of revenue, but also the actual produce of the fields less the working expenditure.

The most richly endowed Mattas are the following:—

Bassava-hally	Matta in	Yedavanád with	4,105	batties of land,
Abbi	do.	do.	4,005	do.
Madapur	do.	Gadinád do.	2,643½	do.
Siddapur	do.	Horurnurocklenád	2,372½	do.
Thanady	do.	Amatnád with	1,485	do.
Chadadarally	do.	Horurnurocklenád	1,430	do.
Cheppada Katte	do.	Yedenálknád with	1,188½	do.
Thorenur	do.	Gadinád do.	1,100	do.
their endowments amounting to			18,330	batties of land.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talc-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 795 accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

[159] In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the [162] place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may [165] be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, as

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyasteru", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

(1771) gave full employment to Hyder's arms and obliged him, reluctantly to postpone any attempts at improving a circumstance so congenial to his designs. 175* 643* 648*

After the departure of the Mahrattas, a severe famine prostrated the whole of Mysore. Lingarája suggested an expedition into Coorg, where plenty of grain would be found. Hyder Ali took his advice and in 1773 he marched his army into Coorg by way of Arkalgúdu and Bettikanave, but was repulsed with loss in Yedavanád. Intrigue, however, removed the obstacles which force could not overcome. The seed of discord was sown amongst the adherents of the ruling prince and the Mysore troops on again passing the frontier at Bálele, in Kiggatnád, were joined by a large body of Coorgs and marched without opposition straight to the capital, Mercara. Dévapparája sought refuge with the Rájah of Kóte, but true to the character of his house, Víravarma gave the fugitive Coorg an inhospitable reception saying: "Your ancestor, Dodda-Vírappa, took the life of my ancestor Víravarma at Tómara. Your head shall now atone, unless you redeem yourself with a round sum." The hapless refugee paid to his treacherous friend Rs. 1,666; but feeling still insecure, he fled in disguise with only four attendants; but was seized by Hyder's people at Harihar and carried to Seringapatam, where his family lay already in prison, and was murdered together with them. Thus the Horamale branch of the Coorg family was cut off by the sword of Hyder Ali. [662]

The Nawab now offered to restore Coorg to Lingarája, if he paid the expense of the expedition. But the resources of the country being exhausted, he consented to receive a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000; he also sanctioned the Coorg family to take possession of a part of Wynád, said to have been wrested from them at some remote period; but, apparently repenting of his moderation, he after a few months demanded and obtained, though with constrained assent, the cession of Amara-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 and a representative of the great Sirkár, to which he owed allegiance, must have been very distressing to the abandoned, guilty man, whom folly, passion and a maddened conscience were now hurrying onward to ruin.

*175 *643 *648 ●662 While Mr. Casamajor was at Mercara, Vírarája was deep in intrigues. He had lately entertained the bedmaker of the Rájah of Mysore, who had come on a secret mission of treason against the Company. He had endeavoured to engage the services of a merchant of Mysore, Nun Lál Barti, for the murder of Channa Basava, and for opening a communication with Ranjit Sing, whom he was led to believe to be a secret enemy of the English. He succeeded in finding out a Sikh man, a native of Lahore, called Lahore Sing, and persuaded him to go on an embassy to the Sikh-ruler, undeterred by the shrewd remark of the stranger, that Lahore being so far from Mercara, it would be difficult for Ranjit Sing to avail himself of the friendly offices of the Mahárájah of Coorg. He had secretly encouraged a rebellious Polygar of Nagar, of the name of Súryappa, who had given considerable trouble to the English authorities. And now he had to confront Mr. Casamajor. He could not but look embarrassed, alarmed, unsteady. The Resident solemnly warned the Rájah to abstain in future from his cruelties, and advised him to relax the rigour with which he had shut up his people from communication with their neighbours under the rule of the Company. Vírarája contended, that he could not do away with, nor even relax, ancient observances without losing his authority. When Mr. Casamajor hinted, that he knew more, than he chose to say, of the Rájah's disaffection, and that further disobedience might be punished with deposition, the Rájah used the language of calumniated innocence, and made the strongest professions of obedience to the Company. Formerly, when very young, he might have been too severe, he admitted; but now he was more considerate. As for a change

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

+175 Sulya, Panje, Belláre and Yélusávira. With a force of 3,000
+643 Coorgs Lingarája invaded Wynád and erected a wooden fort
+648 at Kalpavati, by means of which and a force of 2000 men he kept the district for five years.

When Appájirája died in 1775, Lingarája himself succeeded to the throne, setting aside the claims of his two nephews, whom, however, he brought up together with his own son Vírarája Vodeya. In 1779 the Wynád garrison was obliged to retire, being short of provisions and closely pressed by the Rájah of Kóte. Upon this disagreeable news, Lingarája despatched a body of 2000 Coorgs, headed by his two nephews. On the way this force was intercepted by the Rájah of Kóte and defeated; amongst the slain was one of the princes and the other, being taken prisoner, was soon after put to death.

B. COORG UNDER DODDA-VÍRARÁJENDRA VODEYA.

1780—1807.

a. *Vírarájendra in Mysore captivity.*

Lingarája died in the beginning of 1780. His sons, Vírarájendra Vodeya and Lingarája were of tender age, the eldest being only about 16. Hyder, conceiving it a favourable moment to complete the spoliation, he had so successfully begun, assumed entire possession of Coorg, under the pretence of being guardian to the princes until they would come of age. Meanwhile they were to reside in the fort of Garúru. A Brahmin, Subarasaya, formerly Káranika (Treasurer) of the Coorg Rájah was appointed Commissioner of Coorg by the usurper, and a Mussulman garrison held Mercara fort, which Hyder caused to be strengthened.

*175 Enraged at the abduction of their princes from their
*648 country and the Brahmin's lording it over them, the Coorgs
● 669 broke out in open rebellion in June 1782. On hearing that

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Hyder had marched for the Carnatic, to oppose the British army under Sir Eyre Coote, they drove the Mussulmans out of the country and proclaimed their independance.

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The death of Hyder prevented an immediate retribution; but Tippu Sultan, his son, was fully determined on the reconquest of Coorg. He first sent the family of the Coorg Rájahs to Periapatna and after having treacherously seized General Mathews and his officers at Nuggur and reduced Mangalore in 1784, he marched through Coorg on his way to Seringapatam, when he compounded matters with the insurgents. On this occasion, according to Col. Wilk's account, Tippu is said to have harangued the Coorgs on the subject of their moral and political sins in the following words: "If six brothers dwell together in one house, and the elder brother marries, his wife becomes equally the wife of the other five, and the intercourse so far from being disgraceful, is familiarly considered as a national rite; not a man in the country knows his father, and the ascendancy of women and bastardy of your children, is your common attribute. From the period of my father's conquest of the country, you have rebelled seven times and caused the death of thousands of our troops; I forgive you once more; but if rebellion be ever repeated, I have made a vow to God, to honour every man of the country with Islam; I will make you aliens of your home and establish you in a distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands and initiate you in the more honorable practice of Islam!" But scarcely had Tippu left, when the Coorgs, stirred by the apprehension of incurring his vengeance, again took up arms, and repossessed themselves of their native hills in 1785.

To suppress this revolt, Tippu despatched a force of 15,000 men under Janulabdin. At Ulagulli, in Múdugerinád, the Mussulmans were opposed by a body of 4,000 Coorgs, who after a sharp encounter forced them to retire to Bettada-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 ●669

pur with the loss of their baggage. The ill success of his general induced Tippu, to take the command in person, and having collected another army, he entered Coorg by the same route and reached Mercara with but little loss, where he effected an amicable settlement. Under pretence of peaceful intentions and conciliatory measures, Tippu allured most of the Coorgs to Talekávéri (in 1785), and when they felt most secure, he seized them suddenly with their families about 85,000 souls, sent them to Seringapatam and, carrying out his former threat, had them forcibly circumcised. On the same auspicious day, when he added so great a number to Islam, he assumed the royal dignity and declared himself independent of Delhi.

*175 *648

Into depopulated Coorg he sent Mussulman landlords and gave to them the lands and slaves of the exiles, besides a supply of labourers from Adwáni in the Bellary district and armed them with a degree of cruel proscription:

"The country is given to you in Jaghir, improve it and be happy; the extermination of those mountaineers being determined on, you are required as an imperious duty, to search for and to slay all who may have escaped our just vengeance; their wives and children will become your slaves." A Brahmin Nágappaya, a nephew of Subarasaya, was charged with the government of Coorg; but was soon convicted of embezzlement and condemned to the gallows, when he fled to the Kóte Rájah in Malabar.

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b. Vírarájendra at liberty.

Conflicts with Kóte and Mysore.

Such was the state of affairs, when in December 1788 Vírarájendra (also written Vírarája) Vodeya, accompanied by his wife and his two brothers, Lingarája and Appáji, the principal survivors of the Coorg family, effected his escape

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to a Coorg, of the name of Mallappa, when she was about nine years old. The Rájah, who was possessed of immense wealth, gave to her one lac of pagodas in gold and jewels, and costly shawls and dresses in profusion. The death of his favourite wife had not only rendered him unhappy, but had soured his temper, and, to judge from Coorg analogy, he could scarcely avoid the cruel suspicion, that some traitors had conspired against the life of Mahádévaráni and destroyed her by charms and incantations. He himself began to live in dread of secret enemies. No doubt, but he had such, for he detested Hindus in general and Coorgs in particular. He had killed hundreds of his own people on some idle suspicion or malicious denunciation, or on the mere impluse of a sudden gust of passion. But now his cruelty and his dark fears rose higher and higher. At last matters came to a crisis. 175* 643*

The Rájah had surrounded himself with an African body-guard, and eunuchs from Mysore had charge of his Harem. But the guards of the palace and all the military officers with very few exceptions were Coorgs. No longer able to bear the iron yoke, they conspired against the Rájah's life. The day and the hour were fixed. All the Coorg guards, who held the gates of the fort and the entrances of the palace, being of one accord, his destruction seemed to be certain. But a few minutes before the signal was given, the secret was betrayed to Vírarája. He was roused by the impending danger. With great presence of mind he imitated Hyder Ali, who had in similar circumstances gained time, by placing a bundle of clothes on his bed covered with a blanket. The Coorgs rushed in and cut the form, which they mistook for the sleeping Rájah, in pieces. Next moment they discovered, that the Rájah had fled, that he had, at the last moment, been warned. They were paralyzed. Vírarája in the mean time had run out and summoned his Africans. The Fort gates were shut. Some three hundred Coorgs had assembled 175* 643* 669 ●

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

in the palace yard. The Africans received orders to cut them down to a man. The Rájah himself took his post at a window and fired upon the terror stricken conspirators. They allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Vírarája himself boasted of having shot twenty-five of them. The rest fell without resistance, under the swords of the Siddis, who waded ankle deep in blood. An old Jemadar, who had been eyewitness of the dreadful scene, said, that the blood ran out of the palace yard as the rain in a heavy monsoon day. Three-hundred Coorgs, by his account, fell that morning in front of the palace. Coorg tradition says eight-hundred. Both accounts are probably correct, for Vírarája would, as a matter of course, destroy many of the families of the fallen conspirators, ordering the men to be killed and distributing the women among the slaves. Such was Coorg Rájah fashion. This massacre took place in the end of 1807 or early in 1808. The Rájah reported his suppression of a dangerous conspiracy to the Governor of Madras and the Governor General. The Rájah's account was not credited at Madras. It was rather thought, that he had acted on some sudden impulse of passion; for his cruelty and sanguinary temper were sufficiently known. Yet the Government did not consider it their duty to interfere, partly from regard to their faithful ally, partly from ignorance of the extent of the fearful slaughter.

On the 7th October 1807 Vírarájendra addressed a long letter to the Governor General, Lord Minto. He informed him of the death of his principal Ráni, who had left him four daughters and of his will regarding the succession after his death, as already stated. Vírarájendra appears to have expected, perhaps longed for, his own death, after the loss of his beloved wife. A deep melancholy settled upon him, from which he was roused from time to time by rumours of conspiracies and dreams of rebellion among his treacherous subjects, when he would start like a lion from his lair and kill

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and tear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledew, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rájah, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related. Vírarájendra had long to wait for an answer from the Governor General to his petition of October 1807. He had requested, that the concurrence of the Governor General with his settlement of the succession might be registered in the books of the Supreme Government and a copy sent him of the registry, which he would wear about his body as an amulet.

175* 643* 648* [669] [158] [789]

During the year 1808 fits of madness seized the unfortunate Rájah. They rarely passed without some victims of his incontrollable fury, falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808 Vírarája was seized with forebodings of his own death and terrible fears for the safety of his daughters in case of his decease before the Governor General had concurred in his plan of securing to Dévammáji the throne of Coorg, and before his sanction insured her succession and, it might be, the preservation of her life. His melancholy warned him of his approaching death. And if he was carried off on a sudden, who would be the friend and guardian of his daughter? Appáji, his proud brother, who had never loved him, and who had long kept sullenly at a distance, or even the dull mean-spirited Lingarája might covet the wealth and power of the throne, murder the helpless children and seize the great prize. But no! He was yet alive and omnipotent in Coorg, he could yet defend his beloved Dévammáji and her sisters. The executioners are called. A party is despatched to Appagalla, a second party to Háleri, to bring the heads of the brothers, Appáji and Lingarája. They prostrate themselves and depart

175 643 [158]

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farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers. One 175*
of the four Deváns, the above named Laksminárayana, a Brahmin, who was displeased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Deváns, made political capital out of the ill-feeling of the Gaudas. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, was in league with some rich and influential men of the malcontent Gaudas and he likewise entertained some intrigues with Abhrambára. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore and two Companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the Jail and with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Kacheri and some Civilians' houses, situated on the hills, overlooking the town. All the Europeans of the station were seized with a panic. The Civilians who fled on board a ship, bound for Cannanore, were spectators of the conflagration of their houses and thought the whole country was in arms. The Commanding Officer held a council of war and, deeming discretion the better part of valour, would have embarked the garrison, consisting of a Regiment, much weakened it is true, by the defeated detachment of several Companies, had boats been procurable, and ran away before a few hundred Gaudas, if so many, and the rabble of the Jail! Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay; but when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with. The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground and restoring order.

Though this was altogether a Gauda-affair, a rise was 175*
also planned amongst the Coorgs at Nálkanád and Beppunád 648*
and amongst the Badagas in the Panje, Bellári and Subramanya districts and the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by 669 ●
the late Rájah's trusted and favored Siváchárics. Also the

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*175 *648 ●669

late Deván, Kunta Basava's relatives, connections and ever ready tools were there. Formal proclamations were issued in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambára, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haléri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance. A number of Coorgs about Talakávéri and Nálkanád believed the proclamations to which the Rájah's seal was attached and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms and went down to the Head-quarters at Sulya. Abhrambára's letters patent were carried to Beppunád. The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Vírájpet went to Mercara, to see the Deváns, to report to them and to ask for directions. Capt. Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Deváns, he left Ponappa at Mercara and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampáji, whither the insurgents were expected to move according to Bopu's information. When Capt. Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampáji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bisli-ghat and North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampáji. He forthwith marched to Sampáji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Deván. On his return to Mercara he was told by the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

other Deván Ponappa, who seems to have borne Bopu a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents. Capt. Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu and charged him straight with treachery. "Go down to your friends, the rebels; be an open enemy; go, and I will come after you; and, if I catch you, you shall be hung." Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Ponappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances were certainly against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to gain the confidence of the Chief which he had evidently lost? The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. "Do you stay, Capt. Le Hardey," he said, "and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility upon yourself, I will set out immediately and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead." Capt. Le Hardey felt, that the man was true and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunád and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the north under Subadar Appachanna the present (1870) Head Sheristadar. Bopu, with another troop marched straight down to Sampáji. Two "Lictors" of his own fashion preceded the "Coorg Consul," viz. two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Deván evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. His best Nálkanád friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Deván to scour the way before him; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rájah's shooting master and great favourite, a man of the Male-Kudiya tribe, who could hit, it was said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded further than the "Rájah's Seat" and were just descending the

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar,
*648 Muddaya and a late Párpadyagára, Appaya. They were well
known to Bopu. They had failed to give him information
●669 of the insurrection; they must have known things and had
they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him
the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had
barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers
to seize the fellows and others to take out a fresh stick for each
and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at
once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demand-
ed explanations; they were answered by blows. They pro-
tested their innocence, though no charge had been brought
against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows
were the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed.
After a while they were left half dead on the ground and
Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampáji pass, he met
with a party of Nálkanád Coorgs, men of his own acquaint-
ance; they were armed, but dared not fight the Deván; he at
once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were
much more numerous and administered a severe castigation
to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about
the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously.
He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The
Subadar of Nálkanád had been drawn into this foolish affair.
Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when
he prevailed on him, without difficulty to withdraw from the
rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the
Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow
and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put
down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was
drawn by the "Lictors" and from that time Coorg has been
at peace. The Coorgs were most abundantly praised by
[703] Government for their loyalty and in recognition of their
services of the recaptured treasure Rs. 20,000 were to be

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

divided amongst those employed on the expedition; but they begged, that they might be honored with other distinctions in lieu; consequently they were rewarded with jaghir lands to a great extent and pensions for three generations, with horses, gold and silver medals, and broad cloth, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Devans. The "Coorg medal" in gold weighs 7 Tolas without, and 11¼ Tolas with the chain and is two inches in diameter. On one side it represents a Coorg warrior in fighting attitude, and on the other it shows round a wreath which encircles the Coorg-knives—the Picha-Katti and the Odu-Katti—the following inscription in English: "For distinguished conduct and loyalty to the British Government Coorg. April 1837." The same inscription in Canarese is given on the reverse side. During the "Mutiny" in 1857 the Coorgs enjoyed the confidence of the local Government to such a degree, that after the suppression of the Rebellion, General Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner, issued to them the following Notification in English and Canarese, bearing at its head a medallion representing a Coorg in full warrior costume.

175* 648* 669 703

NOTIFICATION.

26th February 1861.

175* 648* 669

"In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty and intrepidity, characteristic of this little nation of warriors and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby, for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act, commonly called the *Disarming Act* are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg."

(Signed:) M. CUBBON,
Commissioner.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
•[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

648 duced were few and far between. The authority of village elders
631 and of the hereditary village headman was recognized and the established administrative institutions were continued.

This phase, however, ended soon after 1858 when the administration of India was taken over by the British Government from the East India Company. Coorg then became part of the territories administered directly by the British in India and of the elaborate administrative and judicial machinery stretching over the whole of [671] India. Numerous Acts like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and Indian Stamp Act applied to every part of India including Coorg.

Under the British, Coorg was a Chief Commissioner's Province, a position which continues even today. Until 1942 the British Resident in Mysore State was also the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, and Coorg was governed from Bangalore, the headquarters of the Resident. In 1942, the two offices of Resident of Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg were separated and a distinguished Coorg, Dewan Bahadur Kēṭōḷira Chengappa was appointed Chief Commissioner. Below the Chief Commissioner was the Superintendent who lived in Coorg. A legislative council consisting of twenty members (fifteen elected and five nominated), presided over by the Chief Commissioner, was constituted in 1924. The council had the right to vote on the budget, move resolutions, and ask supplementary questions.

567 A NOTE ON SLAVERY IN COORG

Slavery was widely prevalent in pre-British Coorg. The slaves and agricultural labourers did most of the actual work of the farm under the supervision of their masters who held the land from the state on one of the several forms of tenure prevalent in Coorg. The number of slaves in 1834, when the British annexed Coorg, was estimated at 6,089, but we do not know whether this included the slaves on the Rāja's farms (or *paṇyas*), who were variously estimated at 1,757, 1,720, 1,500, and 1,233.

Slaves were referred to as *jammada āḷu* (or '*jamma* servants'),[1] and there were two classes of slaves, one praedial, called *bhūmi jammada āḷu* (*bhūmi* = land), and the other personal, called *okkalu*

[1] It probably meant that they were slaves of the man holding land on *jamma* tenure.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

There are 31 cloth — 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con-
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi- [871]
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. *In the time of the Rájahs.*

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchâyat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Governor General, the prerogative of the Rájah. On the 30th August 1834 he issued a set of "*Rules for the conduct of the District functionaries in Coorg*" from which we cite the following paragraphs as they contain the principles and routine of the English administration until lately modified by new Acts.

"Civil Justice."

Para 55. "Whereas it is necessary for the due administration of justice in the Coorg country, to introduce regularity in the system which has prevailed, and to define the judicial power of the district functionaries, the following rules have been enacted and are published for general information and guidance.

56. The custom of adjusting differences by mutual composition of the parties being highly commendable, the Sirkar will be glad, when parties settle their disputes in this manner; or by the arbitration of a referee selected from among their neighbours. If an adjustment cannot be effected by this means, they shall then have recourse to the Sirkar functionaries.

57. The Patéls are empowered to hear, try and determine on their own responsibility upon oral evidence such suits as may be preferred to them for sums of money or other personal property the amount or the value of which shall not exceed five rupees.

58. If the parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Patéls, they may appeal to the Párapatiagárs. The jurisdiction of the Patéls is to extend to all civil suits to the amount above limited, which may arise between the parties residing within the villages.

59. The Párapatiagárs at the head of their Kacheri may hear the appeals against the decision of the Patéls. They shall try on their own responsibility causes not exceeding Rs. 50 upon recorded evidence, and all causes above that sum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and not exceeding 100 Rs. shall be investigated through a Pancháyat which they shall convene for that purpose. The Párapatiagárs shall take cognizance of all civil suits arising within their respective náds. Appeals against the decision of the Párapatiagárs lie to the Kacheri of the Subadár. 692 177 671

60. In hearing and determining civil suits the Párapatiagárs shall be assisted by the Shánabógas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Shánabógas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Párapatiagárs, each complaint being entered in the order in which it may be received and will forward them after being signed by the Párapatiagárs to the Subadár's Kacheri.

61. The Subadár shall try and settle causes to the amount of Rs. 100 on his own responsibility; but in cases, where the sum in litigation may be above that sum and not exceeding Rs. 200, he shall assemble a Pancháyat and settle them. The Subadárs shall take cognizance of all suits arising within their respective taluqs.

62. In trying and determining suits, the Subadár shall be assisted by the Sheristadars and the Gumastas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Sheristadars and the Gumastas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Taluq-Kacheri, entering each plaint in the order in which it may be received and forwarding them monthly to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

63. A Kacheri, denominated the Daryáft-Kacheri, and composed of one of the three Devána and the Karanika or any two of these, accordingly as they may be engaged or otherwise in their respective and more specific duties, has been established at the Huzur. It shall hear all appeals against the decision of the Subadárs and determine them. This Kacheri shall decide on its own authority causes from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000 upon recorded evidence.

64. All causes above Rs. 1000 and not exceeding Rs. 3,000 shall be inquired into and settled by a Pancháyat which

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692 will be convened by the Daryáft-Kacheri. The Daryáft-
671 Kacheri assisted by a Pancháyat shall make inquiry into
177 causes beyond Rs. 3,000 and submit the proceedings to the Huzur and carry its orders into effect.

693 65. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall be assisted by two Mut-
671 sudies of the Deván-Kacheri in writing the proceedings of
177 the inquiries they make. The Mutsudies are to keep registers of all suits decided by the Daryáft-Kacheri and preserve in regular order the records connected with that Kacheri, distinct from that of the Deváns. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall submit for the perusal of the Huzur these registers monthly.

66. The plaintiff and defendant in a cause shall be allowed to employ their relations or agents to plead before the Párapatingárs, the Subadárs and the Daryáft-Kacheri, as also before the Pancháyats assembled by them, furnishing them with power for that purpose.

694 67. The plaints shall clearly state the name and residence
671 of the complainant as well as of the person complained
177 against, the grounds on which the complaint is founded, the amount of value of the property claimed and all such circumstances as may serve for the elucidation of the case.

68. The Párapatingárs or Subadárs may send peons either with a verbal message or written summons (yádást) to the defendant, directing him to appear in order to answer the complaints preferred against him.

69. The complainant shall be directed to accompany the peons entrusted with the summons, or otherwise to send relations or agents for the purpose, indicating the residence of the defendant and identifying his person.

695 70. After the defendant makes his appearance the com-
671 plaint shall be read over to him and he shall be directed to
177 give an answer to it on a day which shall be fixed, he being furnished with a copy of the complaint.

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71. On the delivery of the answer by the defendant who ought to state therein what he may have to say, a copy of it shall be sent to the plaintiff. The latter shall be required to give his reply within a prescribed time and after he delivers it, a copy of it shall be furnished to the defendant and he shall give a rejoinder. Afterwards the plaintiff and the defendant shall be directed to give in a list of the witnesses whom they wish to produce. The depositions of the witnesses shall be taken with all possible expedition and they shall be ordered to return to their homes or respective employments. The Párapatiagár or Subadár shall then decide the cause according to justice and the custom of the country. 695 671 177

72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he has wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Pancháyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Pancháyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Pancháyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

73. Where Pancháyats are assembled for investigating any dispute, the parties shall be caused to give written agreements binding themselves to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat. After the award is passed, the parties shall be 695 671 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

695 caused to interchange Farigh khati and a Rázináma shall be
671 taken from them.
177

74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an in-
671 dividual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the
177 Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the
694 complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses
671 may be residing in another country, the district-servants are
177 to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take
694 measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 172 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

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692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

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89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

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[635]

Police.

41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

[685]
[628]

47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

so

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 177 [766] admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, 671 leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár 177 or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the de- 429 ceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain 768 their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the head-man of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1st December 1868 *the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of* 1868 *came into operation.* Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of	Rs.	100.
Subadárs of the the 1st class	"	300.
Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class .	"	1000.
Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class . .	"	3000.
The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.		

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 692 177 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner; but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! [1] However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 177 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the [692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

[1] [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 — Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

59% Individual responsibility was not entirely ignored, however. An
672 old usage lays down the maximum fine that could be levied on a guilty man[1] (as distinct from the *okka* of which he was a member) as nine annas and three *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. Again, when a person was guilty of a grave offence even his *okka* joined with his caste in excommunicating him.

XI

621 The institution of family friendship (*aruvāmé*) was formerly far
572 more important among Coorgs than it is today. In a Coorg village
59% houses are scattered over a wide area, and a Coorg's nearest Coorg or other high-caste neighbour is usually several hundred yards away on the other side of a hill or valley. Formerly, the jungle was heavier and there were no good roads, and these increased the
[628] difficulties of communication between neighbours. Besides, feuds were common, and hostile raids from unfriendly villages or *nāḍs* were always a possibility. A Coorg sometimes had to get up in the middle of the night to fight for his life.

Under the circumstances it is easy to see the need for socially stressing the tie of neighbourhood. Two *okkas* usually, though not always, stood in the relation of family friendship to each other, and were frequently related by marriage. The tie of family friendship was a traditional one, so that two *okkas* found that they had inherited this relationship. In the marriage rites, the *aruva*, or head of the friendly *okka*, is asked whether he is the traditional *aruva* or the *aruva* hired with gold for the occasion. The traditional family friend, it is hardly necessary to add, commanded much more respect than the family friend 'hired' for the occasion.

The relationship of family friendship was between two *okkas* and not between two individuals. The headman of the *okka* and his wife were certainly more important than the other members in this relationship, but this was in virtue of the positions they occupied in the *okka*.

At a wedding or death in an *okka* the members of the 'friendly' *okka* had certain duties, duties which are even now performed. The headman of the 'friendly' *okka* is the master of ceremonies on ritual occasions. The younger members of his *okka* and womenfolk

[1] It is likely that the fine was paid out of the private funds of the guilty man, and that where he had none, his *okka* came to his rescue.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[556] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyastern", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

623 692 681 623 692 662 182 [273] 000

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

officers, both since dismissed from the King's and Company's service, had imagined the British were going to declare war against him, and was consequently fortifying his country; and I supposed the work-people were employed on some strong place in the neighbourhood. Having obtained special permission for myself and companions, I determined that I would immediately undeceive him, as an act of kindness to both parties. 175* 643* 648*

Rising very early on the 25th, we took a quiet walk in the garden, and returning up-stairs, were followed by Mahomed Sahib, the butler, who entreated to speak with me in private, and to request Lieutenant Meredith to remain in the verandah, to prevent any one from listening. This we acquiesced in; and no sooner were we alone in the bed-chamber, than he threw himself at my feet, and entreated me, by the memory of his old master, to save his life. I was perfectly thunderstruck; raised him up, and desired him to explain himself; when he told me a tale which harrowed my soul. The four Bengalees, whom I had left fat and happy, had become dissatisfied with promises, and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had, in consequence, been inhumanly murdered. He himself had applied for leave, and was immediately mulcted of all he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws, made on purpose, and used in native courts; his body flagellated, and a threat held out, that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Rájah being acknowledged as the God of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control. That, for instance, if a poor fellow, standing in his presence, with both hands joined in adoration as of the Supreme, incessantly calling out Mahá Swámi! or Great God! should be suddenly bit by a musquito, and loosen his hands to scratch; a sign too well known, would instantly be made by this *soidisant* Deity, and the poor wretch be a head shorter [681] [687]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

had some ambition to shine as a poet. Some of his pieces, 175*
addressed to one of his wives, are still preserved. They have 643*
no merit, and were perhaps made for him. However, he may have been a Nero in a small way. Cruelty seems to have been his sport. He liked to kill his victims with his own hand, with gun, bow or knife. For small offences people had their ears cropped, their noses cut, or their tongues clipped. For [681] ●
an impertinent answer men or women had their mouths rinsed, [687]
that was the phrase, i. e. their lips were cut off all round their mouths, and they were left to perish without food or drink. Others were thrown down a precipice on the hill side, near the "Rájah's seat" in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Lingarája had as great a passion for gold as for blood.

During the first years of his reign he was restrained from 175*
giving full vent to his atrocious propensities by the influence 643*
of his Devan, Kshauryakere Appanna, who seems to have 644
been a man of character and independence, bold enough to 687
lecture the tyrant whom he had placed on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, the Rájah of Sóde. But by degrees Lingarája became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Rájah's gratitude, continued to exhort, to warn and, at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man. One day the Devan was seized and carried before the Rájah. He was charged with treason. He knew, that he was doomed. The Rájah himself conducted the investigation. "Confess your guilt," he cried. "I am guilty indeed," replied the intrepid minister, "of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, Rájah of Coorg." Lingarája was mad with rage. Appanna, with several other so called accomplices, was carried out into the jungle to a distance of some miles. There they were nailed to some large trees, the Rájah feasting his eyes on the torments of his help-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 Pancháyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Deván's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Pancháyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default
● 681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads.
565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Devána, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájaha, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the
692 district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated
684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication
682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had
684 been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable*
687 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the
696 nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 179 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

754 787 648 [683]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

782 173 [776] As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Mâri-amma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Kâli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Koninchéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kâli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellûr in Tâvaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

467 water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed
596 baskets to the fields.

562 The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves
[521] as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms.
[264] Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

[574] When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest
[538] festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men
[791] play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

562 Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than
684 men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

182 Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill
562 in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

562 Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[342] [1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 177 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

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Police.

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41. The police of the taluqs is to be considered under the charge of the Subadárs, and subordinately to them, of the Párapatiagárs and Patéls.

42. The district functionaries are to give at all times their utmost care and attention to prevent disturbances, assaults, and all other acts in breach of the peace; they are to apprehend and send to the Daryáft-Kacheri any person who may be accused of having committed robbery or violence.

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43. The Patéls of the village and the villagers shall conjointly protect their villages from depredations of robbers. They shall always be on their guard and act with vigilance, so that no thefts or personal assaults may be committed.

45. If any person of a suspicious character makes his appearance in a village, the Patél shall make an enquiry about his name, place of residence and the purpose for which he has come to the village; and if the Patél be not satisfied with his answer, he shall send him to the Párapatiagár.

46. If any person in the village behaves improperly, the Patél shall persuade him to correct his conduct and give him the admonitions that may seem necessary.

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47. If any theft or robbery be committed, the Patél and the villagers shall exert themselves to apprehend the robbers. If the robbers be found in the act of robbing and if they escape, they shall be pursued and seized. The Patéls of the neighbouring villages shall co-operate in ensuring the seizure of the robbers. But if the Patéls or others do not use their endeavours either to discover or apprehend the robbers, and if the Sirkar shall have reason to believe that the robbery was committed through the negligence of the Patéls, they will incur the displeasure of the Sirkar and be punished accordingly.

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48. Whenever information is lodged of a person having

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years	three year's assessment is remitted,		311
35 „ 50 „	four „	„ „	651
above 50 „	five „	„ „	423

after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—, it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [184]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

581 from fallen nature; but we are not at liberty to record those solitary outbursts of evil passions as an established system or even custom; Hindus might as well regard the disclosures of our divorce-courts as the normal state of European matrimony. Whilst thus vindicating the honor of the married life of the Coorgs, I would not flatter their pride; but rather induce them to render and to maintain their family-hearths pure and honorable withal and to infuse also a better spirit into their public feasts, those popular schools of morality, from which all foul and indecent ribaldry should be banished for ever.

595 *Polygamy* is not prohibited amongst the Coorgs, but it seldom occurs and chiefly in cases, where the first marriage is not blessed with male issue. It also happens, that a young widow is taken to wife by another member of the same house, but this is a voluntary engagement on either part, and the woman loses all claim to her first husband's property, being now the wife of another.

687 567 564 582 The odd expression "*Sirkar wives*" refers to a tyrannical practice of the Rajahs, who, when severely punishing a Coorg house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to a state of slavery, making them to work on the Sirkar farms or Panyas. Any low caste fellow, who applied for a wife to the Rajah, might then obtain one of these poor creatures, and such marriages may account for the comparatively fair and handsome appearance of many a low caste native of Coorg.

586 [624] *Divorce* on account of unfaithfulness is a recognised institution and solemnly carried out by the Aruvas of the unhappy couple and by the Takkas of the village. The children remain in the father's house, the mother returns with all her belongings to the house of her parents. Should a reconciliation take place, the husband of a restored wife is looked down upon with contempt. No refutation of the alleged "communism of women" could be stronger than these facts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

officers, both since dismissed from the King's and Company's service, had imagined the British were going to declare war against him, and was consequently fortifying his country; and I supposed the work-people were employed on some strong place in the neighbourhood. Having obtained special permission for myself and companions, I determined that I would immediately undeceive him, as an act of kindness to both parties. 175* 643* 648*

Rising very early on the 25th, we took a quiet walk in the garden, and returning up-stairs, were followed by Mahomed Sahib, the butler, who entreated to speak with me in private, and to request Lieutenant Meredith to remain in the verandah, to prevent any one from listening. This we acquiesced in; and no sooner were we alone in the bed-chamber, than he threw himself at my feet, and entreated me, by the memory of his old master, to save his life. I was perfectly thunderstruck; raised him up, and desired him to explain himself; when he told me a tale which harrowed my soul. The four Bengalees, whom I had left fat and happy, had become dissatisfied with promises, and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had, in consequence, been inhumanly murdered. He himself had [681] applied for leave, and was immediately mulcted of all he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws, made on purpose, and used in native courts; his body flagellated, and a threat held out, that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Rájah being acknowledged as the God of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control. That, for instance, if a poor fellow, standing in his presence, with both hands joined in adoration as of the [687] Supreme, incessantly calling out Mahá Swámi! or Great God! should be suddenly bit by a musquito, and loosen his hands to scratch; a sign too well known, would instantly be made by this *soidisant* Deity, and the poor wretch be a head shorter

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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in a twinkling. This, he told me, had been the fate of the fine-looking Parsee interpreter, whom I had seen at my last visit, who, having built a house, and amassed some wealth, was beheaded, and his property seized for the state; and this, he also assured me, was the fate of every man who entered the country, if he ever attempted to quit it again: and the Rájah, admitting his troops to a share in the plunder, bound them to his interests by chains of adamant. He entreated me to take him with me out of the country, which, he said could be easily accomplished, because he must accompany me to the barrier; but I could not listen to such a proposal, and at once told him so. To connive at the escape of one of the Rájah's servants, while I was his guest, would have been a direct breach of hospitality, which I could not consent to practice. But learning on some further conversation, that the native officer, under the appearance of an honorary guard was placed there as a spy over every word and action of every gentleman who lived in that palace, I proposed to enter into such conversation with him, in Hindustáni as being reported, might induce the Rájah to grant him leave. He also told me, that the Rájah fearing some attack from the English, was building new forts, and repairing all the old ones, and then retired, I believe, unobserved. The signal being made for breakfast, we sat down, attended as usual. I entered into conversation with Mahomed Sahib, talked of his mistress now at Madras, and his late master's will, and asked him if he had received the thousand pagoda legacy his master had left him. He replied, it was the first he had heard of it. I had, however, actually heard something of the kind, and advised him to get four months' leave of absence, to go and see his old mistress, before she embarked for England. He told me, he certainly should like to go and see her, but he could not bear to leave so good, so kind a master as the Mahá Swámi; to which I replied, that I was sure the Rájah

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

had some ambition to shine as a poet. Some of his pieces, 175*
addressed to one of his wives, are still preserved. They have 643*
no merit, and were perhaps made for him. However, he may have been a Nero in a small way. Cruelty seems to have been his sport. He liked to kill his victims with his own hand, with gun, bow or knife. For small offences people had their ears cropped, their noses cut, or their tongues clipped. For [681]
an impertinent answer men or women had their mouths rinsed, [687]
that was the phrase, i. e. their lips were cut off all round their mouths, and they were left to perish without food or drink. Others were thrown down a precipice on the hill side, near the "Rájah's seat" in Mercara. Many seem to have been destroyed merely for the purpose of confiscating their property, for Lingarája had as great a passion for gold as for blood.

During the first years of his reign he was restrained from 175*
giving full vent to his atrocious propensities by the influence 643*
of his Devan, Kshauryakere Appanna, who seems to have 644
been a man of character and independence, bold enough to 687
lecture the tyrant whom he had placed on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, the Rájah of Sóde. But by degrees Lingarája became impatient of the control of a subject. Appanna, relying on the Rájah's gratitude, continued to exhort, to warn and, at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man. One day the Devan was seized and carried before the Rájah. He was charged with treason. He knew, that he was doomed. The Rájah himself conducted the investigation. "Confess your guilt," he cried. "I am guilty indeed," replied the intrepid minister, "of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, Rájah of Coorg." Lingarája was mad with rage. Appanna, with several other so called accomplices, was carried out into the jungle to a distance of some miles. There they were nailed to some large trees, the Rájah feasting his eyes on the torments of his help-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

#175
*643
[682]
[644]

less victims, who died with curses on their lips. A large number of people, the families, relations and friends of the condemned men, were slaughtered on the occasion. Some say, that the Devan had entered into a conspiracy against the Rájah's life, and that on a hunting excursion a shot, aimed at Lingarája, passed close by him, whereupon he seized the traitors and exterminated them and their party; but this may only be an invention of the Rájah, calculated to throw a veil over a crime of a dye too dark even for Coorg. In 1820 the miserable tyrant died. He believed that he was destroyed through magic arts and demoniac influences employed by secret enemies. He had held possession of Coorg for eleven long years. The complete ignorance of his subjects, whom he managed to isolate entirely from the surrounding countries, subject to the East India Company, combined with the terror of his arm, kept up by frequent executions, and a system of treacherous espionage, fostered by the Rájah among his terrified slaves, laid the Coorgs prostrate at the feet of their rapacious and blood-thirsty master. He died forty-five years of age amidst the gloom of dread superstitions. His queen, who preferred death to the fate which, she thought, awaited her from the hatred of the young Rájah, swallowed diamond powder, and was buried with Lingarája in a splendid sepulchre near the tomb of Vírarájendra.

3. *Lingarája's character.*

Of Lingarája's personal character, Lieut. Connor who made his acquaintance gives us the following graphic picture:—

"The late Chief, anxious to prevent his brothers from acquiring any influence, retained them in a species of exile; Appáji Sáib, the elder, is represented as having been of a violent temper and impatient of control; this turbulent spirit hurried him to a premature end, and Lingarája had nearly shared the same fate, but seems to have owed his safety to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 Panchâyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Devân's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Panchâyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default 681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads. 565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Devâna, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájahs, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the 692 officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated 684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication 682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable* 684 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous 687 crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the 696 nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

I:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

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[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

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783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Paleya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

tions at the harvest festival is necessary here. The headman of the most important temple in the village begans by asking whether everyone (every adult male, that is to say) is present.

The village-headman replies,[1] 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Village-headman: 'Has the *okka* which has committed the wrong, the one who stays outside (Poleyas), the one who heats and beats (Airis or smiths), the one who lifts and beats (Maḍivāḷas or washermen), without a single absentee, is everyone assembled here?'

Temple-headman: 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Temple-headman: 'He who knew how to sing, but refused to sing or dance at the festival, or when the villagers went singing and dancing to his house, he did not open the closed door, or he did not remove the bell-metal dining-dish leaned against the wall, or he did not light the sacred wall-lamp, or he did not mix with another, or he abused another villager during the festival, or he beat another villager all over the body, such a man shall pay a fine of forty-eight *paṇas* for violating the injunctions of god.' Saying this the temple-headman extends his palm towards the village-headman who strikes it as witness to the statement.

The above rite makes it clear that the members of every caste in the village, including the Poleyas, attended the meeting of the village-assembly, and that everyone in the village had to observe certain rules and restrictions during the festival. The villagers had to keep their houses clean, with the doors open to receive a party of singers and dancers, with the sacred wall-lamp lit, they had to join in the singing and dancing, and finally they had to refrain from quarrelling, whatever the provocation. Failure to observe these rules was punished with a heavy fine.

At the festival of a village-deity *tappaḍaka* ritual is performed in the beginning and the restrictions enumerated to the members of the village (or *nāḍ*), whereas in the harvest festival *tappaḍaka* is an occasion for meting out punishment to those guilty of

[1] I have given above a translation of the formulas as they occur in *Paṭṭōlé Poḷumé*, pp. 239–40.

In Kaḍiyetnāḍ the temple-headman, or a temple official, opens the proceedings, whereas near Mercara the village-headman does it. The person who has to reply again varies from region to region: it may be the village- or temple-headman, or some elder.

The date of the ritual of the enumeration of restrictions also varies from region to region.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[621] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and
●692 the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard
631 before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people
[533] which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village-
[23] assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

XIII

621 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste.
504 The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, op. cit., p. 29.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The offender has to appear before the council of the elders of the village, at the Ambala (a council-room on the village green), where the matter is investigated and discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the sentence which may amount to a maximum fine of rupees 10. Should the offender refuse to pay, he will be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the "Nád-mukyastern", that is the assembly of all the village Takkas of the district, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may after years be restored to his former status on paying the imposed fine. To the influence of these guardians of public morality the orderly conduct of the Coorgs in public is principally owing. It is, however, to be feared, that the increasing wealth and influence of many Coorg houses modify the strict control of the Takkas and make them more complaisant to the rich, which tendency will inevitably result in a decline of their authority and a greater laxity of public morality. Intemperance, which in the times of the Rajahs was rigorously repressed, is now rather encouraged by the numerous liquor shops, which are decidedly on the increase all over the country. It requires a new impulse on the part of the better type of Coorgs to combine in vigorous combat, especially during their festivities, against this ruinous enemy, and a victory gained on this field will be more glorious and beneficial to the Coorgs than their repeated triumphs over their Mahomedan antagonists of old. When the Coorgs have once embraced the truth of Christianity and placed themselves under the regenerating influence of the Gospel, they will become a noble race, probably not much inferior in bodily, moral and intellectual powers to their present European Rulers!

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Malcyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases 754 787 648 reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. [683] By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

782 173 [776]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Koninchéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellúr in Távaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi-
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. In the time of the Rájahs.

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Panchâyat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

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692 Pancháyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Deván's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Pancháyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default 681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads. 565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Devána, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájaha, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the 692 officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated 684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication 682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had 684 been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable* 687 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the 696 nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

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efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 (203)

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah. 692 177

692 Governor General, the prerogative of the Rájah. On the 30th August 1834 he issued a set of "*Rules for the conduct of the District functionaries in Coorg*" from which we cite the following paragraphs as they contain the principles and routine of the English administration until lately modified by new Acts.

"Civil Justice."

Para 55. "Whereas it is necessary for the due administration of justice in the Coorg country, to introduce regularity in the system which has prevailed, and to define the judicial power of the district functionaries, the following rules have been enacted and are published for general information and guidance.

56. The custom of adjusting differences by mutual composition of the parties being highly commendable, the Sirkar will be glad, when parties settle their disputes in this manner; or by the arbitration of a referee selected from among their neighbours. If an adjustment cannot be effected by this means, they shall then have recourse to the Sirkar functionaries.

57. The Patéls are empowered to hear, try and determine on their own responsibility upon oral evidence such suits as may be preferred to them for sums of money or other personal property the amount or the value of which shall not exceed five rupees.

58. If the parties be dissatisfied with the decision of the Patéls, they may appeal to the Párapatiagárs. The jurisdiction of the Patéls is to extend to all civil suits to the amount above limited, which may arise between the parties residing within the villages.

59. The Párapatiagárs at the head of their Kacheri may hear the appeals against the decision of the Patéls. They shall try on their own responsibility causes not exceeding Rs. 50 upon recorded evidence, and all causes above that sum

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and not exceeding 100 Rs. shall be investigated through a Pancháyat which they shall convene for that purpose. The Párapatiagárs shall take cognizance of all civil suits arising within their respective náds. Appeals against the decision of the Párapatiagárs lie to the Kacheri of the Subadár. 692 177 671

60. In hearing and determining civil suits the Párapatiagárs shall be assisted by the Shánabógas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Shánabógas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Párapatiagárs, each complaint being entered in the order in which it may be received and will forward them after being signed by the Párapatiagárs to the Subadár's Kacheri.

61. The Subadár shall try and settle causes to the amount of Rs. 100 on his own responsibility; but in cases, where the sum in litigation may be above that sum and not exceeding Rs. 200, he shall assemble a Pancháyat and settle them. The Subadárs shall take cognizance of all suits arising within their respective taluqs.

62. In trying and determining suits, the Subadár shall be assisted by the Sheristadars and the Gumastas in writing the proceedings of the enquiry. The Sheristadars and the Gumastas are to keep registers of the suits preferred to the Taluq-Kacheri, entering each plaint in the order in which it may be received and forwarding them monthly to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

63. A Kacheri, denominated the Daryáft-Kacheri, and composed of one of the three Devána and the Karanika or any two of these, accordingly as they may be engaged or otherwise in their respective and more specific duties, has been established at the Huzur. It shall hear all appeals against the decision of the Subadárs and determine them. This Kacheri shall decide on its own authority causes from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1000 upon recorded evidence.

64. All causes above Rs. 1000 and not exceeding Rs. 3,000 shall be inquired into and settled by a Pancháyat which

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692 671 177 will be convened by the Daryáft-Kacheri. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by a Pancháyat shall make inquiry into causes beyond Rs. 3,000 and submit the proceedings to the Huzur and carry its orders into effect.

693 671 177 65. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall be assisted by two Mutsudies of the Devân-Kacheri in writing the proceedings of the inquiries they make. The Mutsudies are to keep registers of all suits decided by the Daryáft-Kacheri and preserve in regular order the records connected with that Kacheri, distinct from that of the Devâns. The Daryáft-Kacheri shall submit for the perusal of the Huzur these registers monthly.

66. The plaintiff and defendant in a cause shall be allowed to employ their relations or agents to plead before the Párapatingárs, the Subadárs and the Daryáft-Kacheri, as also before the Pancháyats assembled by them, furnishing them with power for that purpose.

694 671 177 67. The plaints shall clearly state the name and residence of the complainant as well as of the person complained against, the grounds on which the complaint is founded, the amount of value of the property claimed and all such circumstances as may serve for the elucidation of the case.

68. The Párapatingárs or Subadárs may send peons either with a verbal message or written summons (yádást) to the defendant, directing him to appear in order to answer the complaints preferred against him.

69. The complainant shall be directed to accompany the peons entrusted with the summons, or otherwise to send relations or agents for the purpose, indicating the residence of the defendant and identifying his person.

695 671 177 70. After the defendant makes his appearance the complaint shall be read over to him and he shall be directed to give an answer to it on a day which shall be fixed, he being furnished with a copy of the complaint.

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 177 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

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692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

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89. The numbers of the Panchâyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryâft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Panchâyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryâft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Pârapatiagâr of each Nâd shall send in monthly to the Subadâr of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadâr in like manner shall send a register to the Daryâft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

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Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

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merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical accumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg. 648

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during the last ten years the[1] admission of pleaders into the Courts and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary. 177 692

Before the 1st December 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal jurisdiction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town-Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in- 635 692 177 [634]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 -- Analyst]

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchayatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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Mysore, against which measure they strongly protested, being greatly averse to any subordination to the Brahmin officials of Mysore on their immediate frontier. 692 177 [648]

The *Court of the Judicial Commissioner* was highest appellate Court, and exercised control over the judicial administration of the province in all its branches. Sentences of death passed by the Superintendent of Ashtagrám as Sessions Judge in Coorg, required the confirmation of the Judicial Commissioner. This office was first instituted in 1856 by the Supreme Government.

With the 1*st December* 1868 *the Coorg Courts' Act XXV of* 1868 *came into operation.* Its primary object was to settle and define the jurisdiction of the various civil and criminal functionaries in Coorg and the immediate occasion for it arose, when the two Assistants were appointed, whose powers it was necessary to determine. As a necessary consequence the Daryáft-Kacheri was abrogated, its last judge being the first Coorg pupil of the Central School in 1856, Colavanda Cariappah, now Subadár of Mercara taluq. 692 671 177

The civil jurisdiction conferred by the Act on Officers of various classes is limited as follows:

Subadárs of the 2nd class may determine suits to the value of . . . . . Rs. 100.
Subadárs of the the 1st class . . . . . „ 300.
Assistant Superintendent of the 2nd class . „ 1000.
Assistant Superintendent of the 1st class . . „ 3000.
The Superintendent of Coorg without limit.

The Chief Commissioner may invest any Párapatiagár or Naib-Subadár with power to try certain kinds of suits for money or moveable property not exceeding in value Rs. 50. Appeals lie from the Subadárs to the Assistant Superintendents; from the Assistants to the Superintendent of Coorg; and from the Superintendent to the Judicial Commissioner. Special appeals lie from the decisions of the Superintendent

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671 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner;
692 but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is
177 allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! [1] However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an
177 airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the
[692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

[1] [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 999 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor. 697 177

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country. [692] 625 177

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality. 181

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812,[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held. 651

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara. 651 423

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general 651 423 565 [701]

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable" neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]
[2] [Errata: this should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchâyatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

71. On the delivery of the answer by the defendant who ought to state therein what he may have to say, a copy of it shall be sent to the plaintiff. The latter shall be required to give his reply within a prescribed time and after he delivers it, a copy of it shall be furnished to the defendant and he shall give a rejoinder. Afterwards the plaintiff and the defendant shall be directed to give in a list of the witnesses whom they wish to produce. The depositions of the witnesses shall be taken with all possible expedition and they shall be ordered to return to their homes or respective employments. The Párapatiagár or Subadár shall then decide the cause according to justice and the custom of the country. 695 671 177

72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he has wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Pancháyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Pancháyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Pancháyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

73. Where Pancháyats are assembled for investigating any dispute, the parties shall be caused to give written agreements binding themselves to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat. After the award is passed, the parties shall be 695 671 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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671 taken from them.
177

74. Whenever a case is investigated by a Pancháyat, and an award is passed, if one of the parties refused to abide by it, he shall be asked to explain the reason and if he has reason to suppose, that undue means have been used to bias the Pancháyat or that the decision was partial, he shall be required to produce evidence to that effect and give a written obligation, binding himself to pay such penalty as the Sirkar may be pleased to direct, in the event of his assertions proving false. If this circumstance happens at the Kacheri of a Párapatiagár, he shall forward the proceedings together with the witnesses to prove the corruption of the Pancháyat to the Subadár, and if it should happen at the Kacheri of the latter, the Subadár shall send them to the Daryáft-Kacheri.

75. But in cases where the party, refusing to abide by the decision of the Pancháyat fails to bring forward witnesses to prove his allegation, the award shall be carried into effect.

628 76. In cases where a suit is preferred against an in-
671 dividual who is not subject to the jurisdiction of either the
177 Párapatiagár or the Subadár of the nád or taluq, where the
694 complainant is residing, the Párapatiagár or Subadár shall request by a letter the officer in authority at the place, where the defendant may be residing, to send him in order to answer the complaint, preferred against him. The same rule is applicable to cases where witnesses may be residing within another jurisdiction.

648 77. In cases where either the defendant or witnesses
671 may be residing in another country, the district-servants are
177 to report the circumstance to the Huzur, which will take
694 measures by writing to the European Officer in authority at that place, either to cause the personal attendance of such defendant or witnesses or to obtain their defence or evidence respectively in writing as may seem to him advisable.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 of orders, or with assaulting another person, or using abusive
671 language or with stealing property of the value of 10 rupees.
177 83. The Párapatiagár may release persons accused of the
881 above offences on their finding bail.

84. All persons deserving higher punishment than what has been mentioned above, shall be sent to the Subadár by whom they shall be tried. The Subadár shall confine for 30 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding 16 rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any person accused of having stolen property of the value of from 10 to 30 rupees, or charged with disobedience of orders or with assaulting another person or using abusive language.

[694] 85. The Subadár may release persons accused of these offences on their finding bail.

86. Offenders accused of thefts not attended with violence
692 and of which the amount or value may be above thirty and
671 not exceeding one hundred rupees, or of the other offences
177 specified in para 84, but deserving a higher punishment than
[685] what is therein mentioned, shall be sent for trial to the Daryáft-Kacheri. In these cases the Daryáft-Kacheri is empowered to sentence an offender to imprisonment not exceeding two months, or to levy a fine not exceeding twenty rupees. This Kacheri may release persons on bail.

[694] 87. The Párapatiagárs and Subadárs are directed to send
with the least practicable delay to the Daryáft-Kacheri all
[681] persons accused of thefts attended with violence or exceeding in amount or value thirty rupees, burglaries, highway or gang robberies, arson and murder, etc. after they are apprehended, together with their depositions.

[623] 88. The Daryáft-Kacheri assisted by the Panchayat shall make enquiries into the aforementioned cases, and in the event of their finding the fact against the accused, they shall submit their proceedings to the Commissioner (respective Superintendent since October 1834) who shall pass judgment thereon.

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72. In cases where the defendant may neglect to attend at the Kacheri on the day appointed, notwithstanding he is summoned, an enquiry shall be made whether the summons has been actually served or not. If it be proved that the summons has been served on the defendant and that he has wilfully neglected to give his attendance at the Kacheri, a notice shall be affixed at the door of his house intimating, that although he signed the summons, which had been served on him, yet he had neglected to give his appearance to answer the complaint which was preferred against him, that a time, however, of 10 days would still be allowed to him to appear before the district functionary or the Pancháyat to answer the complaint, and that, if he failed to do so, the functionary or the Pancháyat would proceed to decide the case ex parte. If he do not make his appearance to answer the complaint within the time fixed in the notice, the Pancháyat or the functionary shall examine the vouchers and decide the case ex parte. 694 671 177

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78. The Nád- and the Táluq-Pancháyats shall be composed of respectable inhabitants, or Chetties, or merchants. When the parties in suits are of different castes, the Párapatiagárs or Subadárs shall, if practicable, select an equal number of persons of the caste, to which each party may belong and also one or two of a caste different from that of either of the parties. The same rule shall be observed by the Daryáft-Kacheri. 692 671 177

79. Appeals against the decision of a Párapatiagár shall be made to the Subadár within 30 days from the date on which the award may be passed and given to the party; and those against the decision of the Subadárs shall be made to the Daryáft-Kacheri within 45 days. If after the expiration of this time the party appealing assign good and satisfactory reason for his delay, the appeal shall be admitted. Provided, however, that no appeal shall be admitted from any case decided by a Pancháyat, except on the ground of gross partiality or dishonesty on the part of the arbitrators. 695 671 177

80. The expense of summoning shall be paid in the first instance by the party by whom they are summoned; but the functionary or the Pancháyat shall determine, when the award is passed, by whom the expense shall be finally borne according to the merits of the case.

Criminal Justice.

81. The Gauda is authorised to reprimand or admonish an offender for stealing vegetables, or a few seers of grain, or the commission of similar trifling offences within the jurisdiction of his village. He shall seize and make over all other offenders to the Párapatiagárs. 172 692 671 [685]

82. The Párapatiagár shall confine for 10 days, or fine in a sum not exceeding five rupees, according to the circumstances of the case, any offender charged with disobedience [681]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

89. The numbers of the Pancháyat shall in no case be less than five nor more than thirteen. The prisoner shall have the power of challenging any of the members as far as the number five, before the commencement of the enquiry, assigning reasons for the same, which shall be taken into consideration by the Daryáft-Kacheri. In the event of these reasons being deemed valid, the member who is challenged shall be removed and another substituted. The majority of the Pancháyat shall concur in the verdict, whether in civil or criminal cases, to render it valid. 692 671 177 [623]

90. Corporal punishment by the officers of Government is prohibited in every possible case throughout the whole of Coorg. [681]

91. There are three modes of passing sentence of imprisonment. One is to sentence an offender to be confined and to be put to perform hard labour on the roads. The second is to sentence the criminal to be imprisoned and be made to work in the prison; and the third is to pass sentence of imprisonment only, without labour. These three modes may be adopted by the Daryáft-Kacheri in passing sentence against offenders according to the degree of guilt proved against them. 695 671 177 697

92. The Párapatiagár of each Nád shall send in monthly to the Subadár of his taluq a register of offenders punished by him. 692 671 177

93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

692 Pancháyat lay to the Párapatiagár or to the Deván's Kacheri. The Párapatiagár settled at his own responsibility or through a Pancháyat cases of small amount which, however, remained undefined.

685 When *theft* was committed in a village, the Gauda with the ryots exerted themselves to catch the thief and on apprehension carried him to the Párapatiagár's Kacheri, where an enquiry was made, the stolen property, if possible, recovered and restored to the owner with an award of half the value of the stolen property as a punishment of the thief. In default 681 of payment, he was flogged or sentenced to work on the roads. 565 *Corporal punishment* was not restricted to any class of crime or people; even Deváns, who had incurred the displeasure of the Rájahs, were subjected to the last, some times swung by the royal hand!

682 In *murder cases*, the Párapatiagárs and the Subadár of the 692 district committed the criminal for trial to the Huzur, the officials of which, under orders from the Rájah, examined the prisoner and reported the result. According to circumstances the murderer would be pardoned, fined, whipped, mutilated 684 or executed, agreeably to the Rájah's orders. In *cases of adultery* the guilty parties were severely and barbarously punished. *Manslaughter* committed in a state of intoxication 682 or during hunting or whilst guarding the crops against wild beasts, was leniently dealt with, especially if the unfortunate man reported the accident voluntarily before the Huzur had 684 been informed of it. *Eloping from the country* and *treasonable* 687 *acts against the Sirkar* were considered as the most heinous crimes, and the culprit, if caught, seldom escaped capital punishment, dictated with a savage vindictiveness. Of the 696 nature of these punishments it is difficult to credit the stories, that are told of their frequency and ferocity. The ordinary ones are said to have been: crushing to death by elephants, strangulation or decapitation by the large Coorg knife, a most

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

efficient instrument for such an operation; others less expeditious but more cruel were: throwing the criminal over the precipice near the "Rájah's Seat" or nailing him to a tree and shooting him with arrows. In such a manner the Deván Kshouri Kariappanna was tormented to death by Lingarája. Punishments short of death were: dislocating the toes and fingers, suspending the offender by the ears, pounding out his teeth, amputating his nose and lips or otherwise mutilating his person. When of a capital nature, punishments were never public and every care was taken to conceal them from the people. The Rájahs' Siddi—or African—bodyguard acted as executioners. The sufferer was proclaimed as having deserted his home and a reward offered for his apprehension. If he was a man of consequence, instructions were given to make a diligent search after the fugitive, which of course proved ineffectual, when he was declared to have eluded pursuit and escaped to some of the neighbouring countries. Artifices of this nature could not long retain the power of imposing, but the danger of mentioning the transaction secured silence regarding it. 696

With so primitive and simple forms of judicial procedure, the enforcement of its precepts required no complicated system of police. Every villager was a voluntary policeman and every Jamma-ryot bound to render gratuitous service to the Sirkar. The limited extent of the country and the vigilant control over all its parts, enhanced by frequent communication by means of posted runners with all the Kacheris, kept the Rájahs well informed of any unusual occurrence and enabled them to send prompt orders to the district-officials. 625 [203]

b. *Under the British Government.*

From the Proclamation of Col. Fraser in April 1834 we have already seen, that he upheld the authority of the native officials, reserving to himself, as the representative of the Governor General, the Prerogative of the Rájah. 692 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 361 [485] Frank Vardon, the intrepid companion of Dr. Livingstone in South-Africa. He died on the 21st June 1860. At the junction of the three Ghat-roads rises the *Roman Catholic Church of St. Michael*, renovated a few years ago. Further on to the left of the Fraserpet road is a prettily designed, but badly executed long row of buildings, destined for native shops and Abkari-godowns; behind it, in modest retreat, stands the *Civil Dispensary*, and on the opposite side of the road on a beautiful spot the *Travellers' Bangalow*, where, though comforts may be wanting, a splendid view is ever present! Still further on near the first mile-stone is the site of the *Offices of the Public Works Department*. Dotted here and there, ensconced in wooded nooks or standing forth on knolls, boldly facing the monsoon storms, but commanding [205] glorious views, the European houses are placed. In front of the Superintendent's Kacheri is the *Post-Office* and the *Jail-* [697] *garden*, and below it the dome of the *Onkáréśvara-temple* with its gilt orb peeps out from a hollow round which the dwellings of the Coorg officials and of Brahmins are clustered amid a dense mass of vegetation. Some of these houses are two [206] storied and after European pattern. On the northside of the fort on a lower terrace stands the *Telegraph Office*, a building of the Rájahs' time which, after the successive metamorphosis into an elephant-stable, travellers' bangalow and school-house, attained its present destination in 1867. At a little distance and separated from it by a narrow rice valley crossed by a broad bund, stretches the native town, called *Mádapet* or *Mahádévpet* in honour of Mahádévamma, the favourite Ráni of Dodda-Vírájender. It consists of three streets, two of which are nearly parallel and the third branches off to the left at the beginning of the town, leading to the Sappers' lines. An addition to the Petta was attempted six years ago by allotting a new piece of ground for dwellings, but the scheme has not made much progress since. The new portion was

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93. The Subadár in like manner shall send a register to the Daryáft-Kacheri, which will submit to the Huzur an abstract of their registers, including the offenders punished by their own award.

94. All disputes relating to caste are to be settled by the heads of the respective castes according to the usage and custom of the country. [564]

671 692 177 and from those of the Assistants to the Judicial Commissioner; but in suits of the nature of Small Causes no special appeal is allowed for less than Rs. 300.

On the criminal side, the Act provides that for the purpose of criminal jurisdiction the Superintendent of Coorg shall be taken to be the chief Officer charged with the executive administration of a district in criminal matters. Appeals against the sentences of the Magistrates with full powers in Coorg shall lie to the Judicial Commissioner. The Sessions Judge, appointed by the Governor General, shall, as often as may be necessary for the trial of offenders, hold sessions in the province.

However flattering the notion may be, that the judicial administration of Coorg is now on a level with the most advanced stage of judicial reform in India, one cannot, on seeing the backward state of civilization of the majority of the people for whom this refined apparatus of justice is intended, help regretting the disappearance of those simple and practical institutions, adopted by General Fraser, which best suited the wants and comprehension of the natives and, in the absence of stamp duties, secured to them cheap justice! 1 However, as the Judicial Commissioner truly remarks, "the more complicated and difficult portions of the law affect, not the "simple mountaineer" so much, as the coffee planter and the trader; and when the business of life is at all complex, almost any ascertained rules must be preferable to no rule."

697 177 Of the *Jail* it need only be said, that its locality in an airy corner within the fort walls is healthy, and if the practicable alterations and improvements were carried out, good and sufficient accommodations for the small number of convicts, averaging 70 per annum, could be afforded without going to the expense of a palatial new building outside the [692] fort as proposed. The Regimental Surgeon, in civil charge

1 [Errata: This should read "cheap and speedy justice". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 7010

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701
423

classification of all cultivated land in Coorg. In 1812, during the reign of Linga Rāja II, a general settlement was made and this was recorded in a book called *Hukum Nāma*. All cultivated land was divided into farms (*vargas*), and every farm was entered in the register along with the type of tenure it was held under.

The *jamma* system of land tenure under which most Coorgs held (and even now hold) land was the basis of their military tradition. It was an hereditary right passing from father to son, and was for this reason called *jamma*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *janma* which means 'birth'. It was not, however, confined to Coorgs. Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gaudas, smiths (Airis), potters (Kumbāras), and Māpiḷḷa immigrants from Malabar enjoyed the privilege and prestige of holding land on *jamma* tenure. The Rājas occasionally offered *jamma* tenure as a bait both to induce certain artisan and trading castes from outside to settle down in Coorg and to induce local people to reclaim forest or waste land.

The *jamma* tenure was a very light one in terms of money, being only five rupees or a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land. A hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land means an area of land producing a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. The area of land required to produce that amount varies according to the fertility of the soil, and arable land is classified into seven grades for purposes of assessment.

Along with the assesssed rice-field went two unassessed stretches of land: one was *bāṇé*, the highland adjacent to the rice-field and clothed with jungle from which the cultivator's joint family obtained its supply of fuel, timber, and forest produce; and the other was *bariké*, low-lying pasturage for the cultivator's cattle.

Legally, *jamma* land was impartible, inalienable, and could not be sublet without the permission of the Rāja, and, most important of all, people holding land on the *jamma* tenure were liable to be called up for military service. Richter writes in 1870 that 'the *jamma* ryots [cultivators] are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all police- and treasure-guards, escorts, &c., in time of peace'.[1]

Every family holding *jamma* land had to perform guard duties for fifteen days in the year, during which time the guards were maintained at public expense though not paid. Not all the men of a joint family were employed on guard duties at the same time.

[1] Op. cit., p. 402.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were
423 posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

423 *Jamma* tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that
554 the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

175 During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent
[631] a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal
[423] service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held
[671] was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason
[622] were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general
[623] feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

[186] The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent phenomenon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the increasing difficulty of rice cultivation in some parts of 132
the country, the change might be hailed as a most welcome improvement in the Coorg climate, which for the sake of human health might be still less loaded with moisture.

On the whole the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 66° 6′ is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year and Europeans are able to take exercise in the open air at all hours. European children in particular enjoy excellent health and their fat rosy cheeks form a striking contrast to the thin pale faces of those in the low country.

The rarified, often cold and damp air of Mercara with the usually prevailing high winds, necessarily does not agree with asthmatic and bronchial affections, chronic disorders of the liver and dysenteric complaints, but Frasrpet, which is 1,000 feet lower than Mercara, affords a salutary change during the rainy season.

The native troops, especially new arrivals from the low [701] [164] country, suffer much from the cold and damp and are, during their first year of acclimatization, subject to fever and bowel complaints, but in time even they enjoy the bracing climate of Mercara.

The climate of the valleys, particularly during the hot 132 months preceding the monsoon, when, as the natives say, the 164 old and new waters are mixed, is far from being healthy. Fevers, agues and bowel complaints are then very frequent and protracted. For the rest of the year the natives of the country pronounce the climate to be excellent especially after the monsoon. Besides the dreaded Coorg fever, which [751] appears in its worst form, especially to Europeans, in the vicinity of Atur in south-east Coorg and about Sampáji on the western boundary, small-pox has laid a fearful hold upon the natives though vaccination is much in vogue. Cholera but seldom makes its appearance; and yields readily to treat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Rájah, Kushálnagara was sacked and the Fort burnt. In August Vírarája attacked the Fort of Beppunád. The garrison capitulated and obtained a free passage through Coorg. The Fort was destroyed. By dint of extraordinary exertions Buran-u-din, dividing his army into three columns, succeeded in throwing supplies into the Fort of Bhágamandala, but was repeatedly attacked and beaten on the march and had to fall back on Seringapatam. The capture of the Fort, which was of some strength, speedily followed. Vírarája planted his guns on the hill of Mumbáratu and pointed them with his own hand against the Fort which was well defended. After five days the place fell. Three copper-tiles of the temple at Bhágamandala had been destroyed by the Rájah's cannon balls, they were replaced by tiles of silver. After this achievement Vírarája sent a detachment into the Tulu country to take possession of Amara-Sulya which Lingarája had ceded to Hyder. There was now only Mercara left in the hands of the Mussulmans, under Ali Beg, but he was cut off from all communication with Mysore and in fact a harmless prisoner.

A few remarks on the military force of Coorg at that time may prove of interest.

The Jamma-Coorgs holding their land by a military tenure in return for the immunities which they enjoyed, all able bodied men of this active and warlike peasantry constituted the Rájahs' military force, which, though irregular in its organization, was kept in constant practice of its duties. These personal services of the Choudigaras or Coorg soldiers as guards for a period of fifteen days at a time, enjoined by the Rájahs and admitted by the ryots, were rendered with cheerful obedience.

Under the chief command of the Rájah, the force, numbering at times from six to ten thousand Coorgs was subdivided into bodies of various strength, the smallest numbering from ten to hundred men under a Jemindar, any larger

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*.175 ●701 and more indefinite number was commanded by the Káriagára, who again acted under a Sarva-káriagára or General; both were distinguished by a gold banded scarlet head-dress, the kombu toppi.

As the Coorg force was not a standing army, it received no pay. Whilst on active duty as guards or during warfare, the soldiers were maintained at the public expense, and being remarkable for their predatory habits, they largely shared with the Rájahs in the spoil. Without discipline and organization, the Coorgs displayed their strength chiefly behind their stockades and Cadangas. In the open field they rarely faced the attacks of regular troops. [926]

*175 *648 *643

c. Vírarája an ally of the East-Indian Company.

Conclusion of the alliance.

About this period the first connection between the English and the Coorgs took place. Desirous of gaining the friendship of so able a partizan and foreseeing the strategical value of Coorg in the impending struggle with Tippu, the Government of the Company eagerly seized the proffered hand of Vírarája who dreaded and hated Tippu, from whom he could expect no mercy and whose assurances and promises, he knew, he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union with Tippu's enemies was therefore effected without difficulty. After the receipt of orders from Bombay to conclude in the name of the British Government an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rájah of Coorg, Robert Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry invited the Rájah to a conference. Accompanied by Capt. Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the head-quarters of the Campany on the Western Coast, Vírarája repaired thither in October 1790.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660⅔, 570, 500, 440⅘, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Baríké* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

5. POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

Besides the regular postal service with Offices at Mercara and Vírájpet, there is a local post called Anché, originally established by the Rájahs and still principally used for official communication between the district functionaries and the heads of departments, who are exempt from postage, but it is open also to the public both for letters and packages on the same terms as the Queen's Post. By its means 160,999 letters, etc. have been despatched in 1869-70, whilst the Queen's Post at the two offices transmitted 147,309 letters, etc. over the three lines, Mercara—Mysore,—Cannanore,—Mangalore. For the Anché-tappál there are five lines: 205

1.	from Mercara	to Fraserpet	20	miles.
2.	" "	Kiggatnád	35	"
3.	" "	Kodlipet	46	"
4.	" "	Nálkanád	20	"
5.	" "	Madyanád	5	"

In localities away from these lines postal communication is very imperfect and public business much impeded and often seriously inconvenienced.

Mercara has lately become the Head-quarters of the Malabar Coast Division of the *Government Telegraph Department* and consequently the Bangalore, Cannanore, and Mangalore lines are here united and Mercara is brought into telegraphic communication with all parts of the civilized world. During 1869-70 1595 messages have been received and despatched, and yielded an income of Rs. 1,798—8. 655

6. MILITARY DEPARTMENT.

Considering the military services rendered by the Jammaryots in the times of the Coorg Rájahs and their martial spirit and loyalty, so often applauded by the English Government, 701 648

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

701 648 it may cause surprise, that no advantage has hitherto been taken of such excellent material for local military service, by organising all able-bodied men into a Coorg militia under English Officers and keeping a small body of men for short periods on duty at Mercara, instead of a Sepoy-Regiment, especially since it was the loyal Coorgs and not the Sepoys, who suppressed the insurrection anno 1837. Lately some proposal was indeed put forward to abolish Mercara as a military station, but the strategical position of the country, adjoining the foreign territory of Mysore on the one side and the Mopla inhabited districts of Madras on the other, was deemed of sufficient importance, to continue its occupation by a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

712 Mercara having been declared a *Military Cantonment*, (vide page 1009 Fort St. George Gazette 1856) the following are the specifications of bearings and distances of its boundaries.

Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
1	210°	312	Station 1. Opposite entrance to Fort. Boundary follows outer side of main road to station 5.
2	201	225	
3	174	315	
4	131	288	Station 5. Opposite the gate of the Roman Catholic Priest's house; boundary leaves the main road and ascends the hill in rear of the Roman Catholic Priest's house, skirting the compound which it leaves outside the limits, it continues to follow the crest of the range of hills overhanging the Mangalore ghat till it reaches Station 18.
5	261	150	
6	181	173	
7	126	77	
8	148	73	
9	200	374	
10	285	130	
11	275	191	Station 18. A slightly elevated peak intersected by a Coorg ditch and rampart, boundary follows this ditch down the slope of the hill to the burying ground which it encloses, traversing its west and south side to station 20 and thence descending the valley in which the Lines are situated to station 21. At 330 feet it strikes the bank of a Nullah along which it continues to station 28. From 28 to 34 it runs through enclosed gardens
12	178	318	
13	261	184	
14	218	165	
15	359	90	
16	212	162	
17	185	181	
18	285	485	
19	23	175	
20	41	215	

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

567 The slave was a member of the master's household and a proverb compares him to one's eldest son. The master had to provide funds for the slave's wedding and have him looked after during illness and old age. On his side the slave was required to perform [702] every type of service. He was also liable to be called upon to bear arms in times of war.

The remedy at the disposal of the slave against harsh treatment was running away either to a different part of Coorg, or to cross the border into a neighbouring country. There was, of course, the risk of being pursued, but it is presumed that the slave took this extreme step only when harsh treatment made his position intolerable. Between the farmers of Kiggaṭnāḍ in the extreme south and those in Wynāḍ, however, there was an agreement by which neither followed up absconding slaves who had crossed the frontier. This usually worked in favour of Coorg, where wages were higher than in Wynāḍ, though work was correspondingly heavier. The slaves in Kiggaṭnād and Wynāḍ regularly crossed the frontier once every few years and they had masters on either side. It was very probable that these slaves belonged to one of the several tribes inhabiting the mountains of Wynāḍ, like the Yerava, Beṭṭa Kuruba, Jēnu Kuruba, and so on. They had the reputation of being absconders and thieves and idlers in comparison with Poleyas from the Kannaḍa country. Yeravas and Kurubas from Wynāḍ fetched a lower price than Poleyas in the market. In any case the price of a slave never exceeded Rs13 (about £1).

564 Slavery had a caste component. The masters invariably belonged
567 to the higher castes while the slaves belonged to very low castes. In Coorg the masters generally belonged to castes like Coorgs, Tuḷu Gauḍas, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Airis (smiths) while the slaves came from Untouchable castes like Poleyas, Pāleyas, and Mādigas, and tribes like Yeravas, Aḍiyas, Kuḍiyas, and Beṭṭa Kurubas, and Jēnu Kurubas. It is probable that very poor members of the high castes and castes just above the Untouchables, like the Mēdas (makers of basketry work), hired themselves out as agricultural labourers.

It has already been said that a large body of slaves worked on
648 the farms of the Rājas. In 1834 when the British annexed Coorg
567 there were twenty such farms producing nearly 47,000 *bhaṭṭis* of rice with about 1,757 (according to the highest estimate) slaves working on them. The British, who wanted to abolish slavery,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs 714
or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. 411
The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity [147]
than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the [527]
wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English [439]
rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and orna- [326]
ments were manufactured with the most simple tools by
natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for 703 ●
personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an
ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ☙ upon
the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and
worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less 142
striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, [276]
of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome
before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after
marriage, disfigures their regular features and blackens their
otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordi- 292
nary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becom- [291]
ing that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton
jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck.
A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the
skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied
by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful
folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers
the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To
give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds,
which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are
gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient
for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity
did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of
course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *648 669 Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya and a late Párpadyagára, Appaya. They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give him information of the insurrection; they must have known things and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore, ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demanded explanations; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows were the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampáji pass, he met with a party of Nálkanád Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; they were armed, but dared not fight the Deván; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nálkanád had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him, without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn by the "Lictors" and from that time Coorg has been at peace. The Coorgs were most abundantly praised by [703] Government for their loyalty and in recognition of their services of the recaptured treasure Rs. 20,000 were to be

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divided amongst those employed on the expedition; but they begged, that they might be honored with other distinctions in lieu; consequently they were rewarded with jaghir lands to a great extent and pensions for three generations, with horses, gold and silver medals, and broad cloth, according to their merits, or perhaps to the different degrees of relationship and friendship in which they stood to the Devâns. The "Coorg medal" in gold weighs 7 Tolas without, and 11¼ Tolas with the chain and is two inches in diameter. On one side it represents a Coorg warrior in fighting attitude, and on the other it shows round a wreath which encircles the Coorg-knives—the Picha-Katti and the Odti-Katti—the following inscription in English: "For distinguished conduct and loyalty to the British Government Coorg. April 1837." The same inscription in Canarese is given on the reverse side. During the "Mutiny" in 1857 the Coorgs enjoyed the confidence of the local Government to such a degree, that after the suppression of the Rebellion, General Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner, issued to them the following Notification in English and Canarese, bearing at its head a medallion representing a Coorg in full warrior costume.

175* 648* 669 703●

NOTIFICATION.

26th February 1861.

175* 648* 669

"In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty and intrepidity, characteristic of this little nation of warriors and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby, for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act, commonly called the *Disarming Act* are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg."

(Signed:) M. CUBBON,
Commissioner.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [232]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dreaded for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily ascribed to the curses and witchcraft of [753] [754]
enemies.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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172 to A. D. 1006 and the charter concludes with the solemn denunciation "whoever takes away this land which he or others have given, shall for sixty thousand years be born as a worm."

●712 **d. The Coorg Cadangas and other remains of defensive works.**

In the April number (1855) of the "Fortnightly Review" in the article: "Were the Ancient Britons Savages?" by W. Walker Wilkins, there occurs a passage which has a most appropriate bearing upon the Coorg Cadangas: "Probably "no country in the world possesses so many ancient earth-"works, certainly none upon such a stupendous scale as our "own.—They are extremely difficult of access from the steep-"ness of the mountain height on which they were formed. "This difficulty the primitive engineer greatly increased by "the most simple and natural means. He sunk one or more "deep trenches round the summit of the hill and raised lofty "banks with the excavated soil. Undoubtedly this is the "most ancient species of rampart known; it existed ages be-"fore the use of mural fortifications and originated in all pro-"bability with the nations in the East. But be that as it may, "the examples above indicated incontestably prove, that the "realization of vast works was as familiar to the mind of the "British regulus or chieftain, as to that of any oriental prince "his contemporary. The organization of labour necessary "for carrying them out evinces besides a condition of society "here in prehistoric times, utterly incompatible with the pre-"vailing notions on the subject."

The description here given literally applies to the Coorg breast-works called *Cadangas*, which are seen in almost every part of this country and which testify to the indefatigable perseverance with which these highlanders toiled to secure the possession of their Hills. They are of a very remote age, for in the time of Dodda Vfrappa Vodeya who ruled for 49

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

years (from 1687-1736) war-trenches (Cadangas) already existed to which he added new ones, as the passage in the Rájéndranáma states: "He caused ditches and trenches, etc. "to be dug all over the Coorg kingdom, erected frontier "gates, etc. repaired all the *war-trenches* within the country and "thus fortified the Principality of Coorg." 712

These Cadangas stretch over hills, woods and comparatively flat countries for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill tops. In the Méndalanád they show a great conformity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggatnád they are of smaller dimensions. As stated in the preceding quotation they were "*war-trenches*," but it is more than probable, that at the same time they formed at least to some extent also the boundaries between different nádu. In their conflicts with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Coorg Rájas strengthened these works, established Ukadas or guard-houses wherever a road or pathway intersected them, every opening being faced with rough stone-walls and even in the last campaign at the taking of Coorg in 1834 the Cadangas proved no contemptible obstacle to the advance of the English troops. [634] [648]

Other remains of defensive works in Coorg are the *Fort at Mercara*, the *Fort ruins at Fraserpet*, *Beppundú*, *Bhágumandala* and *Palupáre*.

Mercara Fort is still in pretty good preservation, but of little strategical value, as it is commanded by hills all round within short range of cannon. The Fortress was originally built by Muddarája Vodeya in 1680 or thereabout, and then consisted probably of mud walls, but it was rebuilt with stone by Tippu Sultan, who called it "Jaffarabad," and it was held by his generals till 1790, when Jaffar Ali Beg evacuated the place and left it with all its guns and ammunition to the Rája, Dodda-Virájender. It simply consists of a rampart

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

712 8 feet thick and outside from 15 to 20 feet high with parapets 2 feet thick and 5 feet high. The fortress is an irregular hexagon and nearly conforms to the shape of the hill top, leaving enough space for a ditch all round and on the north side for a glacis. At its 6 corners there are bastions and the whole is built of strong masonry. The entrance on the east is intricate and circuitous and guarded by 3 successive gates, which close in the space, that is now occupied by public buildings the Jail, the Taluq-Subadar's, the Assistant Superintendent's and the Superintendent's Courts with the local Treasury. On the left side of the third gate there is a shrine erected against the wall, dedicated to Ganapati, the lord of hosts, whose image is daily worshipped by a Brahmin and who gets the first offerings, flowers and cocoanuts by Hindu devotees, because all who wish to prosper should begin their undertaking in Ganésha's name, and in former days it was not so dangerless for a Coorg to present himself before the Rája, as it is now before the British Superintendent! The fantastic superstructure has been added about 20 years ago by a devoted ministry who had been engaged in the building of the Fraserpet-Bridge, and who must have made large profits, to spend his money so lavishingly. Within the fort itself, there is in the centre the palace, to the left and in front of it the English Church, to the right the Quarter-guard and armoury and behind the palace the powder magazine. The English Church stands near the place which was formerly occupied by a temple dedicated to Vírabhadra and which was demolished in 1855 to make room for the Church. The latter was built by the Rev. A. Fennell in 1856-57 by private subscriptions, the Church Building Society and Government assistance and consecrated in April 1858 by Bishop Dealtry. It is a remarkably neat structure in plain Gothic style, having a tower surmounted with a low spire. From its position and elevation it is a conspicuous object from whatever side Mercara

[778] 346 712 797

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is viewed. Its interior is light and chaste, the fittings,—chiefly the handiwork of the Rev. Mr. Fennell—in remarkably good taste and the whole much set off by ground glass windows, with apex and borders of coloured glass, that at the east end being of larger size, of a more elaborate design and extremely elegant. The interior contains also an ornamental monument in white marble by Westmacott to the memory of the late Major Frank Vardon and a circular tablet in memory of Mrs. Barclay, the wife of Dr. Chr. Barclay.

346 712 797

The *Fort at Kushálanagara* (Fraserpet) built by Tippu Sultan was taken by the Coorgs in June 1789 under Dodda-Virájender, who sacked and burnt the place. When in 1846-1848 the fine bridge over the Kávéri was constructed, the ruins of the Fort supplied excellent building material.

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The *Fortress at Arméri* in Beppunád was razed to the ground in August 1789.

Bhágamandala Fort, where Tippu seized some 5,000 Coorgs with their families whom he sent into Mysore in 1785 and forcibly made Mussulmans, was invested by Dodda-Virájender in 1790 and taken after 5 days' siege. The Rája himself fired the first cannon from the hill of Mumbáratu. During the bombardment 3 copper tiles of the Dévastána were destroyed by a cannon shot, but Dodda-Virájender replaced them by 4 tiles made of silver.

The *Pápáre Fort*, (Pálu-páre) on the Kire river, a tributary of the Lakshmanatírtha, in Hatgatnád in Kiggatnád taluq, in which there are also the ruins of a temple, is said to have been built by *Kolli-Ninga* and *Benne-Krishna* of the Bedaru or hunter-tribe. It was destroyed by Tippu Sultan's armies and its ruins are extensive.

8. THE COORG LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE.

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The prevalent and official language in Coorg is Canarese, but this small mountain clan, the Coorgs, with their former

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 648 the old government since so well known as Zemindars or Polygars.

175 631 Up to this time the little Coorg country seems to have been of no political importance. Its chiefs, called Náyakas, ruled over their small Kómbus (districts), levied taxes within their dominions, which they guarded by boundary and defensive ditches (the Cadangas) and to assert and maintain their self-constituted importance they engaged in frequent feuds amongst themselves. The Keimatta or ancestral monument of the Achu-Náyaka of Anjigheri-nád in Kiggatnád taluq is still in good preservation. The family was exterminated about 60 years ago. Of the Beppunád chiefs the name of Utta Náyaka of the Arméri house is still in popular remembrance. In Padinalknád the name of Karanembán, the chief at Bhágamandala is mentioned with veneration. There may have been more Náyakas, and very likely one over each of the 12 Kómbus or districts, but the names of their houses are no longer known.

175 643 648 According to the Ráya Paddhati in Dr. Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Mysore etc." vol. III. p. 125, one of the chief Polygars, who on the decline of Vijayanagara assumed independence, was Sadásiva, the son of the Ganda of Kilidi or Ikeri. Being endowed with a government comprising Guty, Bárakuru, and Mangalúru, his name was changed into Sadásiva-Ráya-Náyaka and he and his descendants, who were styled Rájas of Kilidi or Ikeri, possessed the government for 203 years (from 1559-60 to 1762-63 A. D.)

From intelligent Coorgs I have learnt, that during the reign of this neighbouring dynasty an Ikeri prince came to Coorg, and settled in Hálerinád. At first he assumed the pious garb of a Jangam or Lingaite priest and as such gained a considerable influence over the people of the surrounding Náds. When feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon

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guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 361 [712] [491] [764]

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tance resembles on old Gothic ruin in England. The Rájah's Subadar gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables, &c. and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs. On the 19th we set out at three A. M., and proceeded to the Kávéri, which we reached at seven A. M., and crossed in boats, the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank, called Angree.....We found the fort of Mercara completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at a quarter-past twelve, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road; the last five on elephants. We then had our breakfast and took a sleep, after which mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahá Swámi. He received us in his usual manner, in his palace, having sent off his camp equipage, &c. to give us a shooting party in the interior. No general officer's uniform this time; but he looked well, and was very kind and attentive. He shewed us two lions, two tigers, two wild buffaloes, and a royal tiger-cub; then a gun, completely made, and highly finished, by his own smith; and I really never saw a more elegant fowling-piece. After sitting nearly two hours with him we took our leave; and when our dinner was served up, two of his fiddlers made their appearance and regaled us with English tunes! In short, every thing apes England in this most extraordinary place. We, two plain soldiers, sat down to a roasted goose, and twenty other dishes, and drank a bottle of English claret between us; rejecting, to the amazement of the beholders, Madeira, beer, hock, &c. all of which they expected us to swallow.

175* 648* [712] 175* 643* 648* [177]

*On the 20th of October we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the Mausoleum, and afterwards to the horse and elephant stables. The little white elephant had grown considerably, but his skin was getting darker, and he appeared to be in bad health. Lieutenant Davies joined us here from

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

sport did not commence till eleven A. M., the jungle being amazingly thick and game rather scarce. I fired and wounded an elk, which Meredith killed, and I killed a junglee buckrah, or wood-goat, with a single ball, while running like the wind; it was a very curious animal, with a body the same colour and size of a deer, having exceedingly short legs, and therefore its swiftness must proceed from the length and strength of its body; it had short branching antlers, and was so extraordinary an animal altogether, that I preserved the head and antlers.....It was the only animal of the kind, I ever saw in my life. A panther was started, but he escaped, from the density of the jungle. We got into our palanquins at sunset, and moving in great state, with every one of our three thousand beaters carrying a lighted fire-stick, arrived at our pavilion at half-past eight P. M., actually illuminating all the country through which we passed. Our total game killed this day was one wild hog, seven elks, and one junglee buckrah. It matters not to what distance we ramble, the Rájah's attention and kindness extend all over his dominions. We never sit down to a meal, but in pops a large basket of fruit, or some sweetmeats from his own table, and his people are the most orderly, obliging, willing creatures I have ever met in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward, which in general will go a great way with the natives of India; but these people reject, with apparent horror, every proffered present, even when alone. There is certainly something very uncommon, indeed unfathomable, in this.

On the 24th of October we tried another spot, a little out of our way to Mercara, but had no sport, killing one elk only and returned home in the evening. I have observed, that every square league, or mile occasionally, is marked out into a kind of fortification; having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge, and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in a military point of view, every man being a good marksman,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Haringi. They had scarcely proceeded a few hundred yards beyond their encamping ground, when they found the road blockaded with felled trees, which rendered their progress exceedingly difficult and slow. As the column approached a village situated in a wood near the base of the pass in which the enemy's principal position was situated, a feeble fire was opened, but readily silenced. The stockade, known as the Buck-stockade, was exceedingly strong; outside protected by thick bamboos and trees and surrounded with a deep ditch and inside built of mud walls, faced with stones, and pierced with innumerable loopholes which commanded the approaches in every direction. The intrepid Coorgs who held it, were commanded by the present (1870) Head Sheristadar Madanta Appachu, a fine old Coorg, of tall stature and martial bearing, but ever since the British accession a most loyal and devoted servant of Government.

Determined to carry it by assault, as the stockade barred their advance, the troops under Major Bird of the 31st Light Infantry as Field-Officer of the day attempted every means of attack for four hours and a half, during which they were exposed to a most severe and raking fire; but in vain. A misdirected flank-movement of H. M. 55th Regt. under Col. Mill proved equally unsuccessful. Col. Mill was shot dead on the spot, likewise Ensigns Robertson of the 9th N. I. and Babington of the 31st N. I. Major Bird determined to withdraw the column and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover, and on account of the heavy list of wounded and for the sake of supplies and a more convenient camp he retreated several miles to the rear. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including the three officers, and 118 wounded.

The *Western Column* marched from Cannanore on the 31st March and was under the command of Col. David Fowlis. It consisted of the following arms: Half a Company of Golun-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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it may cause surprise, that no advantage has hitherto been taken of such excellent material for local military service, by organising all able-bodied men into a Coorg militia under English Officers and keeping a small body of men for short periods on duty at Mercara, instead of a Sepoy-Regiment, especially since it was the loyal Coorgs and not the Sepoys, who suppressed the insurrection anno 1837. Lately some proposal was indeed put forward to abolish Mercara as a military station, but the strategical position of the country, adjoining the foreign tegritory of Mysore on the one side and the Mopla inhabited districts of Madras on the other, was deemed of sufficient importance, to continue its occupation by a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry.

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Mercara having been declared a *Military Cantonment*, (vide page 1009 Fort St. Georg Gazette 1856) the following are the specifications of bearings and distances of its boundaries.

Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
1	210°	312	Station 1. Opposite entrance to Fort. Boundary follows outer side of main road to station 5.
2	201	225	
3	174	315	
4	121	288	Station 5. Opposite the gate of the Roman Catholic Priest's house; boundary leaves the main road and ascends the hill in rear of the Roman Catholic Priest's house, skirting the compound which it leaves outside the limits, it continues to follow the crest of the range of hills overhanging the Mangalore ghat till it reaches Station 18.
5	261	150	
6	181	173	
7	126	77	
8	148	73	
9	200	374	
10	285	130	
11	275	191	Station 18. A slightly elevated peak interested by a Coorg ditch and rampart, boundary follows this ditch down the slope of the hill to the burying ground which it encloses, traversing its west and south side to station 20 and thence descending the valley in which the Lines are situated to station 21. At 330 feet it strikes the bank of a Nullah along which it continues to station 28. From 28 to 34 it runs through enclosed gardens
12	178	318	
13	261	184	
14	218	165	
15	259	90	
16	212	162	
17	185	181	
18	285	485	
19	23	175	
20	41	215	

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Station.	Compass bearing.	Distance in feet.	REMARKS.
21	9	720	and thence follows a pathway till it reaches the Artillery drivers-lines which it encloses. It here skirts the edge of a hill (from station 29) and joins a bandy-road on the borders of a semicircular cultivation at station 35.
22	347	280	
23	307	315	
24	0	200	
25	324	175	
26	337	95	
27	352	250	From station 35 boundary follows the bandy-road above alluded to till it joins the main road by a zigzag path at the commencement of the causeway leading to the town at station 39.
28	358	238	
29	39	236	
30	65°30'	188	
31	103	105	
32	145	150	From station 39 boundary follows the outer side of the main road to the north corner of the Artillery bullock shed compound; it then turns to the south enclosing the main road at station 42, continues along its outer edges as before till it terminates at station 1.
33	80	128	
34	51	27	
35	41	172	
36	81	78	
37	99	20	
38	70	240	
39	105	220	
40	77	310	
41	166	265	
42	201	340	

(Signed:) A. CUPPAGE, Lt. Col.
Comdg. Mercara.

Mercara,
26th Sept. 1856.

G. M. MARTIN,
Offg. Supt. of Coorg.

True Copy.

(Signed:) H. O'CONNELL Capt.
Ag. Dy. A. Qr. Mr. Genl. of the Army.

7. MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

657
648

The requirements of the Military and Civil service in Coorg render the presence of a Medical Officer indispensable; it has been even proposed, to constitute Mercara into a separate charge of a Civil Surgeon, but Government thought the Military Doctor sufficient for all the wants of the station, considering probably, that the European settlers in the pro-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.* 656
and Commissioner. 648

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[42 302 554] distinguished for bravery. Apparently anticipating the present military regulation, they shave their chin but sport mighty whiskers! The colour of the Coorgs is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their mode of life [186] and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume.

[291 411] The principal Coorg dress is a long coat (kupasa) of white or blue cotton or dark coloured cloth and even velvet. It reaches below the knees, is open in front, has, if not white, short sleeves under which longer ones of a different colour extend to the waist, and is held together by a red or blue sash of cotton or silk which is several times wound round the waist and which holds the never failing Coorg knife, with ivory or silver handle and chains of the same metal. A red kerchief or the peculiarly fashioned turban, which is large and flat at the top and covers a portion of the back of the neck, forms the head-dress. The feet are bare or protected with light [301] sandals. A necklace of the berry of Rudrákshi (Elæocarpus ganitrus), silver or gold bracelets on the wrists, and silver and gold earrings with pearls or precious stones complete their festive costume. Those who are in possession of the Coorg-medal or the lunulate ornament called Kokaládi[2] do not fail to suspend it round their neck, as may be seen on the front-illustration. Their every day dress is of course of a more simple nature. The Coorg warrior looks more imposing. [714 411] His dress is of the same cut, but of coarser material and shorter. In addition to his handy waist-knife (Picha-katti), he wears on his back in a strong clasp of brass the curved, broad-bladed Coorg knife (Odu-katti) which is seen in the [147 527] hand of the figure in our illustration. In a hand-to-hand fight it was a most formidable weapon and since the young Coorgs have no longer Mussulman or Nair antagonists to decapitate, they display at their feasts the strength of their

[1] [Errata: This should read "wrist". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "Kokadádi." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

arms and the sharp edge of their knives by beheading pigs or cutting at a blow through the trunk of thick plantain trees. The long matchlock gun is now more a weapon of curiosity than of practical use, except with the poorer Coorgs, the wealthier sportsmen having supplied themselves with English rifles of the best description. Their ancient arms and ornaments were manufactured with the most simple tools by natives of Coorg.

The Coorg Rajahs used to reward men distinguished for personal bravery with silver and gold bangles, or with an ornamented large knife bearing the Rajah's stamp ⌀ upon the blade and these tokens are kept as sacred heirlooms and worn on grand occasions only.

The personal appearance of the Coorg women is not less striking than that of the men. They are remarkably fair, of goodly stature, well shaped and many are really handsome before the betel-chewing, which generally begins after marriage, disfigures their regular features, and blackens their otherwise brilliant teeth. Their festive costume—and the ordinary dress differs only in quality—is one of the most becoming that can be seen in India. A white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fits tight and is closed up to the neck. A long piece of white muslin or blue cotton stuff forms the skirt, being several times wrapped round the waist and tied by means of a string, so as to make the skirt fall in graceful folds almost down to the ancles whilst one end of it covers the bosom and is knotted together on the right shoulder. To give fulness to the skirt the other end is arranged in folds, which, contrary to the fashion of other Hindu women are gathered behind, a sensible arrangement and most convenient for unobstructed activity in house and field. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the prying Brahmins who of course accounted for it by a silly Puránic legend, which at

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan. In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see
[726] memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[174 726 595] have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 701 and more indefinite number was commanded by the Káriagára, who again acted under a Sarva-káriagára or General; both were distinguished by a gold banded scarlet head-dress, the kombu toppi.

As the Coorg force was not a standing army, it received no pay. Whilst on active duty as guards or during warfare, the soldiers were maintained at the public expense, and being remarkable for their predatory habits, they largely shared with the Rájahs in the spoil. Without discipline and organization, the Coorgs displayed their strength chiefly behind their stockades and Cadangas. In the open field they rarely faced the attacks of regular troops. [926]

*175 *648 *643

c. *Vírarája an ally of the East-Indian Company.*

Conclusion of the alliance.

About this period the first connection between the English and the Coorgs took place. Desirous of gaining the friendship of so able a partizan and foreseeing the strategical value of Coorg in the impending struggle with Tippu, the Government of the Company eagerly seized the proffered hand of Vírarája who dreaded and hated Tippu, from whom he could expect no mercy and whose assurances and promises, he knew, he could never trust. His hopes depended on his success in gaining the support of a powerful ally. His eyes were directed towards the rising star of the Company. The union with Tippu's enemies was therefore effected without difficulty. After the receipt of orders from Bombay to conclude in the name of the British Government an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rájah of Coorg, Robert Taylor, the English Chief at Tellicherry invited the Rájah to a conference. Accompanied by Capt. Brown, who had been sent to conduct him to the head-quarters of the Campany on the Western Coast, Vírarája repaired thither in October 1790.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

132 ment. A peculiar ulcer-disease on the limbs has lately been
[164] rather prevalent about Virajpet, which is ascribed to impoverished blood, for want of nourishing animal diet.

The account which natives of Mysore or from the Western
[727] Coast give of the climate of Coorg is not favorable. They
[648] have experience on their side. Of the large number of people, whom Tippu sent from Mysore to replace the ancient inhabitants, or who during the various wars were carried off by the Coorg Rajahs from the neighbouring countries to cultivate
[167] their lands, but few survived the change. In our days the thousands of Mysore coolies who annually emigrate to work on the Government roads or on coffee estates stand the climate much better, care being bestowed upon them and a periodical return to their homes being rendered practicable.

241 **4. Cultivation of the principal productions.**

178 Native agriculture in Coorg, as elsewhere in India, is still carried on as it was centuries ago. A system of rural economy, formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged, is not likely to be disturbed by so conservative a people, as are the Coorgs.

243 *Rice* is the staple product of Coorg. The numerous valleys throughout the land have, from ancient times, yielded an unfailing supply every year for home consumption and for exportation to the Malabar Coast. The rice-valleys are most extensive in South-Coorg, in the neighbourhood of Virajpet and in Kiggatnád, where some fields are of considerable breadth and several miles in length; but owing to the surrounding low, deforested hills which yield little fertilizing detrition, the soil is of a quality inferior to those fields of the narrower valleys near the Ghats, where the ground is terraced at considerable pains, but every field large enough for the use of the plough. The lower and broader fields of a

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be
423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660⅔, 570, 500, 440¼, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Bariké* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and appearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

C [262] [735] [823]

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

Y 313

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 313 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*. 881 841 843

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor. 555 [589] [?64]

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*. 588 777

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'. 742

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*. 582 585

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage 585

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 adopted the means of early crushing so formidable a confe-
*643 deracy. Actuated by a still stronger resentment Vírarája
*648 hastened to their standard and in all the warm of sincerity declared, "that his exertions should be increased tenfold." A depot was immediately formed at Vírájendrapet, and measures taken, to accumulate whatever his little state could afford. In conformity to the military preparations determined on, Generals Stuart and Hartly at the head of the Bombay army ascended the Heggala-ghat (20th February 1799) and experienced the most prompt and effectual assistance with coolies, draught cattle, elephants, grain and sheep, an aid the more grateful, as proving the fidelity of the Chief. His first exploit was in saving a large portion of the baggage, which had been seized by a body of Moplas at the foot of the pass. Instigated by Tippu and incited by the prospect of plunder, a body of Nairs was to invade Coorg, as soon as the army
• [743] proceeded to the eastward. To repel such an attack, and to secure the rear, especially the hospital which was erected at Vírájendrapet for the sick of the Bombay army, whom General Stuart left in Coorg, when he marched against Seringapatam, Vírarája, who had offered to accompany the English army into Mysore, was politely requested to stay behind with his Coorgs, who were rather troublesome auxiliaries to a regular army, as bad as the Mahrattas, if not worse. Capt. Mahoney, who had been appointed Resident of Vírarája a short time previous to the commencement of the last war with Tippu, communicated to the Rájah the Earl of Mornington's proclamation of war, dated Fort St. George 22nd February 1799, and asked him in the name of the Company's Government, to exert himself to the utmost of his power, as he would necessarily share the fate of the English, if Tippu were victorious.

In the early part of March Tippu moved with a large force towards the frontier of Coorg, to oppose the Bombay army. He encamped near Pariapatna. The battle of Sidde-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

657 vince should make their own arrangements, a supposition
648 which has proved impracticable, as there is not enough re-
657 munerative work for a private practitioner. Besides the Mi-
648 litary Hospital there is a Civil Dispensary; but it does not
743 receive that ready support from the wealthier natives, which would render so needful and benevolent an institution a more comfortable asylum for the sick poor.

There seems to be a more charitable spirit in Vírájpet, where Ráyanna Shetti, a merchant, has undertaken to erect and maintain a similar institution and Government granted a native medical subordinate for its charge. At the Mercara Dispensary 4,787 patients were aided during 1869-70 at a cost of Rs. 4,484, towards which Government contributed Rs. 2,916, whilst the private subscriptions and donations amounted only to Rs. 897.

657 Vaccination is attended to by two native vaccinators each
751 at Rs. 15 pay per mensem, under the medical officer's con-
164 trol, but, though the Coorgs at least are very anxious to have their children vaccinated, the operations seem not to be very successful and small-pox remains still a much dreaded epidemic.

657 To accord to the natives of Coorg a readier access to
648 medical aid, it has been proposed to educate a few Coorg lads for the medical profession, to practise hereafter, either as subordinates in the Civil department, or independently as "Native Doctors," and there is every prospect that the scheme will be carried out.

132 About the climate of Coorg and its influence upon human health vide p. 85 ff.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the increasing difficulty of rice cultivation in some parts of 132
the country, the change might be hailed as a most welcome improvement in the Coorg climate, which for the sake of human health might be still less loaded with moisture.

On the whole the influence of the Coorg climate with its average temperature of 66° 6′ is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year and Europeans are able to take exercise in the open air at all hours. European children in particular enjoy excellent health and their fat rosy cheeks form a striking contrast to the thin pale faces of those in the low country.

The rarified, often cold and damp air of Mercara with the usually prevailing high winds, necessarily does not agree with asthmatic and bronchial affections, chronic disorders of the liver and dysenteric complaints, but Frasrpet, which is 1,000 feet lower than Mercara, affords a salutary change during the rainy season.

The native troops, especially new arrivals from the low [701] [164]
country, suffer much from the cold and damp and are, during their first year of acclimatization, subject to fever and bowel complaints, but in time even they enjoy the bracing climate of Mercara.

The climate of the valleys, particularly during the hot 132
months preceding the monsoon, when, as the natives say, the 164
old and new waters are mixed, is far from being healthy. Fevers, agues and bowel complaints are then very frequent and protracted. For the rest of the year the natives of the country pronounce the climate to be excellent especially after the monsoon. Besides the dreaded Coorg fever, which [751] ●
appears in its worst form, especially to Europeans, in the vicinity of Atur in south-east Coorg and about Sampáji on the western boundary, small-pox has laid a fearful hold upon the natives though vaccination is much in vogue. Cholera but seldom makes its appearance; and yields readily to treat-

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*136 serve to lead the curious upon the right track. The Cobra di capella or Hood Snake (Naia tripudians; *Kg.* Nalla pámbu = good snake, in the sense of Eumenides?) is more frequent in the bamboo than in the málo district, and often takes possession of an out-hill for its habitation, but also deserted huts and the thick thatch of out-houses are its favourite haunts. It is kept and worshipped in demon temples and sometimes in rooms to guard treasure. In a specimen 5 feet long just examined, the hood which is formed by the expanded skin of the neck, when the snake is excited, measured 7 inches in length and 4¼ in breadth. It is whitish in front and black on the lower part of the back, shading off into brown and white towards the flattened head; in the middle of the hood there is a peculiar mark resembling a pair of spectacles with the bridge downward, the frame being white and the space of the imaginary glasses black. Before an attack the cobra half raises its coiled body into a graceful curve, dilates its hood and swaying to and fro, its bifid tongue quivering all the while, it keeps its victim spell bound with its fiendish brilliant eyes, till it darts forward and hissing inflicts its deadly wound. In spite of the most strenuous exertions of science, combined with benevolence, no infallible remedy has yet been discovered against the bite of the cobra, and all the boasted native charms have proved worthless, though snake charmers have by their knowledge of the habits of the cobra and by the influence of the melancholy strain of their rude flageolet acquired a great power over the reptile.

[825] [778] [752] [825]

The number of the poison fangs of this and all other venomous snakes, is but two, one in front of each side of the upper jaw, and they lie flat along the roof of the serpent's mouth, whilst at rest. The fangs are curved inside and as sharp as the finest needle, yet they are hollow and their root is in direct communication with the venom lacts behind them. In biting the same muscle that raises the fangs compresses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712]
ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753] ●
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

82 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella 1 lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it
[791] disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

1 [Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493, -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras.
789 Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth
791 a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood
178 is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád
782 such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine
753 to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

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783

e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three [778] castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at [788] Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1] 564 793

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāḷi were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs. [154]

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2] 793 [178]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation: 787 793

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today. 791 [584] 787

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57. [2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized. 796 793 [177]

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge. [346] [794] [754]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations. 778 825 753 [782]

c. **Astrology and Sorcery.**

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791 [787] [754] [753] [761] [777] 754 787 [692]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases 754 787 648 reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. [683] By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

782 173 **d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.**

[776] As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Koninchéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellûr in Távaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour", see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellur in Tavaligeri- 782
Murnad of Kiggatnad taluq, once a year, by turns from [796]
each house, a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but when the turn came to a certain home, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple, and said to the pūjārī 'Kalak Adu,' which has a double meaning, *viz.* Kalak, next year, Adu, we will give, or Adu, a goat, and thenceforth only scapegoats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon; the blood is sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas, dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths, and their faces covered with metal or bark masks, perform their demoniacal dances. In Mercara taluq in Ippanivolavade, and in Kadikeri in Halerinad, the villagers sacrifice a Kona or male buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Mēda (a wandering tribe, who are basket and mat makers), who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree, and the flesh eaten by the Mēdas. In connexion 535
with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple, the *kombata* or horn dance, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *pili-ata* or peacock's feather dance, the performers being ornamented with peacock's feathers, and the *chauri-ata* or yak-tail dance, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yak-tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

"In some cases where a particular curse, which can 782
only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, is 754
said by the Kaniya[1] to rest upon a house, stable, or field, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kaniya sends for some

[1] The Kaniyas are religious mendicants, said to be descendants of a Malayali Brāhman and a low-caste woman.

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782 of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannus, and they set
754 to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians descends. He sits down in Hindu fashion muttering mantrams. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc., are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *maranada bali*, or death atonements. They cost from ten to fifteen rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

755 "In cases of sore affliction befalling a whole Grāma
782 or Nād (village), such as small-pox, cholera, or cattle disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of Mariamma by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the *Mandu*: whence they are carried in procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, and waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the Nād boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions are consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of adjoining Grāmas or Nāds repeat the same ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from Nād to Nād, and at last expelled from the country."

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

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* 175 * 643 * [648] The Rájah demanded, that the fugitives should be delivered to him. Mr. Casamajor demurred and referred the matter to Government. The Supreme Government decided under the 18th January 1833, that the Coorg refugees should not be restored to Vírarája. In the mean time the Rájah formed mad schemes for the recovery of his relatives. They all came to nothing. Channa Basava and his wife were removed to Bangalore. There they were to have been assassinated. But every thing failed. The fugitives had dreadful stories to tell. Accusations accumulated against the Rájah of Coorg. A Parsee from Bombay had been killed at Mercara. Probably Manuel Pereira also had been destroyed. A man from the north of Coorg deposed: that he saw Vírarája, on a hunting excursion, shooting at Náráyana Náyaka, Hoblidára, first with blunt arrows, then with a sharp arrow which killed him, in presence of all his retinue. Besides, numbers of people, men and women, Coorgs and slaves, relatives of the Rájah's family and others, who were believed to have been privy to the plans of Channa Basava, or to have assisted him in his escape, were killed, or mutilated, or starved to death, or thrown into prison.

Among the first victims of the Rájah's wrath was Muddaya, a brother of Channa Basava, Munshi to the Rájah, and a favourite. Vírarája himself beat him cruelly; afterwards he was executed by Kunta Basava, an upstart favourite of Lingarája, who having been both the tool and the prompter of the father, kept his position and influence with the son. He was first dog-boy, then soldier, then Jemadar; then he rose to the post of Commander; at last he became principal Devan. He was a vicious, overbearing, slavish, unprincipled man. By killing Muddaya, he got rid of a rival. Muddaya had been a clever and respectable man, and was perfectly ignorant of Channa Basava's plans. Every body knew, that the poor man had been destroyed without cause. The Rájah himself, [755] hardened as he was, had terrible fits of remorse. Muddaya

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would not let him sleep. As soon as he sunk into slumber, Muddaya would stand over him with a drawn sword, and Vírarája awake, crying: murder! Muddaya! seize him! After some days a conjurer showed the Rájah how to obtain rest. If he had a picture of the dead man painted on a fresh wall, and looked at it every twenty-four minutes during the day, his nightly frights would abate. The Rájah took the wise man's advice, had a likeness of Muddaya painted on a new wall, and walked up to it every now and then, saying: I slew him, because he was a traitor. By degrees his sleep returned. 175* 643* 755 ●

3. *Complications with the British Government.* 175* 643* 648*

These cruelties of Vírarája accelerated his downfall. On the 18th January 1833, Sir Fred. Adam, Governor of Madras, addressed a long letter to the Rájah of Coorg, giving him a sound lecture on the principles of good Government, warning him most earnestly and positively demanding compliance, in future, with the order of Government, communicated to the Rájah in 1827, to report all capital punishments taking place in Coorg. Sir Fred. Adam informed the Rájah, that Mr. Casamajor was desired to proceed to Coorg in order to have a personal conference with the Rájah, and that Government demanded free passage for any person, who might desire to accompany Mr. Casamajor on his return out of Coorg. The interview between the Rájah and Mr. Casamajor took place before the end of January 1833, at Mercara. Seven years, Mr. Casamajor observed, had produced a marked change in the Rájah. The Resident wondered; for he had not, could not have, an idea of the extreme profligacy of the man, nor of the strength of his murderous propensities, that had steeped him deep in blood during the interval between 1826 and 1833. The Rájah looked uneasy, seemed to be subject to sudden alarms and very unsteady of purpose. The presence of an English gentleman

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782 of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannus, and they set
754 to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians descends. He sits down in Hindu fashion muttering mantrams. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc., are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *maranada bali*, or death atonements. They cost from ten to fifteen rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

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*136 counter any one, who has been attracted by its peculiar noise. It is covered with a light brown woolly fur, whitish beneath, and lives chiefly on fruits, but is not frequently met with. When unobserved, it moves about the tree in a lively manner, but quickly escapes on being noticed.

There appear to be but two species of *Bats* (vespertilio), which are however very common in Coorg houses and [750] temples and on the sago and plantain tree. Their flesh is [251] considered very strengthening, and in cases, where Europeans would give cod liver oil to a delicate child, the Coorgs administer a roasted bat.

Of the *Carnivora* there are many representatives foremost the *Royal tiger* (felis tigris) which in former days was much more numerous all over Coorg; but even now it is not scarce, though he seldom attacks man. The large game of the jungles and the herds of cattle roaming about satisfy his [224] appetite. During the reign of the Coorg Rajahs there were annual tiger hunts and Linga Rajah seldom killed fewer than *136 231 there were days in the year. He was fond of these animals and kept some about his palace as pets. An amusing story about these royal pets is told by Captain Basil Hall, who visited this prince in 1813: "On returning" he writes, "to the great square in the centre of the building (new palace in Mercara) we found 3 chairs placed for us on Turkey carpet, spread on the ground in the open air. The Rajah took a seat and made me come beside him, after placing his son, a nice little boy, nine or ten years of age, on my right hand. This young fellow was gaily dressed with a large overspread- [302] ing turban. A dark circle about the tenth of an inch broad, was painted round each of his eyes, which gave him a strange staring look; and on his cheeks, brow and chin were placed small black marks, or beautiful spots about twice as large as the head or dot of a note in music.

*The whole area of the court was now begirt with soldiers,

1/1 [Errata: This should read "beauty spots." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 or 10 distinct blotched bands below and 8 or 9 dark coloured bands above them run along the sides of the body. The lower jaw is marked on each side by 4 black dots.

The *Stone Loach* (Nemacheilus striatus. Day; *Kg.* Pálavari?) is found in sandy and stony river bottoms, where they lie hidden until disturbed or rising for air, when they quickly come to the surface and as speedily return. It is a small fish; its silvery sides and yellowish brown back are dotted with black. There is a well defined dot at the base of the caudal fin, which gives at the first glance the appearance of the little [262] fish having an eye at each end. If well dressed it is fair eating.

The *Manincha* or Malanchi-mínu (slimy fish) is a kind of Eel, that grows to a length of 6 feet and is perhaps identical with the Murana maculata. Its flesh is very good eating and [262] highly esteemed by the natives for its medicinal qualities [957] against piles.

The *Indian Trout* (Garra Jerdoni. Day; *Kg.* Pandi-mínu i. e. Pig-fish) may be found in all the mountain nullahs; it is about 6 inches long, its head and neck are thick like those of a pig, hence its name. Its colour is a mottled green and grey. It has a suctorial dish under the chin, by which it can attach itself to rocks.

[262] The *Carp or Roach* (Puntius) occurs in several varieties all of which are esteemed good eating.

The *Banded Gold-fin* (Barilius cocsa) is an exceedingly pretty fish about 5 inches long and found only in shallow running streams. The back is greyish blue, with 8 or 9 lateral darker bands, the sides are silvery with blue reflections and fading to white below.

The *Silver-fish* (Chella cultellus) is of about the same size as the former, handsomely shaped and covered with brilliant, silvery scales, which are easily rubbed off.

From August till November the flooded paddy-fields give

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him, should they unobserved gain access to any bare part of his feet; they will bleed him unmercifully till he feels the blood trickling down. The wounds produce with some constitutions festering sores. A simple means for keeping them off is a little salt-bag round the ankle. The medicinal leech (*Can.* atte) is also found in tanks and made use of in the Hospital. 136* [757]

3. Meteorological and climatic conditions of Coorg. 132

Though Coorg is but a small country, yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence the atmospheric conditions of the locality. Still the dry eastern or Kanawé district may in the mean present as constant a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. We have to distinguish the hot, the rainy and the cold season, though throughout the year the atmosphere is not without humidity which is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. From the end of December to the end of March, rain, indeed, is scarce, but in the mornings and evenings the valleys are seldom free from fogs or dews. During these months the dry east wind prevails, which has long ceased to carry remains of north-east monsoon clouds to the Western Ghats. Towards the end of March the clouds begin to collect towards the south-west and the cooling sea breeze blows with more regularity over the Ghats. In April and May the sun increases in power, banks of massive clouds extend along the western horizon, and occasional thunderstorms and showers, indicating the approach of the monsoon, cool the atmosphere which is warm and moist. The thunderstorms during this season are even more impressive than in the low country. Mountains of clouds, in double and treble ranges, float against each other with the order of armies. The sound as of heavy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263] and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757] use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782] crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648] with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415] into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

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occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tiṇḍu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé*+*ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannaḍa country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above 783
instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. 827
Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire 783
household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollu- [764]
tion. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere [769]
associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone [787]
under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating [761]
will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who [784]
has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, [778] some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[787] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[785] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-bâne* in Kuyingherinád.

82 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella 1/1 lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it
[791] disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[753] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communicate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

1/1 [Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473, -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Malcyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 the balance, he treated them most insolently. Dodda-Vírappa forthwith despatched a force of 5000 Coorgs under his general Jógi Muttana, to ensure a more strict observance of the convention. Payment was delayed, however, from day to day. Muttana at length threatened; whereupon the Malayálam debtor formed a scheme to destroy the whole force, which had come to dun him so disagreeably. Intelligence of this design reaching Muttana, he marched directly to Cannanore, defeating a body of Chirákal troops who opposed his passage, and by means of boats the Coorg force reached Kumbla, a port near Mangalore, and empty handed returned to Coorg through Tulunád. Dodda-Vírappa seems to have taken no revenge on the treacherous Víravarma, but paid the remaining nine lacs to Sómashékara, who presented his kinsman with a number of villages in the Tulu country contiguous to Coorg to supply him with milk (Amrita). Dodda-Vírappa took this opportunity for purchasing the district Sulya with money taken from the Talekávéri temple-treasury, in order to secure a regular supply of cocoanuts for the goddess. The whole district was called *Amara-Sulya* and became a part of the territory of the Coorg Rájahs.

Dodda-Vírappa evinced throughout his long and vigorous reign an unconquerable spirit and, though surrounded by powerful neighbours, neither the number nor strength of his enemies seem to have relaxed his courage or damped his enterprise. He died in 1736, 78 years old. Two of his [762] wives ascended the funeral pile with the dead body of the Rájah.

c. *Chikka-Vírappa.*

On the death of his grandfather Chikka-Vírappa, who in 1730 already had been anointed successor, assumed authority. His early years were clouded by misfortune; having lived in prison from his childhood, he was sickly and subject to ner-

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in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

854
539

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

764
[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

● 763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva [624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

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instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

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342 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[313] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead
[351] members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
596 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned
587 earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*. 881 841 843

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor. 555 [589] [564]

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*. 588 777

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'. 742

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*. 582 585

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage 585

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[B46] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[B71] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the [764] underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 872
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of 372
783

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764 While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with
602 turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a
824 little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually
[57] accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

[243] It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

585 The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

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the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride. 585

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group. [602]

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity. 561

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl. 553 272

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy. 853 585 272

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead. 272 764

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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gift on the occasion of giving him (or her) a name. In fact, a relative who is seeing an infant for the first time must give a money-gift. On the second day of marriage, when the bride visits the groom's house, she gives a money-gift to every infant in her conjugal *okka*. Later the groom does the same in the bride's *okka*.

It is hardly necessary to state that the giving of a money-gift does not always constitute a solidarity rite. It may be given in return for a service, which, however, might be purely nominal. A guest to a wedding gives a *paṇa* to each of the two girls holding a dish-lamp in his honour at the entrance to the bridal house.

At the wedding the elders of the groom's village publicly examine the box containing the bride's trousseau. They are collectively given five *paṇas* (fifteen annas), and this money is called 'witness money' (*sākshi paṇa*). Subsequently, if there is a dispute as to the contents of the bride's box the elders will be called upon to give evidence. Such disputes do not normally occur, however, except in the event of the woman wanting to return to her natal *okka* on becoming a widow, or after being divorced. Again, when the bride's family friend consents to hold himself responsible for her good behaviour in the groom's house he is paid a *paṇa* as 'witness-money'. The groom's family friend is paid similarly for holding himself responsible for the good behaviour of the groom's relatives.

In the above instances the passing of money from one hand to another has the effect of sealing a contract. It may also be interpreted as payment in advance for some service to be rendered in the future. An occasion might not, and usually does not, arise requiring the elders or either of the family friends to render the service expected of them or him, and the strictly nominal character of the payment might be attributed to this fact. Such an interpretation is plausible, but does not appear to us to be true. In the instance just mentioned the emphasis seems to be much more on the fact of the acceptor of the money binding himself to a particular course of action in the future rather than on the services to be rendered in the future.

A gold coin is placed in the mouth of a dead man if the latter was a married man. This coin is referred to as 'money for the road'. It probably refers to the expenses which the dead man's soul incurs on its journey. No gold coin is, however, placed in the mouth if the dead man was a bachelor, or had the reputation of being very wicked. In such a case a very bitter fruit called '*kānyaṇat kāyi*' is

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above 783
instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. 827
Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire 783
household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollu- [764]
tion. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere [769]
associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone [787]
under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating [761]
will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who [784]
has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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but not, however, the first-grade mourners, who are only freed at the *dīkshé uttuva* ceremony, which is performed long after the *māda*. Until then, honey and milk may not be consumed, ornaments and coloured cloths may not be worn. A woman mourner has to wear the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. A man mourner may not have his face or head shaved. 765 783

VIII

The offer of food to the spirit of the departed person is a dominant motif in Coorg funeral ritual. When the corpse is still seated in the paved yard of the house, one of the mourners carries some cooked rice on a plantain leaf and places it at the bottom of the lane leading to the house. He also places on the plantain leaf a lighted cotton wick on a piece of coconut: this serves as a lamp. As he does this, double shots are fired from a gun. He salutes the leaf as he would a corpse, and other mourners follow him in saluting the food-offering and lamp. [764]

The family friend places a food-bundle on the grave directly above the spot where the corpse's head rests. In case of cremation, the bundle is placed at the spot where the head lay before cremation.

On the second, third, and fourth days, the first-grade mourners offer raw, uncooked rice to fish in a pond or lake, and this is called 'water sacrifice' (*nīr beli*). On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, 'shore sacrifice' (*karé beli*) is performed: the first-grade mourners go to the pond or lake, and each of them cooks a little rice on an improvised stove on the edge of the pond or lake. No vessel may be used for cooking this rice. A flat bit of a broken pot is used instead. This rice is then removed on to a plantain leaf which is kept on a purified spot near the stove.

On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days food is offered to crows. A sacrificial post (*beli mara*) of wood is erected in the yard before the mourning-house. A plank is fixed horizontally to the top of the post. The dead person's spouse cooks rice and prepares vegetable curry, and these are mixed and placed on a plantain leaf. The leaf is then kept on the plank on top of the post. As he (or she) keeps this, he claps his hands and shouts '*kā, kā*' (in imitation of the cawing of crows).

On the eleventh (*pannand*) day, each of the second-grade

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unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangoḷḷi* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pāyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

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764 784 of 'reversal' operates in some instances while 'identity' operates in some others? If the principle of 'reversal' had been consistently carried out in the above instance, the mourners should have gone round an even number of times.

White rice grains are used in auspicious ritual, whereas rice grains yellowed with turmeric powder are used in inauspicious ritual. This is not the same as 'reversal' though akin to it. It is called 'confinement' here: certain ritual acts are confined to mourning and they may not be performed on auspicious occasions.

A mango or *pavili* tree which is growing in the burial-ground, and green, is cut down for the funeral pyre. The *entire tree* has to be used for cremating the corpse. If a branch or twig remains over, a chicken is killed and cremated with it. It is inauspicious not to use up the entire tree. Similarly, if a grave which is being dug has to be abandoned and another has to be started, a chicken is buried in the former. Otherwise there will be another death in the house in the near future.

[824] The leaves of the *bainé* palm (*caryota urens*) are associated with death: on the day before *māda* a *pandal* is put up before the mourning-house and the roof of the *pandal* is covered with *bainé* leaves. The corpse is fanned with a fan of *bainé* leaves. Again, when a man without relatives wants to have his obsequies performed during his lifetime alone, a *pandal* of *bainé* leaves is put up before his house.

While *bainé* leaves are used exclusively in funeral ritual, toddy is used on all kinds of ritual occasions. Systematization has not been carried to the extent of confining *all* products of the *bainé* palm to funeral ritual.

Rice yellowed with turmeric is sprinkled all along the way from the mourning-house to the place where the corpse is buried. Usually a man sprinkles the rice with his hands as he accompanies the funeral procession to the burial-ground. Sometimes, however, the rice is put into a bag and loaded on a pack-bullock. Two tiny holes are bored in this bag and the bullock is driven behind the corpse to the burial-ground. The bullock may not be used for any other purpose subsequently.

On the day before *māda*, first-grade mourners offer to the spirit of the dead person rice mixed with curd, plantain, and *ghī*. A quantity of this mixture is carried by him to the 'sacrificial post' in front of the mourning-house and placed on the plank on top of

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the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

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sister's son. His importance is stressed in ritual and in the exchange of gifts. 604

A man whose maternal uncle is alive may not eat curry made of bitter oranges or green plantains. A proverb tells us that a diver for pearls must make certain that his maternal uncle is holding the rope above. Diving for pearls is a notoriously hazardous occupation and the life of the diver is in the hands of the man who is holding the rope above. It requires the greatest vigilance on the latter's part. It is significant that the maternal uncle should be chosen for this task. It is a tribute to the strength of bond between a man and his mother's brother. [228]

The maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and the married sister are all required to bring gifts, provisions, and sheets of cloth called *kēṭāmé* at the marriage of a man. An informant told me that he remembered his mother carrying twenty head-loads of *kēṭāmé* gifts to her younger brother's wedding. 604 585 431

A party bringing *kēṭāmé* gifts is honoured with 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): the leader of the party is asked to cut with his Coorg sword a row of three stout plantain stems fixed to the ground. A man who cuts through a stem at one stroke is a skilled swordsman: the blow must fall at an acute angle and must be delivered with firmness and strength.

The bringers of *kēṭāmé* gifts are given in return token gifts of cooked pork and sweet dishes. The host's band accompanies them a little distance when they leave.

Those relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* at wedding bring gifts of provisions and cloths called *aḍatalé* at death. They come accompanied by their band, and they are again given in return token gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. 764 431 602

Just before the corpse is buried or cremated certain important relatives perform a rite of segregation called *koḍa kukkuva*, the purpose of which is to break the bond between the dead person and his (or her) relatives. The relatives who have to take part in this rite are the dead person's spouse, eldest son, and 'cross-nephew' (i.e. a man's sister's son, or a woman's brother's son). The surviving spouse takes a mud pot, the son a tender coconut, and the 'cross-nephew' a bell-metal vessel with a spout at the side (*kiṇḍi*).

The three relatives march to a pond or well in the burial-ground after the bier has been deposited near the funeral pit or pyre. They have a dip in the pond, after which the family friend or his 764 602

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764 602 wife places on the spouse's head the mud vessel filled with water, the coconut on the eldest son's head, and the spouted vessel full of water on the 'cross-nephew's' head. The family friend marks the forehead of each of these mourners with a few rice-grains yellowed with turmeric, and adjusts a ring of twisted grass on the ring-finger of the left hand. A mango leaf is put into the mud pot and another into the spouted vessel, while the eldest son is given a third leaf to carry in his hand. A hole is bored in both the mud pot and coconut to enable the liquid inside to trickle down to the ground from the head as the mourners march in state from the pond to the bier. The 'cross-nephew' has to carry the spouted vessel in such a way that a little water drips from it through the spout all the time.

The mourners go round the bier thrice, moving anti-clockwise, and at the end of the third round the spouse stands near the corpse's left shoulder, the son by the right shoulder, and the 'cross-nephew' near the feet. A little of the water in each of the three 'vessels' is poured into a dining-dish.

The three mourners then salute the corpse, after which they again go round the corpse thrice, moving anti-clockwise, sprinkling rice yellowed with turmeric as they go. After the final round is completed each takes up his original position by the corpse. The spouse touches the bier thrice with his (or her) pot and then smashes it to pieces by knocking it against the frame of the bier. As he (or she) does this, he utters the funeral cry, 'Thou art ruined . . . (husband, father, &c.)'.

The son follows next and he cuts the coconut into two halves after touching the bier thrice with it. He throws the halves underneath the bier and utters the funeral cry. The 'cross-nephew' who comes last repeats his predecessors' actions, at the end of which he throws the spouted vessel under the bier.

Shri K. J. Chenappa tells me that the pot represents the affinal bond which is destroyed at death, while the seed (coconut) is carried by the son who continues the *okka*, and the 'cross-nephew' carries the spouted vessel. He represents another *okka* which is linked to the dead person's by the fact that the dead person was a sibling of the 'cross-nephew's' parent.

[594] Husband and wife constitute a legal, economic, ritual, and moral unity among Coorgs, and the sense of this unity is so great that the surviving spouse plays an even greater part in funeral rites than the eldest son, who represents the dead person's *okka*.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The 'cross-nephew' stands for the solidarity of a man with his sister. 764 602

Close relatives of the dead person bring gifts of white cloths (*muri*). These cloths are carried by women and are received by a woman member of the mourning *okka* who keeps them folded behind the corpse's head. They are used for certain purposes at various points in the mourning ritual: for instance, the mourners of the first and second orders use them for the mourning uniform of waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth; they are used to cover the corpse while it is lying in the house; if it is decided to cremate the corpse, it is stripped of the white gown and then the body is covered with white cloths; and, finally, some cloths are given in charity to beggars and servants of the Coorg *okka*. 764 602 431

Relatives who bring gifts of cloth are usually accompanied by their band consisting of horn, pipe, and drum. They also bring a rifle with them. As they near the lane leading to the mourning *okka*, all the relatives junior to the dead person dress themselves in a waist-colth and shoulder-cloth. In addition, the women mourners unplait their hair and allow it to fall loosely over the back and shoulders. They keep the gift-cloths on their heads and they perform certain stylized movements with their hands which are suggestive of the beating of breasts and head, a common symbol of mourning all over India. As they come up the lane leading to the mourning house, a member of the party fires double shots. The band, rifle, and gifts of cloth are collectively referred to as *kellaṭi*. Relatives who brought *kēṭāmé* gifts at marriage are required to bring *kellaṭi* at death. The obligations of kinship require the bringing of such gifts at marriage and death, and such obligations are usually mutual between groups of kindred. In addition, the bringers of these gifts are honoured according to the traditional ritual idiom and given small gifts of cooked meat and sweet dishes. These gifts are not equivalent in economic value to the gifts brought, but still they embody the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity does not mean equivalence of return on every occasion: equivalence is usually achieved over a long period of time. [533] [201]

While other relatives bring white cloths, the dead person's 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' has to bring a gift of a red silk cloth (*kendanolli*). Red silk is more sacred than cotton, and the bringers of gifts of red silk are more important than those who bring cotton cloths. The 'cross-nephew' or 'cross-niece' is required to bring

764 a gift of red silk cloth. The funeral song, however, tells us that both
602 'he who took and he who gave [daughters in marriage]' (*koṇḍavanu*
431 *koḍtavanu*) brought gifts of red silk cloths. The divergence between
[582] current usage and ancient custom can be explained by the supposition that cross-cousin marriage was widespread in the past. The custom of cross-cousin marriage leads to the overlapping of different kinds of kinship-bonds; and what was to begin with a cognatic bond becomes later an affinal bond.

602 When a man marries, his sister's husband acts as his 'best man'
585 (*bōjakāra*), and when a woman marries, her brother's wife acts as her matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).[1] This no doubt gives importance to affinal kindred, but ultimately it may be looked upon as one of the numerous expressions of the solidarity prevalent between brother and sister. Again, it may also be an instance of the overlapping of several kinds of kinship-bonds, as the sister's husband or brother's wife might have been a cross-cousin before marriage.

764 *Saméya* gifts are brought by affines at death. These gifts consist
602 of coconuts, coconut oil, puffed rice (*pori*), cooked meat, rice
431 yellowed with turmeric, and three *kajjāyas* (a sweet dish) fried in castor oil. Mourners going behind the corpse scatter the *saméya* articles all the way from the mourning house to the burial-ground.

When a man is dead, representatives of his mother's natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*, and when a woman is dead, representatives of her natal *okka* have to bring *saméya*. *Saméya* is also prepared in the mourning house.

Saméya gifts stress the importance of the natal *okkas* of the women who have married into the mourning *okka*. They may also be regarded as giving importance to cross-cousins, as an affine is frequently also a cross-cousin.

602 Affines, when they are not already related to each other, are
585 expected to be extremely formal towards each other. At marriage the groom's party are treated with extreme courtesy—warm water is offered to them to wash their hands and feet, a mat is spread for them to sit on, and puffed rice, coconut, and parched grams (*hurukulu*) are given them to eat. They are also given betel leaves and areca-nuts to chew. They come accompanied by their band. As they stand at some distance from the bride's house, a party from the bride's house goes to them carrying the articles mentioned

[1] I attended a wedding in which the *bōjakarati* was the bride's mother's sister's daughter, but I was told this was not very usual.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
[851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 2/1

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 2/1 [see p. 129]

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 78

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called maṇṇaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each [431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning [783] of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her [765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves [589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

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Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

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The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 67 ff. have not been processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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[783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva [624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to a feast in honor of the departed and for the quiet of his soul, and thus the last end of a Coorg's earthly course has come.

●764 539 The Coorg funeral song is most pathetic and touches a kindred chord in every sorrowing heart:—

Funeral Song.

Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe is me! For ever gone!
Gone with all thy soul of virtue!
Oh! how can I live my father!
Woe! thy days are now concluded,
And the share, assigned to thee
By the Lord, is now consumed
And no further portion granted.
Oh! thy wish was not to die,
But to stay among the living.
Surely, man came to this world
But to die; not one of us
Is exempted from this doom.
Onward! onward roll the years;
Oh! how soon were thine concluded!
Like the eagle in the sky
Thou wast roaming here on earth.
Woe! the string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of our children
Is for ever burst and scattered!
Woe! the clear and brilliant mirror,
Fallen out of our hand,
Fallen to the ground, and broken!
Woe! the wrath of God Almighty,
Floods of fiery indignation,
Beating on the lofty mountains,
Swept their summit to the ground!
Like the enemies at night,
Breaking into peaceful houses,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Slaying all the valiant men,
Even thus has God Almighty
Suddenly cut off thy days.
Like the top of Tumbanale
In the sultry days of summer,
When the sun is hot and burning,
And the grass is set on fire,
Thus, O father, was this house
Desolated by thy death!
As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
When the floods destroy the shed,
Where the stores of wood were sheltered,
All the house is in distress.
When the meeting hall is ruined,
All the villagers lament.
If the temple is destroyed,
All the land is full of sorrow.
Thus is our house distressed
By thy sudden death, O father!
As they quench the shining flame
Of the beauteous golden lamp,
Thus has God destroyed thy life!
As the stately Banyan tree
In the lofty mountain forest,
Which the ax has never touched,
Is uprooted by the whirlwind;
Like the bright and shining leaf
Of the royal Sampigé,
Broken from the stem and withered;
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
In the days of life thy hand
Had supported our house,
Thou hast planted our fields,
Thou hast laid the corner-stone,
And completed our mansion
To the roof, with costly timber.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the beam.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

guest, but in reality as a prisoner, until by stratagem he returned to Coorg. Vírarája, however, lived for several years as a prisoner in the Fort of Periapatna, until he escaped over the frontier into his mountain home and asserted his independence. General Welsh confounds father and son. Again Lingarája was no longer a "boy" when his brother Vírarája died, but a man of 34 years of age. Finally the Coorgs as little worshipped their Rájahs as Gods, as did the Romans their Cæsars, when they burnt incense before their images! 175* 643* 648* 114

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Coorg, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore, in company with Lieut. W. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable companion. We travelled post, in palanquin, to Vírarájendrapet, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. On the 22nd of March after a hearty breakfast, provided for us by the Rájah's people, *gratis*, we mounted two large elephants, at daybreak, and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zigzag, now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till, at last, after eight hours' fagging, we reached the palace built for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stonefort of Mercara, the capital. 175* 643* 648*

"This place is delightfully situated on an eminence, near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains. The pass up these mountains being fortified and defended, however, would make it a very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at twenty-four miles. The Rájah's own palace is inside the fort; but his horse and elephant stables are outside on the slope of the glacis. The town is remarkably clean and well built, about half a mile off by an excellent high road, and at the farther extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon 175* 643* 648* 361 [712] [491] [764]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*175 *643 *648 361 764

a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Rájah to the memory of his late brother and his wife. It is much in the style of Mahommedan edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball, with a weathercock above it, and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

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"On this spot, by appointment, we met the Mahá Swámi, at half past three in the evening. He was dressed in a Major-general's uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with very handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us, and desired us to be seated, after a short conversation in Hindustáni, which he at first addressed to an interpreter, until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language; he then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoanuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely, splitting every nut he fired at in the centre, while we either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him; a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieutenant Williamson, and he himself also rode a very fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour, when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves; and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horseback, with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted, and proceeded with him to the fort; the Rájah insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances, played on two fiddles; and the Mahá Swámi shewed us various portraits of himself, the King, the Prince of Wales, General Wellesley, &c. He then took us into another apartment, and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be called "Ránipetta" in honour of Queen Victoria. The town, which 15 years ago was almost entirely composed of wretched thatched mud-huts, bears now, in consequence of its profitable coffee traffic and exorbitant prices permitted by free trade, the stamp of prosperity. Out of its 850 houses 281 are tiled, most of them brick built and two storied and inhabited by merchants and tradesmen. The population of 3859 souls—without the Regiment—comprises 43 different castes, but no Coorgs live in the Petta. The Petta-*Subadar's Kacheri* occupies the highest point of the town and behind it are situated the Tombs of the Coorg Rájahs (vide p. 182). Under Capt. Cole's direction Lieut. Mackenzie, the Assistant Superintendent, has greatly interested himself in the amelioration of the sanitary condition of the Petta. The streets are broad and clean; two small tanks and a number of wells and running streams supply wholesome water. Every Friday there is a market, hence Mercara is also called *Shukravára-sante* (Friday-market). In the principal street—locally the High-street—the daily requisites for food and raiment are displayed. People from Nanjarájpatna and the Mysore country bring: dry grain—such as, rági, gram, rice of the superior sorts, dál, wheat, green gram, Bengal gram—, jaggory, tamarind, potatoes, chillies, onions, garlic, turmeric, mustard, coriander, oil seeds, castor oil, sesamum oil, tobacco, betel leaves, chunam, baskets, eggs, fowl, sheep, goats, etc. Máplas from Tellicherry and Cannanore import cocoanuts, arekanuts, cocoanut oil, and dry fish; Coorgs and other ryots bring clean rice, plantains, oranges, pineapples and straw; the merchants and petty dealers spread out in their shops or in the street their merchandise: cotton, silk and woolen fabrics; potters pile up their many-shaped vessels, tailors expose their gay, ready made clothes, money-changers squat before their stores of copper coins, liquor shops attract the crowd by their gaily

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ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, marking his transition from boyhood to adulthood. 328 304

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification. 296 292 783

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions. 305 783 [302]

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, *võṭé* reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore. [564] 285 [538]

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground. 357 765

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste. 357 585

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

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in a village every *okka* must send at least one man and one woman to help in the work of the wedding, what he really means is that when there is a wedding among Coorgs or other high castes, every high caste *okka* must send one man and one woman. This does not, however, apply to the lowest castes. The latter, of course, do their share of the wedding work, but they are not included in the rule mentioned above. The contribution of the low castes is essential on every occasion, but they co-operate at a different level from the high castes. Again, where there is a wedding or death among the lowest castes, the high castes certainly help, but do not otherwise participate in the event. In brief, the solidarity of a caste results in a stressing of the ties between the members of the same caste living in different villages, while the solidarity of a village results in stressing the ties between members of different castes living in the same village. Caste ties cut across village ties, while village ties both limit the extension of caste ties beyond the village and stress the interdependence of the various castes forming a local community.

The unity of the village is stressed when disaster overtakes one of the *okkas*. For instance, when a house is destroyed by fire every *okka* in the village has to contribute in cash, kind, and labour towards the building of a new house and the maintenance of the unlucky *okka* till they are able to stand on their own feet. The latter are required to repay the money and goods given to them some time after they have recovered from the disaster. Several years ago the Kōṭera house in Bāḍaga village was destroyed by fire and the entire village co-operated in building them a new house.

When a death occurs among Coorgs, the news is announced by the firing of a rifle at regular intervals. Everyone who hears the shots has to suspend all work, including agricultural work, and proceed at once to the mourning house. The news of the death is also communicated through messengers belonging to the Poleya caste, and the Poleya servant of any Coorg house may be commandeered for this purpose. The master may not object.

Every *okka* in the village has to stand by the bereaved *okka* during the mourning period. They are required to attend to the fields and gardens of the bereaved *okka* till the latter are freed from the ritual mourning. They have also to supply the bereaved *okka* with food until the corpse is removed from the house: there

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621 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the
●785 corpse is removed.

621 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the
796 lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [304] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued ~~to~~ exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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585 Nowadays, the black, woollen, half-sleeved gown is coming into fashion. Every Coorg who can afford it sports it at festivals, dances, 292 and weddings. It has become a mark of wealth and status, and the [556] white cotton gown which has superior ritual status is becoming almost a symbol of poverty. But even now the subject of a *mangala*, as distinct from others who are not as important, wears a white gown. Any suggestion that he should discard the white gown in favour of the black would meet with opposition from one and all. It may be mentioned here that the hero Kaiyandira Appayya, to whom reference has already been made, was prohibited from doing a number of things which an ordinary Coorg did, such as handling a plough, eating bamboo shoots, and wearing a black gown. He was required to wear a white gown always.

292 The corpse, which is in some respects treated as similar to the ● 765 subject of a *mangala*, is dressed in a white gown, but with the underside on top if it is going to be cremated, and with the left [764] side over the right if it is going to be buried.

Formerly, mourners also wore the white gown, but in a particular way: the right hand did not pass through the right arm of the gown, but instead it was allowed to hang limp from the right shoulder. The gown was secured at the waist by a black sash instead of a red one.

The white gown is worn on all important ritual occasions. Ritual occasions are either auspicious or inauspicious, and there is need to differentiate between them. Hence, though the subject of *mangala*, corpse and mourner, are all dressed in a white gown, the mode of wearing it is different in each case. The subject of *mangala* wears it in the normal way, while in the case of a corpse it is reversed, and in the case of the mourner the right arm drops loosely from the shoulder.

Nowadays, however, all active mourners wear a white waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*) and shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*). In the case of women mourners, two of the four corners of the shoulder-cloth are tied in a knot in front in such a way that the breasts are covered. A waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth are normally the ritual dress of Hindus in Malabar.

either party. Between Mercara and the Wynāḍ border, in Kiggaṭnāḍ, only the bride wears a veil, and the groom removes her veil prior to consummating the marriage on the second night. The veil is generally uncommon among Hindus in south India and is worn only by the women of the ruling castes. It is likely that the women of the royal families in pre-British Coorg wore the veil regularly.

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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XIV

533 A band is considered essential to every ritual occasion: at *mangalas*, calendar festivals, and festivals of village-deities a band plays most of the time.

[585] A close relative comes to a wedding accompanied by his own band. He must be received by the hosts with band, and again, when he departs, the hosts must accompany him a little distance with their band leading the way. When the relative finally takes leave of the hosts he pays the latters' band three *paṇas*, one for the men blowing the horns, another for the pipers, and the third for the drummers.

[764] Relatives coming to pay their last respects to the dead man are also required to be accompanied by their band. If they are not accompanied by their own band, they arrange to hire the services of the local band, at some distance from the mourning-house.

[765] A band plays before a mourning-house too, but the beat (*chāvu paré* = death-beat) employed on this occasion is distinctive, and it may not be employed on an auspicious occasion.

533 585 [556] The presence of a band testifies to the social importance of the occasion or person. A wedding at which there was no band would be inconceivable to a Coorg. Again, if at a wedding an important guest were not received with a band, he would regard it as an insult. Coorgs have an elaborate code of courtesy, and this has to be scrupulously observed.

[574] The *okkas* of the bride and groom have each to give several dinners during the wedding. These dinners are of two kinds: one in which the chief guests are the members of the particular bridal party's own village, and another in which the important guests are from other villages.

621 585 574 The above distinction is important, as it throws light on the social structure. A village forms a unity, and ideally speaking it is not only the bride's (or groom's) *okka*, but her (or his) entire village which ought to act as hosts. Formerly they did not sit down to dinner with the guests from other villages, but waited on the latter along with the members of the host *okka*. They sat down to dinner later.

On the day before the wedding, every house in the village has to send one man and one woman to the bridal house to help in the wedding work. They have to do every kind of work which the

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621 wedding involves, but their primary duties seem to be cooking the
585 huge dinners and serving them to the guests, and looking after the
574 guests generally.

After the villagers have arrived the head of the bridal house requests them to take charge of the wedding for him and to exercise due economy in the discharge of their duties. In the evening there is a dinner for the villagers which is called *ūrū patti* (village dinner), and which seems to mark their assumption of responsibility. There is another village dinner on the day after the marriage at which the villagers return the 'ladle and spoon' to the bridal *okka*. The return of the 'ladle and spoon' marks the end of the villagers' duties at the wedding. The villagers apologize to the head of the bridal *okka* for any faults they might have committed in the discharge of their duties, and the head thanks them for the great help rendered by them.

621 The members of a village in which a death has occurred are
● 765 required to help the bereaved *okka* in several ways during mourning
574 and the latter *okka* give the villagers two dinners at the conclusion of ritual mourning to express their thanks. The services rendered, and the dinners given, are both obligatory, and they are among the many links which bind together the members of the village community.

621 Besides the above dinners the members of a village occasionally
574 dine together and this is referred to as '*ūrormé*' or 'village harmony'. The solidarity of the village expresses itself at these dinners, even though all the castes in the village do not sit together at them. It has to be remembered in this connexion that the nuclear unit of the Coorg community, the *okka*, is normally a commensal unit. The sub-caste too occasionally dines together, and one of the punishments inflicted on the excommunicated man is that he may not be admitted to the caste dinners.

585 On the day after the wedding the bride goes to the groom's
574 house where a few rites are performed which symbolize the admission of the bride into the groom's *okka*. The marriage is consummated that night, and the bride returns to her natal house after spending a few days in the groom's house. She is not allowed to be seen by members of her natal village until a dinner has been given to them.

Richter tells us that formerly the bride returning to her natal home was 'treated as unclean', 'shut up like a woman after child-

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food in one form or another to the spirit of the departed person. The mourner has to observe punctiliously a number of rules and restrictions while making these offerings: he has to have a bath in cold water, wear ritually pure robes, and observe a fast. He starts cooking his food only after he has made the ritual offerings for the day. Many kinds of food are prohibited to him during mourning, and he may have only one proper meal every day.

Conditions like a bath, the wearing of ritually pure robes, and the observance of a total fast till the completion of the ritual are also observed while performing good-sacred ritual. A person takes a bath and wears ritually pure robes before worshipping a deity. He breaks his fast only after the worship is over. While *polé* and *maḍi* are normally mutually opposed, the mourner who is in a condition of *tiké* fulfils the same preliminary ritual rules as the devotee about to pray. The mourner when offering food to the spirit of the dead person is inhabiting a world which is very far removed from that of the devotee about to pray. The former is living in a world of ritual impurity, whereas the latter is living in the world of ritual purity. But within the world of ritual impurity the mourner attains a form of ritual purity prior to performing the most important rites: in other words he attains *maḍi* in *polé*.

The concepts of normal ritual status, pollution, and purity apply not only to Coorgs but to all castes, including Untouchables. An Untouchable, like any high-caste man, is normally *mailigé*, and only occasionally and for comparatively short periods is he *maḍi* or *polé*. It should not be assumed that an Untouchable is in a permanent and unalterable condition of ritual impurity. While contact with an Untouchable always pollutes a high-caste man, an Untouchable, considered by himself, is as subject to the various ritual states as anyone else.

VI

A few words are necessary here on the length of the period of mourning. For everyone except the dead person's spouse and eldest son, ritual mourning ends on the day the *māda* ceremony is performed. Nowadays, *māda* is *usually* performed on the twelfth day. But sometimes, in the case of a big headman or official, it is performed on the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day. The length of the mourning period is thus an index of the social importance

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765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dīkshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dīkshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
[593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*tīké mané*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

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salute them. They may not go to a wedding or dance. In general senior relatives are not supposed to observe any food restrictions or wear a special mourning dress, but when they are members of the same house as the dead person they observe the food taboos, refrain from shaving, and wear only white. They have been classed as mourners of the third grade.

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The widow or widower is the most important mourner among Coorgs, even more important than the eldest son of the dead person. The conjugal tie receives the maximum amount of emphasis: the surviving spouse has to be a mourner of the first grade except when prevented by serious illness. The eldest son, too, is usually a mourner of the first grade, though he does not seem to be as essential as the surviving spouse. It is interesting to note that a daughter may sometimes be called upon to be a mourner of the first grade.

The widower is usually senior to his dead wife except in the case of a leviratic marriage when he might be her junior. With the exception of the surviving spouse, all 'active mourners' are invariably the dead person's juniors. They are either mourners of the second or first grade. The Koḍagi term for mourning of the second grade is *mēngaté*, which means 'standing apart', or 'not mixing', and for mourning of the first grade, *kuḷik nippad*, or 'standing for bathing'.

All juniors to the dead person in the *okka* of which the dead person was a member have to observe mourning of the third grade at least. Certain relatives, such as a married woman's younger brother and a man's married sister, are also required to observe mourning of the third grade even though they do not belong to the same *okka* as the dead person.

Formerly, a male and female member from the servant Poleya[1] family observed mourning of the third grade for a dead member of their master's household. They observed all the food and dress restrictions which third-grade mourners observed, but they did not perform the rites which the Coorg mourners perform. The headman of the master *okka* gave the Poleya mourners mourning-dress to wear, and at the conclusion of mourning gave them provisions for a dinner, and a *sari* for the woman mourner, and cloth for a gown for the man mourner. Nowadays members of the servant family do not observe ritual mourning: the tie is not strong enough to express itself in ritual.

[1] The Poleya mourners had to be juniors to the dead person.

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Mourners of the third grade have to abstain from meat, fish, mushrooms, liquor, honey, milk, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

The men are required to have their heads and faces shaved completely. They may not wear any jewellery, nor tie the red sash round their waists. They have to avoid wearing coloured garments, especially garments coloured red.

Women mourners of the third grade are required to remove their jewellery, except such as is symbolical of the married state. The widow of the dead man has to remove even that. Women mourners dress themselves in a white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. The upper ends of the former are tied in a knot at the chest.

It has been mentioned earlier that all men mourners indicate the beginning of mourning by having the head and face shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse. They may not have another shave till the *māda* day, when ritual mourning ends for all except the first-grade mourners.

Nowadays *māda* is performed usually on the twelfth day of death, and on this day, after the afternoon meal has been eaten by all the mourners, three men mourners have their faces shaved by the barber. This shave is one of the ritual acts marking the end of mourning and the resumption of normal social life by all except the first-grade mourners.

The men who are observing first-grade mourning have to wear either a white gown or a shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*) and waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*). A mourner does not usually wear a gown nowadays, but if he wears one, he may not pass his right arm through the right arm of the gown.

Until the *māda* day, first-grade mourners take a cold-water bath every morning, after which they perform the rites prescribed for the day. They then start cooking their meal, which is done in the cattle-shed, or any other sheltered spot outside the main building. They may not have more than one meal per day, and they have to pay scrupulous attention to the various food restrictions. They are, however, allowed to eat a few fruits at night.

The surviving spouse has to observe more restrictions than other first-grade mourners. He (or she) may not sleep on a cot, or sit on a plank. He may not eat from a dining-dish (*taḷi*), but has to use a leaf instead. He may not ford a river. A silver chain is wound round his left wrist, and in his left hand he holds a knife.

The *māda* ceremony frees all mourners from ritual mourning,

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but not, however, the first-grade mourners, who are only freed at the *dīkshé uttuva* ceremony, which is performed long after the *māda*. Until then, honey and milk may not be consumed, ornaments and coloured cloths may not be worn. A woman mourner has to wear the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. A man mourner may not have his face or head shaved. 765 783

VIII

The offer of food to the spirit of the departed person is a dominant motif in Coorg funeral ritual. When the corpse is still seated in the paved yard of the house, one of the mourners carries some cooked rice on a plantain leaf and places it at the bottom of the lane leading to the house. He also places on the plantain leaf a lighted cotton wick on a piece of coconut: this serves as a lamp. As he does this, double shots are fired from a gun. He salutes the leaf as he would a corpse, and other mourners follow him in saluting the food-offering and lamp. [764]

The family friend places a food-bundle on the grave directly above the spot where the corpse's head rests. In case of cremation, the bundle is placed at the spot where the head lay before cremation.

On the second, third, and fourth days, the first-grade mourners offer raw, uncooked rice to fish in a pond or lake, and this is called 'water sacrifice' (*nīr beli*). On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, 'shore sacrifice' (*karé beli*) is performed: the first-grade mourners go to the pond or lake, and each of them cooks a little rice on an improvised stove on the edge of the pond or lake. No vessel may be used for cooking this rice. A flat bit of a broken pot is used instead. This rice is then removed on to a plantain leaf which is kept on a purified spot near the stove.

On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days food is offered to crows. A sacrificial post (*beli mara*) of wood is erected in the yard before the mourning-house. A plank is fixed horizontally to the top of the post. The dead person's spouse cooks rice and prepares vegetable curry, and these are mixed and placed on a plantain leaf. The leaf is then kept on the plank on top of the post. As he (or she) keeps this, he claps his hands and shouts '*kā, kā*' (in imitation of the cawing of crows).

On the eleventh (*pannand*) day, each of the second-grade

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

796 A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

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the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

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social life as well as a happy state. Mourners who have been withdrawn from participation in social life have to abstain from betel leaves, and the ritual chewing of betel leaves is one of the symbols of the end of mourning.

On the twelfth day, at the burial-ground, mourners offer the dead man's spirit betel leaves and areca-nut along with meat and liquor. Each of them then takes a betel leaf and areca-nut out of the leaf-cup in which they are placed and chews them. When they come home the family friend hands to each of them a few betel leaves and areca-nut which they chew for a while, and then take the chewed stuff out of their mouths and throw it on to the roof of the mourning-house. This is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

It is pertinent to recall here that the second-grade mourners are given betel leaves and areca-nut on the eleventh day alone after the performance of a particular rite called *mēnguva*. The first-grade mourners perform the latter rite on the day before *māda*, but they are *not* given betel leaves and areca-nut to chew at the end of it as the most rigorous part of mourning ends for them only on the *māda* day, after returning home from the burial-ground. It is appropriate then that they should not be given betel leaves and areca-nut till the *māda* day.

A relative who chewed betel leaves during mourning would be regarded as lacking in affection towards the dead person, if not actually gloating over his death. It is not very easy to hide the chewing of betel as the mouth and lips become very red after chewing.

It has already been mentioned that there is a great difference, if not opposition, between the ritual treatment of the mourners and the corpse. Things forbidden to the mourners are offered to the spirit of the dead person. For instance, while mourners have to abstain from meat, liquor, and betel and nut, the spirit of the dead man is offered these articles. The mourners have to show their sorrow by abstaining from dietary articles which have come to stand for happiness or wealth or participation in social life. While the mourner denies to himself things that he likes or values, he offers them to the dead man's spirit to show his affection and regard. While the mourner abstains from chewing betel leaves, a paste made by pounding betel leaves and areca-nut together is put into the corpse's mouth. Later, the dead person's spirit is offered betel leaves and areca-nut.

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If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual. 765 276

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage. 765 788 783

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'. [777]

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

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are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.

The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamaṇḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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596 has been considered earlier. The economic part of the relationship
357 was certainly very important, but it was only a part of a total rela-
624 tionship which had several aspects. In Coorg folklore there are instances of a servant's great loyalty to his master, and of the latter's great affection for the former. Achchu Koṭṭa, a Poleya servant of Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, threw himself on the funeral pyre of his master. Ayyaṇṇa was very ill when a caravan from Bēngūr set out for Malabar, and Achchu Koṭṭa joined this caravan against his master's wishes. Before the caravan had crossed into Malabar, Achchu Koṭṭa heard that his master had died. Torn with grief and remorse, Achchu Koṭṭa ran back to Bēngūr only to see the flames of the funeral pyre consuming the body of his dead master. Without a second thought Achchu Koṭṭa jumped into the fire. The members of the Kallumāḍa *okka* erected a stone in memory of Achchu Koṭṭa outside their ancestor-shrine. When an ancestor-propitiation is held in the Kallumāḍa *okka*, offerings of food and drink are made to Achchu Koṭṭa's stone.[1]

[765] Formerly, a man and woman from the servant family or families observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. The bond between master and servant was strong enough to find expression in ritual.

[567] The *de facto* abolition of slavery by the opening of coffee plantations in the middle of the last century, and the great changes of the last hundred years, have contributed to the weakening of the bond between the master-*okka* and the servant families. But even now, when a Poleya does a piece of work, the mistress of the house
[461] gives him a small quantity of castor oil in addition to the wages (*kochchi*), paid in paddy. The application of castor oil to the head is supposed to have a 'cooling' effect on the entire body. Hard work, especially in the sun, brings about 'heat' in the body which needs to be 'cooled' by the application of castor oil to the head. The giving of castor oil by the mistress shows her concern for the health and well-being of the servant: it is an act of friendship.

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, p. 364.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each [431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning [783] of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already, mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves [765] [589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives, and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the contents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765 •
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrated on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred, sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to perform a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to a feast in honor of the departed and for the quiet of his soul, and thus the last end of a Coorg's earthly course has come.

764 539 The Coorg funeral song is most pathetic and touches a kindred chord in every sorrowing heart:—

Funeral Song.

Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe is me! For ever gone!
Gone with all thy soul of virtue!
Oh! how can I live my father!
Woe! thy days are now concluded,
And the share, assigned to thee
By the Lord, is now consumed
And no further portion granted.
Oh! thy wish was not to die,
But to stay among the living.
Surely, man came to this world
But to die; not one of us
Is exempted from this doom.
Onward! onward roll the years;
Oh! how soon were thine concluded!
Like the eagle in the sky
Thou wast roaming here on earth.
Woe! the string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of our children
Is for ever burst and scattered!
Woe! the clear and brilliant mirror,
Fallen out of our hand,
Fallen to the ground, and broken!
Woe! the wrath of God Almighty,
Floods of fiery indignation,
Beating on the lofty mountains,
Swept their summit to the ground!
Like the enemies at night,
Breaking into peaceful houses,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother-child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband-wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
● 766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 177 766 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, 671 leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár 177 or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the de- 429 ceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain 768 their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the head-man of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 The two groups of kindred are brought together by the acquisition
596 of two objects of common interest.
585 While the *mūrta* part of marriage refers to the creation of a new bond between two individuals and the kin-groups in which each of them is born, *sammanda* defines and clarifies the new structural situation which has come into existence. It brings home to the participants that a new legal situation has arisen, that an individual has been transferred from one *okka* to another. *Sammanda* ritual is performed whenever such a structural and legal alteration is brought about. (See 'Table of *Sammanda* Rights' on pp. 173–5.)

1. The *sammanda* ritual performed at *kanni mangala* ('marriage of a virgin'), which is, incidentally, the most frequent type of marriage performed, confers on the bride rights of membership in the groom's *okka*.

[587] 2. (*a*) When a widow wants to marry a brother of the late husband, no fresh *sammanda* need be performed as no new legal situation has come into existence. The girl is a member of the second husband's *okka* even before marriage and she continues to be one after marriage.

593 When a girl marries in the *kanni mangala* way she acquires rights
596 of membership in the *okka* of her husband. This is a simple enough
421 fact, but in recent years the acquisition of property by individuals
178 for themselves and not for their *okkas* has confused the issue. A few educated Coorgs have tried to maintain that a girl, on marriage, acquires only a share in her husband's share of the ancestral property, and consequently, when a widow marries the husband's younger brother, a fresh *sammanda* has to be performed. This is absurd. The whole idea of individual ownership of immovable property is recent in Coorg, and even more important is the fact that *sammanda* is more than the acquisition of rights in property. It is the acquisition of membership in an *okka*, with all its consequences, social, economic, legal, and ritual.

593 (*b*) When a widow wants to marry someone who is not a member
596 of her late husband's *okka*, she is first of all made to sever her con-
587 nexion with it, and such severance restores her to her natal *okka*. She is then given *sammanda* in her second husband's house.

●[768] (*c*) The children of the widow are (usually) members of their *father's okka* except in certain cases which will be mentioned presently.

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3. When a woman is divorced she loses her membership in her

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

makka parijé alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*. Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin' (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

593 The groom's family friend who receives the eleven pebbles
596 hands them over to the matron of honour who ties them up in a
585 bundle. She ties the bundle to the frontal breast-knot (*molékaṭ*) of the bride. Just before the bride leaves for the groom's house this bundle is put into the box containing the bride's trousseau.

593 Nowadays it is not usual for the pebbles to be kept for any length
596 of time. Neither do Coorgs regard these pebbles as sacred. But
586 elderly informants consider that the pebbles *ought* to be kept in the
768 groom's house and returned in the event of divorce or widowhood.

When a woman is returning to her natal *okka* on being divorced, or when a widow is returning to her natal *okka* preparatory to marrying someone who is not a member of her late husband's *okka*, the divorcée's or widow's connexion with her conjugal *okka* is ritually severed. This is referred to as 'giving up the pebbles' (*kalhumbara kaipa*).[1] The bride's family friend and groom's family friend break the connexion in set formulas which are the same as those used in marriage but for certain necessary alterations.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at the 'marriage of a virgin', the emphasis is on the fact of the bride obtaining rights in the groom's *okka*, and not on her losing her rights in her natal *okka*. When a widow or divorcée is returning to her natal *okka*, the *sammanda* ritual that is performed severs her connexion with her conjugal *okka*. In both cases, however, the loss of membership of an *okka* is accompanied by gaining membership of another. The difference in emphasis however leads to the one being described as the 'conferring of *sammanda*' and the other as the 'giving up of pebbles'.

Children normally belong to their father's *okka*, and they remain in their natal home even when their mother leaves her conjugal house on widowhood or divorce. Very young children, however, accompany their mother to her natal or new home, but they return to their father's house on attaining their third or fourth year.

When a divorcée (or widow who is remarrying into a different *okka* from her late husband's) is given permission to visit her children in their father's house, the eleven pebbles are not returned by the first husband's family friend to the family friend of her

[1] The same ceremony is also referred to as 'kal mara kaipa', i.e. 'giving up stone and tree'. Stone and tree are said to stand for the estate of the *okka* in question. See N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 508.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

natal *okka*. Her connexion with her conjugal house is, however, ritually severed with the usual formulas.

In some rare cases the children of a widow or divorcée are given rights in their mother's natal *okka*. In such a case the rights which the children have in their father's *okka* are ritually given up before they are acquired in their mother's natal *okka*. The pebbles are transferred from the family friend of the children's father's *okka* to the family friend of their mother's natal *okka*. The adopted son similarly loses his membership of his natal *okka* and acquires membership of the adoptive *okka*. The *okka parijé* husband also transfers himself from his natal *okka* to his conjugal *okka*. Pebbles are transferred in both the above instances.

The conferment as well as withdrawal of membership has important results on the relations of the various members towards each other. The ritual brings home to those present the meaning of what is taking place. Publicity is ensured by the presence of a few local and caste elders in addition to the representatives of the *okkas* concerned. Such publicity gives the event a certain finality. Lastly, as the ritual takes place in a very sacred part of the ancestral house, before the domestic deities and ancestors, solemnity is added to the occasion which is also invested with ritual sanctions.

VI

Sammanda constitutes the legal part of marriage: for instance, the bride will become a widow if the groom dies after *sammanda*, whereas his death before *sammanda* would not have such an effect on her.

It is usual for a Coorg widow to remarry. If, however, she is past middle age and has grown-up children, she does not remarry, but continues to stay in her late husband's house looking after her children.

A widow who wishes to remarry might marry either a brother, real or classificatory, of the late husband, or a total stranger. As mentioned earlier, there is a preference for leviratic unions among Coorgs, and where it is possible, a widow marries someone who is not only related as brother to her late husband, but also belongs to the same *okka* as him. In the latter event, no new *sammanda* is necessary.

The ritual conferment of membership has been described earlier,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[589] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
594 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *keṭṭa poṇṇana bāvalu, buṭṭa poṇṇana bāvakēga.*

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

already and accompanied by the band of the bride's house. The leader of the groom's party is asked to cut down a row of six plantain stems, whereas other relatives are asked to cut down only a row of three stems. The bride's party is treated similarly at the groom's house later.

The fathers of the bride and groom do not meet at marriage. Within a year of the performance of the marriage the bride's natal *okka* invite the groom's father to a feast and the groom's *okka* invite the bride's father to a feast. This is known as 'knowing the relatives' (*bendu ariva*).

The formality which surrounds the relations of the affinal groups lessens with the years. The two groups concerned come together more and more as the years advance and children are born of the marriage. But the formality never totally disappears. Distance and respect may be said to characterize affinal relations for ever. The earlier occasions in which they come together are covered with ritual—ritual respect is scrupulously shown, feasts are given, and gifts are exchanged.

Respect should be shown to parents-in-law, and this is especially required from a girl towards her mother-in-law. A girl does not come very much into contact with her father-in-law, whereas she spends the best part of the day with her mother-in-law, working under the latter's supervision in or about the kitchen.

XIII

The parents of a girl have a right to recover the presents of cloth and vessels which they gave their daughter at her marriage if the girl dies without leaving behind any children in her conjugal *okka*. But if children have been born of the marriage, the mother's personal property goes to them.

The legal position is not, however, as clear as we have made it out to be owing to the fact that lawyers trained in Hindu law have regarded the presents given to the bride by her natal *okka* as *stridhana* (woman's wealth), according to which the movable property presented to a bride by her relatives becomes her own property absolutely. If such an interpretation is accepted, the presents given by Coorg parents to their daughter at her wedding will come to be governed by the same laws as those prevailing among high-caste Hindus all over India. This seems to be another

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Whenever information is lodged of a person having died a violent death, the functionaries shall proceed to the spot where the dead body may have been found. They shall examine the body and ascertain, whether there are any marks of violence upon it, or bruises, the number of them, and with what weapons the wounds or hurts may appear to have been given. The above inquiries shall be made in the presence of two or three creditable persons, and being committed to writing the proceedings shall be sent to the Daryáft-Kacheri, afterwards the functionaries shall endeavour to trace the persons who may have murdered the deceased and apprehend them. 671 177 [625] [682]

49. The Subadárs of the taluqs on the frontier shall be particularly vigilant in apprehending robbers and vagabonds who may come to this district from the neighbouring countries to commit mischief. [635]

50. The magisterial authority of the Subadárs does not extend to the pettas, where Kotwals are employed. The police of the pettas is entrusted to the charge of the Kotwals and they will preserve the peace there. In cases where Kotwals may require the assistance of the Subadárs or the Revenue officers who may be near the pettas, they shall be promptly furnished with the aid demanded. [635] [692] [625]

51. In cases where any person of whatever caste may die a natural death without having relations or friends present, the Sirkar servants shall cause the corpse to be buried or burned according to circumstances at an expense of from one to three canterai fanams. But if the deceased leaves property and no relations to claim it, a sufficient portion of the property shall be appropriated for the performance of the funeral ceremonies, and the remainder lodged in the Public Treasury until claimed. [768]

52. Any person who has laboured under the disease of leprosy shall not be buried in the earth. The corpse of such person shall be burned, or if the caste of the deceased do not [766]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

671 177 766 admit of the corpse being burnt, it shall be caused to be thrown into a river.

53. In case where a ryot, or a chetty or a merchant die, 671 leaving young children, whether boys or girls, the Subadár 177 or the Párapatiagárs shall make over the property of the de- 429 ceased to his nearest relations, and after the children attain their majority, the property shall be caused to be made over 768 to them. But in defect of relations, the Gauda or the head-man of the village shall be directed to take charge of the property and bring up the children. An inventary of the property shall be taken, one copy of which shall be kept by the Patél and the other entered in the Dufters. The expense attending the education, maintenance or marriage of the children, shall be deducted from the property."

648 [671] Coorg being a non-regulation province, these simple rules sufficed for many years for the judicial administration of the country, wielded by the able officers, by whom Coorg had the good fortune successively to be ruled. On Col. Fraser leaving Coorg in October 1834 to be "Resident of Mysore," Capt. Le Hardy was appointed "*Superintendent of Coorg*," the first of a line of 15 Superintendents up to date and all, with the exception of two, military officers of the Madras Army. Col. Fraser transferred to Capt. Le Hardy "the civil charge and administration of the District" and when the former became Resident of Travancore and Cochin in 1836, and Col.—afterwards General Sir—Mark Cubbon C. B. succeeded him as Commissioner of the Government of the territories of His Highness the Rájah of Mysore and "*Commissioner of the affairs of Coorg*," the Superintendent's relative position remained unchanged down to the present day.

Sir Mark Cubbon, in whom India saw a noble type of the English gentleman, ruled Mysore and Coorg for a quarter of a century with great ability, vigour and judgment. Of his

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723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe • [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

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compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaṇiya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

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instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

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of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*. 596 587

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common ancestor. The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious. 596 769 776

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers. 596 [828]

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it; but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanda *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but incompetent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one. [888]

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which
841 a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūḍa and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tike*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states. 783 827

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure. 783

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied. [764] [763]

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement. [787] [761] [784]

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

79% A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

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V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[702] [2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

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he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavanḍa, Biddanḍa, and Kaliyāṭanḍa *okkas* have separate shrines for *biras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called *kaimaḍa*, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

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769 representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river
353 Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal posses-
778 sions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *piché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An [776] unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

769 Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east
353 Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in
194 common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Maṇḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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or *boiḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

A of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

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769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.
787

Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téné* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka*
[621] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.
[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

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ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

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769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
584 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
584 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the castè-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astrologer, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but
538 Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

177 Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities
776 losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost
564 their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

581 Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married
789 man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and
[292] widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a
[301] married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

587 It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

589 Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow
769 as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

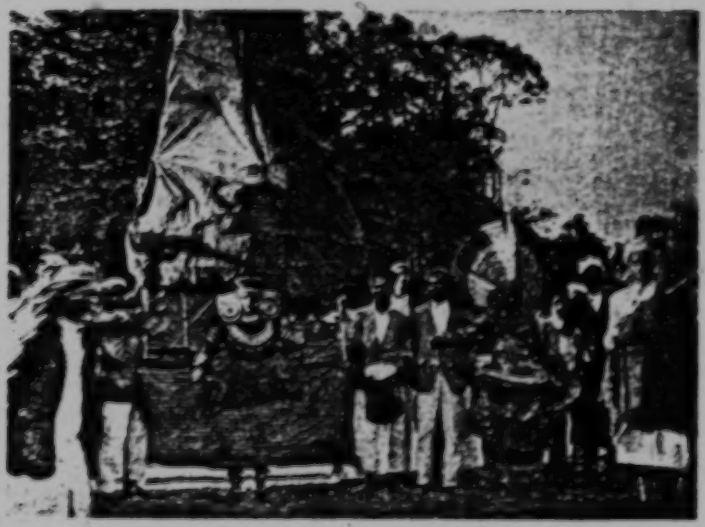
The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

346

A Coorg Temple (Keymode)



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769
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A Ghost Mask (Kernakola)

[facing p. 51]

[P 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Baring*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
● 769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pig especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud [illegible]es, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finishedtheir course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 796 782 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached, and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed. [793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged. 769 796 782 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at 373 824 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 782 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 [796] On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Siváchárics, collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury. 769

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád. [787]

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called *Kuttadamma*. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kuttadamma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest. 776 782 [778] [793] [793]

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly performed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue. [825]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[795] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
•769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[775] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

fields in remembrance of the (Dalavai) military chief *Kannana Doddeya*, who fell in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ali near Kájúr-Bágalu in North Coorg in 1767. Before setting out on this expedition he said to the king Muddarájah: "I have twice returned from defeating the Ma-"homedans and made Salam to the Rájah, but this time I shall "not return." The celebrated Coorg hero Appachoo Mandana fell in the same battle. When, after the death of Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan invaded Coorg, he burnt Kannana's house and hanged 24 members of his family, and the ruins are still visible. A silver plate 3 inches by 2 inches large, with a relief picture similar to that on the stone is preserved by the family in honour of their renowned ancestor.

Shásana-kallu. In some localities viz. in the temple yard at Bhágamandala, in the dévastána at Pálúr, in the ruined temple in Nallúr in Hatgatnád of Kiggatnád-taluq and at the Central School in Mercara (brought from Fraserpet) there are large stone-slabs of granite with inscriptions in peculiar characters that resemble the oldest forms of the Dravidian alphabets, but have not yet been deciphered. They are supposed to be *Shásana-kallu* i. e. memorial stones or records of Government grants. Their inscriptions might perhaps throw some light on the early history of the places in which the stones have been found. In the Mercara Treasury there are three copper plates 8 inches by 3 each, held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are united by a seal representing an elephant about one inch in length from head to tail. The 2 outer plates are inscribed on one side only, the inner plate on both sides. The inscription which numbers 1304 letters seems to be "old Kanada, but many of the letters strikingly resembling Lat and old Pali forms," according to a statement by the Bombay Asiatic Society. The text is said to relate to a grant of land to certain Mysore Brahmins in the villages of Uyambal and Badaneguppe. The date corresponds

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, f, θ, x should be read for v, δ, γ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a
[782] fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud [illegible], they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhudrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Nates, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 77 825 [782]

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The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p iv contains no textual material]

FOREWORD

114 THE study of religions can be approached in many different ways and can present a number of different kinds of problems. For social anthropologists, or for some of them, one major problem is that of the social function of religion—how does religion contribute to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings? It is recognized that religion is a binding force amongst individuals, and it would seem that the etymology of the word indicates this. The scientific problem is how religion does this; how, in other words, it functions. The problem is one of very considerable complexity, and it cannot be said that at present we know very much about this subject. The only method by which we can hope ultimately to arrive at an understanding of it is by a number of analytic descriptive studies of religions of diverse types, so that by systematic comparison it may be possible to arrive at some general theory. This work of Dr. Srinivas is an important contribution to that investigation. It gives us a description and analysis of the religious practices of a people of India, the Coorgs of Coorg.

For the social anthropologist the religion of a people presents itself in the first instance not as a body of doctrine, but as what we may call 'religious' behaviour as a part of social life. Social anthropology is behaviouristic in the sense that we seek to observe how people act as a necessary preliminary to trying to understand how they think and feel. This book, by a trained anthropologist, who is himself an Indian, and who has therefore an understanding of Indian ways of thought which it is difficult for a European to attain even over many years, gives us a scientifically valuable and objective account of the religious behaviour of a particular Indian community.

771 182 In an investigation into the social function of religion in a particular society the first thing required is to examine the relation of the religion to the social structure. In this respect the religion of the Coorgs is of very special interest and value. For we may say that there are three different structural systems in which the individual Coorg is involved, and each of these has its own system of religious behaviour and obligations.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 101]

IV

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(2) THE CONCEPTS OF *POLÉ* AND *MAḌI*

I

THE external world is divided into two parts, the sacred and non-sacred. The term 'sacred' is used in its wider sense as inclusive of 'good-sacredness' as well as 'bad-sacredness'. Good-sacredness includes all forms of ritually desirable states and conditions like auspiciousness and purity, while bad-sacredness includes all forms of ritually undesirable states and conditions such as inauspiciousness and impurity. 771

The Koḍagi term for ritual purity is *maḍi*, and this term is found in all other Dravidian languages except Malayāḷam; and *polé*, which means ritual impurity, is found in all Dravidian languages except Telugu. 783

Polé is used in Koḍagi in two senses: one, in which it means ritual impurity generally; and another in which it means certain specific forms of ritual impurity. In the latter cases it is usual to add the necessary prefixes: for instance, *kuruḍu polé* (blind pollution) or *tinga polé* (monthly pollution) refers to the impurity of a woman in her periods, and *petta polé* or *puruḍu*[1] *polé* refers to birth pollution.

The pollution resulting from the death of a person is called *tīké*. *Tīṭ* in Tamil means death-pollution, while *tīṭ* in Koḍagi means faeces. A house in which an adult has died is referred to as *tīké mané* (polluted house) till the end of ritual mourning. On the day ritual mourning ends, in the afternoon, after the mourners have returned from the burial-ground, the family friend says, 'Until now mourning, from now on festival' (*indākaṇé tammé iṇya pinya nammé*). *Tammé* is used to mean mourning, while *nammé* is used to mean festival.

All over India there is a ban on a member of a higher caste touching, or coming very close to, a member of a lower caste. This

[1] *Puruḍu* which means the pollution consequent on birth occurs in all Dravidian languages excepting Malayāḷam.

1: Srinivas
182, 771

AW5 Coorg AW5

[This entire source deals in a general way with the functional interrelationship between religion and social structure.]

[P. 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadevs and Subrahmanis, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations.

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Tree Worship

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Huttari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

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Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

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Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

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The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 67 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888
with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576
burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147
great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165]
and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648
Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157
the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dreaded for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224
bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157
sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771
for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212]
day they are both ignorant and superstitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753]
cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754]
enemies.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours, who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular pûja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places
[782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Purána however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the antebrahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in [564] Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the [177] Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the 174 brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg 167 were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (*dusty-grain*) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembán Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
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That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795]
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most [771]
numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
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K 782 K [755] cause death, and in these cases only a slight cut is made, usually in the nose or ear of the animal, sufficient to draw a few drops of blood, which are smeared on the tool, as already mentioned. In cases of epidemics, blood is poured over the image of the deity supposed to be responsible for the disease.

C 782 776 *Coorg.* The relic of human sacrifice described above, in Mr. Ramakrishna Row's memorandum, would serve to show that in Mysore such sacrifices, at one time, formed a regular part of the worship of the village deities; and this is confirmed by the account given in the *Mysore and Coorg Manual* by Mr. Lewis Rice[1] of the worship of the grāma-devatā in Coorg, which is a hill country to the west of the Mysore State inhabited by a mixed population consisting of aboriginal tribes, a hundred and twenty thousand cultivators and artisans, who were formerly serfs but are now freemen, and a ruling class of Kodagas or Coorgs, who probably migrated into the country about the third century A.D. He writes:

C •771 782 "The essential features of the religion of the Coorgs are anti-Brāhmanical, and consist of ancestral and demon-worship. As among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their grāma-devatās, Mariamma, Durgā, and Bhadra-Kālī,[2] the tutelary goddesses of the Śakti[3] line, who are supposed to protect the villages or Nāds from all evil influences. In Kirindadu and Koniucheri-Grāma in Katiyet Nād, once every three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kālī, and during the offering by the *panikas* (a class of religious mendicants), the people exclaimed 'Al Amma!'—'A man, oh mother!'—but once a devotee shouted 'Al All Amma, Adu!'—'Not a man, oh mother! a goat'; and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed.

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 264, 265.
[2] Durgā and Bhadra-Kālī are names of Kālī, the wife of Siva.
[3] See above, p. 29, n. 1.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

• 723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chiṇṇappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the
796 women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

796 The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various
624 high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

796 According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas*
773 which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

796 The festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in
624 south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that [788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 164 782 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual importance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head. 622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of [631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of 829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are, [634] however, the headmen of *stmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
584 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
584 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
● 773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water
171 is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

773 On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamaṇḍla there is an
778 immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

778 While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is
788 mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially
171 Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

776 Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are
171 sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

171 Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is [302]
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

consisting of innumerable groups, each of which has a certain amount of cultural and ritual autonomy, then it is realized that any attempt to fit them into a hierarchy results in disputes as to relative status. When it is further remembered that the caste system includes sects which began originally by rejecting the idea of hierarchy, but which subsequently became castes, it is seen that disputes as to relative status are inevitable.

In south India disputes as to relative status are a feature specially of castes of the middle region. The Brahmins and Untouchables are known to belong to either extreme, though even here the presence of some subdivisions of Brahmins who are said to be inferior to practically every other caste complicates matters. The group claiming to be Kshatriya might be a local peasant or artisan caste which has acquired political power. Sometimes it might even be an outlying group or tribe. This gives rise to disputes. There are always people who point out that a particular ruling family which has been governing a certain part of India for several centuries are not Kshatriyas but belong to a low caste. Similarly the claims of local trading castes to be called Vaishyas are frequently questioned by others.

The fivefold system does not do justice to the complexity of the caste system as it exists, but it makes intelligible the castes of various parts of India by reference to an All-India framework.

Coorgs are a handsome, well-to-do, and powerful people with a martial tradition behind them, and it is quite natural for them to claim to be Kshatriyas. It may be recalled here that members of rich and influential Coorg *okkas* occasionally married relatives of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas. The Lingāyaṭs of the Kannaḍa country occupy a high position in the caste hierarchy, and they are also very strict vegetarians and teetotallers. The fact that relatives of the Rajās married Coorgs over 130 years ago is testimony to the high position of Coorgs in the caste hierarchy and to their physical and mental qualities.

The Kāvēri Myth makes out Coorgs to be Ugras, the offspring of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. Certain sins committed by the prince in a previous existence prevented him from having children by a wife of his own caste, and he had to take a Shūdra wife for children to continue his line.

Why does the Kāvēri Myth make out Coorgs to be Ugras and not Kshatriyas? It is probably due to the fact that the Brahminical

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

564 authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary,
773 plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

564 Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas.
186 In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

773 Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas*
773 which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are
177 also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CP. CAT, 116, p. 216 -- ANALYSE]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 788 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhagaṇḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 186 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignorance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by [723] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538, 778 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their [551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an 773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

from Kóte-betta drain the whole northern plateau of Coorg 183
and add an immense bulk of water to the Kávéri. Almost 163
every one of these mountain streams forms in its descent over rocky beds cascades of great beauty. One near Mercara, the Jesse-fall (so called in honor of a daughter of the first chaplain of Mercara) is much admired and frequently visited by picnic parties. Some of the coffee estates along the Sampáji valley are notable for pleasing cataracts.

The rivers of Coorg which fall into the Kávéri beyond the province are Hémavati (héma *Sans.* gold) and the Lakshmanatirtha. The former rises near the Bhadra river, south of Westára in the Kadúr district of Mysore, and after passing Marjarábád, it forms for a few miles the northern boundary of Coorg and joins the Kávéri in the Yedatore taluk of Mysore near the village Tippúr. The Lakshmanatirtha with its tributaries the Kakotta and Kerehole drains nearly the whole of Kiggatnád. It rises in the forest Munikádu, on the plateau of the Brahmagiris, and in its descent over an almost perpendicular mountain-wall forms a celebrated cataract, which by Brahminical priestcraft has been invested with sin cleansing virtue, and is consequently visited at the Irpu játre by thousands of superstitious devotees. The banks of this [134]
river like those of the Kávéri are of clay or mould, steep, with a sandy bottom and shaded by dense forest or bamboo clumps.

Lakes, Tanks, Wells.—Throughout Coorg there is not 312
a lake or tank of any size worth mentioning. In Kiggatnád 793
only there are a few natural reservoirs, called Kolli, enclosed by a belt of small trees and containing water all the year round. A tank 3 miles north of Somawarpet is notable for its picturesque rock scenery and the legend connected with it, which does not however accord with the inscription written upon a stone on the western outlet of the tank. The writing runs thus: "The King Andany has ordered this tank to be built on Tuesday the tenth day of the month of Phál-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

312 guna in the year Párthiva. This was written by Venkadasya
993 Mallia Bomarsia at the time of Basawalinga Déva Rája Vodea."

The legend is shortly this: "A merchant Malla Shetty of Yelusávirashíme vowed to build this tank. When it was [782] finished, there was no water forthcoming. Animal sacrifices were suggested by the tank diggers and offered, but in vain. In this distress the goddess Ganga appeared and demanded the little finger of the Shetti. Unwilling to make this sacrifice, he offered the life of Akkony, his daughter-in-law instead, whose husband was away on a journey. Akkony agreed, took an affectionate leave of her child and parents, who were ignorant of her intentions, and amidst great solemnities she stepped into the tank, when Ganga made her appearance in rushing water. Akkony's parents, hearing of the impending sacrifice, hastened to rescue their daughter, but she refused to leave the tank, uttered a curse upon her father and mother-in-law and disappeared in the rising water. She then appeared in a dream to her husband, who speedily returned home, and, on hearing what had happened, killed his parents, and with his child in his arms rushed to the tank and in despair threw himself into it, when both were graciously received by Ganga."

312 Besides the small public tanks, there are only private wells, that yield, if dug deep enough, everywhere sweet and clear water; but it appears, that the natives of Coorg do not bestow enough attention on the great blessing of wholesome water, and are often satisfied with the muddy contents of a hole, carelessly dug by the side of their paddy-fields, though from their own experience they assert, that most of their diseases are owing to the bad quality of their drinking water.

137 *Forests and their general flora and fauna.*—In Coorg extensive forests clothe every mountain range almost up to the summit and bamboo jungles, cover the more level eastern districts,

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flourishing town, 20 miles from Mercara, on the Cannanore high-road and four miles from its junction at Perambádi with the Mysore road. It is a place of some importance on account of its coffee, rice and cardamom traffic with the Western Coast. The population amounts to 3024 souls, of whom 1,255 are Mussulmans, 1206 Hindus, 156 Jains and 313 Roman Catholic Christians, who settled here as fugitives from Tippu Sultan's conquered dominions. The town was established in 1792 by Dodda-Vírájender in commemoration of a meeting that took place between himself and General Abercromby during the first campaign against Mysore in 1791.

The town proved very unhealthy, but since the rigorous introduction of sanitary measures by Lieut. Mackenzie, generously supported by a Native Municipal Board, the health of the people has greatly improved. Vírájpet is prettily situated at the foot of the Maletambira hill on the top of which there is a large square-built temple. The town may be divided into the Roman Catholic quarter, the main bazaar and the Mussulman streets. Every Wednesday there is market, which attracts a great concourse of Coorgs. The merchandise is similar to that at Mercara. Of public buildings the most attractive is the renovated *Roman Catholic Church*, which Father Guillon reconstructed in simple gothic style and with a copper roof. The inside is gaudily ornamented with paintings and statues in stucco, his handywork, greatly to the taste and admiration of the natives. The *New Offices* of the Assistant Superintendent, the Taluq and Nád-Subadar's Kacheri behind the Traveller's Bangalow and above the town, promise to be an imposing and convenient structure, when completed. The *Traveller's Bangalow* surrounded by a high wall, is well situated on a knoll, which forms the highest point of the town. It was built of the material and on the site of the Rájah's palace, but without much regard to the convenience of European visitors who frequent the place. The

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

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The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

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[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
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[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours, who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

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aim the well-being of the village. Both these cults emphasize for an individual his membership of a particular social group, the joint family in the one instance and the village community in the other. 621 794

Three other features of social structure have to be considered in connexion with the village cult. In the first place, though the whole village community takes part in the ceremonies, different caste groups have different parts to play and are thus differentiated. Some, for example, take part in the animal sacrifice, while others have nothing to do with it. Thus a caste group within the village is able, within the cult, to establish its own unity and its separation from other groups. This is a significant feature of the caste structure of the village. [564]

In the second place, though each village community has its own unity as exhibited in the cult performances, there is co-operation between different villages, and members of one may take part in the ceremonies of another. Thus the Coorg villages are groups within a single Coorg religious community. It is therefore not only the solidarity of the village that is exhibited in the village cult but also the religious solidarity and unity of the people of Coorg. [69]

Thirdly, there is the fact that the local deities of the villages have been assimilated to the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as when a particular local deity is identified with Shiva or Pārvati. In this way the Coorg religious community has become incorporated as a part of that wider Hindu religious community. The incorporation, however, is only partial. In an orthodox Hindu cult the temple should be served by a Brahmin. Orthodox Hindu deities are vegetarian and dislike alcohol. But some of the Coorg village-deities demand the blood and flesh of animals and offerings of toddy. What Dr. Srinivas calls the process of Sanskritization of the Coorg village cults is therefore very far from being complete. There are very important remains of paganism. This need not surprise us when we remember the many survivals of local paganism in the Christian countries. What is significant is that in his participation in the worship of the village-deities the Coorg individual is able to think of himself as a member of the widespread Hindu religious community. 621 794 776

The individual in Coorg belongs to a particular joint-family, and to a particular village, but in addition he belongs by birth to a particular social group of the kind to which we apply the name 564

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of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common an- 596
cestor. The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769
with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776
that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596
the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [328]
such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanda *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888]
competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made 778
in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere 769
else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open 342
quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such 778
open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. [769]
One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they [562]
visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they [888]
allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a [585]
plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) 778
devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical 769
ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn 776
stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk- 778
exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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776 778 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

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The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred. [846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him, [871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity. 823 776

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east. [342]

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun. [782] [243]

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death. [764]

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities. [184]

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here. 796 305 292

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath. [584] [783]

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
● 776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character.

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

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769 representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river
353 Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal posses-
778 sions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *piché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An
● [776] unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

769 Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east
353 Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in
184 common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

776 It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
778 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788]
expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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Gulika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink. 776

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation. 596 778 796

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast. [356] [262]

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour. 796

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an 796 526 578

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VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Ganēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621 two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). 796 The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776 Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346 whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621 made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796 dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535 villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvṭi respectively. The services of 791

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūda request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

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776 historical records. Contradictions occur quite frequently in them.
171 And it is also clear that they are Coorg attempts at 'explain-
533 ing' the fact of the existence of a number of deities in the villages with which they deal. These various deities and their festivals are brought into relation with each other, and one of the deities made out to be the leader of the rest. In another song this leadership might be claimed for a different deity in a different village.

It is clear from these songs that not only do Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara share certain common cultural and ritual forms, but that some of these have come from Malabar and South Canara into Coorg. The fact that Tuḷu-speaking Brahmins from South Canara are priests at very many temples in Coorg, and that Coorgs had (and have) considerable respect for them, helped the spread of Tuḷu and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. Similarly, the Kaṇiya (astrologer) and Baṇṇa and Paṇika were responsible for the spread of Malayāḷam and Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms in Coorg. This does not mean that Malayāḷam and Tuḷu areas do not have some cultural forms in common. Nor does it mean that the cultural and ritual forms found among Coorgs should always, or even in the majority of cases, be attributed to diffusion from without.

177 Formerly, Coorgs used to go to Malabar to learn medicine and magic, and such Coorgs, on their return, seem to have exercised considerable influence and power over their countrymen. The ancestor of the Ajjikuṭṭira *okka*, Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), and Chendappanḍa Kungu are all reputed to have learnt
[437] magic and medicine in Malabar, and after their death they became culture-heroes. It should be remembered in this connexion that formerly a few Coorgs from every village in south-west Coorg went annually in caravans to Malabar to sell their rice in exchange for goods which they wanted. These trade expeditions also resulted in the spread of cultural forms from one area to another.

776 A deity is commonly known by reference to the village in which he has a shrine. For instance, Pannangālatammé is the 'Mother of the village Pannangāla', Pālūrappa is the 'Father of the village Pālūr', Tumbémalédēra is the 'Lord of the Tumbé hill', and so on. Even where a deity is referred to by his or her name, a prefix is usually added stating to which village the particular deity belongs: for instance, Povvedi of Ballatnāḍ is usually referred to as Ballatnāḍ Povvedi, Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda is referred to as Kundat Bhadrakāḷi,

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Sārtāvu of Makki is referred to as Makki Sārtāvu, and so on. 776
Frequently, the name by which a deity is popularly known gives no clue as to his Sanskritic affiliations: the deity Pālūrappa is said to be 'really' Vishṇu, but he is ordinarily referred to by the former name. Kuṭṭatammé means the 'Mother of Kuṭṭa' (a village in south Coorg), and this is the name by which the deity is popularly known. The deity's 'real' name is Karīn Kāḷi (Black Kāḷi), who is identified with one of the manifestations or forms of Parvati, wife of Shiva.

But it is not always that the popular name hides the Sanskritic affiliations of a deity: Bhadrakāḷi, Chāmuṇḍi, Povvedi (Bhagavati), Mādēva (Mahādēva), &c., have obvious Sanskritic affiliations, though such affiliations may not be known to all or even most of the devotees.

Nowhere in India are the village-deities regarded as gentle. 171
This applies to Coorg too. The deity Madērappa settles down in 776
the village Madé, and immediately flowers wither, sown seeds fail to sprout, and babies die in cradles. Another village-deity says that she will reward those who propitiate her and shoot an arrow at those who refuse to. In return for propitiation the deities keep [164]
away from the village and *nāḍ* epidemics such as plague, cholera, and smallpox, and grant children, good crops, and longevity. They also offer protection from ghosts and minor spirits who possess and harm human beings. The oracle of the deity acts as exorcist at the festival of the deity.

Sanskritic Hinduism, which is also All-India Hinduism, makes out village gods to be manifestations of Shiva, and village goddesses to be manifestations of Shiva's wife, Pārvati. The implications of such a systematization will be considered later.

III

The domestic and temple architecture of Coorgs seems to have 346
been modelled on that of Malabar. This is only natural as most of the artisan castes in Coorg Proper are immigrants from Malabar.

While Coorg houses are extremely substantial structures, temples dedicated to village-deities are usually small and unimpressive buildings. But the well-known temples dedicated to Brahminical or Sanskritic deities are substantial, as formerly rich devotees liked building solid and massive temples for their patron-deities.

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316 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhaganḍēshwara temple in Bhāgamanḍla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate
316 ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of
793 this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar
793 who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship
796 is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest.
• [776] Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

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779 Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus
194 in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of
171 Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

776 The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names:
171 Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayy-
779 appa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

779 It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic
634 Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

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779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

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769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
564 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
564 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

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the pot at the top. His followers woke up before he had climbed down and demanded an explanation from him. Kētrappa (i.e. Ayyaṇṇa) replied that until then he was only receiving sandalwood paste and flowers,[1] but from then on he would receive instead 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'.

Deities have a tendency to adopt the customs of their devotees. It is natural then for the deity from Malabar to switch over to the Coorg's diet on reaching Bēngūr. But this diet is not the diet of the Brahmins. Coorgs explain the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they 'lost their caste': a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude, an attitude which presumably prevails towards their own diet. They like non-vegetarian food and liquor, but at the same time consider vegetarianism as more ethical.

[1] Brahmin priests in Coorg, Malabar, and South Canara use sandalwood paste and flowers, among other things, for the worship of deities.

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778 custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water
171 is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

773 On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamanḍla there is an
778 immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

778 While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is
788 mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially
171 Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

778 Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are
171 sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

171 Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

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of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōksha*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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clear what is meant. The deity Kētrappa of Bēngūr is identified 776 ●
by knowledgeable Coorgs and others with the Vēdic deity Kshētra- 177
pāla (protector of the field). Whether there are any justifiable grounds for identifying Kētrappa and Kshētrapāla is a minor matter. What is of importance is that the two deities are so identified. Such an identification of a local deity with an All-India, Sanskritic deity, is very common.

In the Vēdas, Kshētrapāla is a deity presiding over every field, and he is invoked to grant cattle and horses, and to fill heaven and earth and plants and waters with sweetness. People pray to him for prosperity and wish to have him as a neighbour. An ox is sacrificed to him.[1]

In the course of 2,500 years Kshētrapāla has travelled to every part of India, and he has different attributes in different parts of the country. In Bengal he even changes his sex: he becomes Kshētrādēvi, or the 'goddess presiding over fields', and is regarded as a manifestation of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu. As the goddess presiding over fields she ensures a good harvest.[2]

It is not necessary to give here an account of the transformations undergone by Kshētrapāla in the various parts of India. It is sufficient to note that in Coorg he loses all touch with the land. He is referred to as Kētrappa; '*appa*', which means 'father', being a common suffix to the names of gods all over south India, just as '*amma*' or 'mother' is a common suffix for goddesses. In Coorg, Kētrappa takes to a diet of 'blue-bubble toddy and crowing cocks'. People explain this by saying that he 'lost his caste' while travelling from Malabar to Coorg. The Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa temple does not act as a priest to a deity who has 'lost his caste'.

Ayyappa is a Sanskritic deity who is very popular with Coorgs and it is clear that his character has changed in the process of becoming acceptable to his worshippers. In Sanskritic mythology he is Shasta, the son of Shiva and Mōhini (feminine form temporarily assumed by Vishṇu). Shasta is also referred to as Hariharaputra, or the son of Shiva and Vishṇu, and he is a very popular deity all along the Malabar coast.

[1] Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 211; *Vedic Mythology*, Macdonnell, p. 138; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii, p. 227. The absolute prohibition on the killing of a cow or ox is a post-Vēdic development.

[2] C. Chakravarti, 'The Saivite Deity Ksetrapala', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. ix, 1933, p. 237.

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● 77 In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he
177 inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

[224] Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack
[551] of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

177 The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours every-
779 where Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars,
793 from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

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offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly and in a thoroughgoing manner.

The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg.

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar.

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'.

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed

A:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the mountains separating Coorg from Malabar by following the Pāḍitora Pass. The pass brought them to a mountain to the south-west of Nālknāḍ, and standing on top of the mountain they saw the whole of Coorg stretching before them. One of the four suggested that they should all shoot arrows from the mountain-top and find out which of them shot farthest. The arrows shot by the brothers fell in Ammangēri village while the sister's arrow fell in Pannangāla. The sister had beaten the brothers decisively.

The sister then asked the brothers, 'Will you eat without salt if I cook food without fire?' Calculating that it was impossible to cook food without fire, the brothers readily agreed to the sister's suggestion. The sister put some rice into a bamboo vessel containing milk and buried the vessel in sand which was very hot from the midday sun. By the time the brothers and sister had bathed and changed into ritually pure robes, the rice had been cooked in the boiling milk.

The sister served the insipid rice to the brothers who sat before the disagreeable food looking up and down. The brothers then took the rice in their hands and threw it up into the air saying, 'O younger sister, this is how hailstones fall during the monsoon.' The sister hit the brothers on their jaws with her ladle saying, 'O elder brothers, this is how lightning crashes in the monsoon.' The infuriated brothers got up from their meal at once, and washed their hands and mouths.

The brothers, beaten in the two contests with their sister, seem to have decided to take revenge by underhand means. I deliberately say 'seem to have', as in the version of the folksong I have secured there is no reference to any premeditated plan on their part. But their subsequent actions make such an inference necessary. There was another contest between the brothers and sister after the unsuccessful meal at the end of which the sister was tricked into putting back into her mouth betel stuff which she had taken out to show everyone. (For details see p. 104.) The brothers then told the sister that she had lost her caste because she had put back into her mouth something she had spat out. The sister was beside herself with grief: she beat her head, rolled on the floor, and wept bitterly. The eldest of the brothers then told her, 'Listen, younger sister, we did not deceive you, you are yourself responsible for your present plight. We are unable to help you. I advise you to settle down in Pannangāla village and become the deity of Poleyas, who will have

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartaṇḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are identified with Vishṇu. This is no doubt inconsistent, but Sanskritization frequently produces inconsistencies.

Pannangālatammé is only one of several instances of deities losing their caste. Kētrappa (m.) and Povvedi (f.) of Bēngūr lost their caste too. The case of Povvedi of Bēngūr is interesting as her namesake in Balmāvṭi, a village three miles away, retains her caste, has a Brahmin priest, and accepts only offerings of fruit and flowers. The ubiquity of the caste idiom deserves notice: the deities of the lowest castes like Poleyas and Mēdas are not worshipped by the higher castes, and these deities bear the same relation to the deities of the higher castes which the lower castes themselves bear to the higher. The habits of some deities are occasionally explained by reference to the caste idiom. A deity who accepts animal-sacrifice and liquor has lost his original high caste; and sometimes such an explanation enables a Sanskritic deity to become the deity of castes which consume meat and liquor.

III

Marriage is a preferred condition among Coorgs, and a married man has a higher ritual and social status than a bachelor. A bachelor's social personality is not regarded as fully developed.

In the case of women, however, the contrast is not so much between spinsters and married women as between the latter and widows. A widow wears only white clothes, and these clothes may not have a coloured border. The clothes and ornaments worn by a married woman may not be worn by a widow. Certain ornaments which are associated with a married woman, like black glass bangles, necklace of black glass beads, and rolls of palm leaves worn as ear-ornaments, have become symbols of the married state. As such they receive ritual respect.

It is usual for young Coorg widows to remarry, and a remarried widow has a higher social and ritual status than a widow who does not remarry, though she does not have the same status as a woman whose first and only husband is alive.

Coorgs do not differentiate between a married woman and widow as thoroughly as, for instance, the Brahmins. Amongst the latter marriage and patriliny are bound up with certain theological ideas: a woman's husband is her god, and a son not only continues the lineage but releases his ancestors from a particular kind of hell

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

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CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a
[782] fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voices, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 7; 825 [782]

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjutre at the foot of Lakshmana-tirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares. 788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years. 771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

[P 64]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their
● [776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs
devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is
not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Puncháyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and [534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahádéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, [796] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahádéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

529 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmárta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular pája. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs. [776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models [532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance. [793] In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places [782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháriés, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still máintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776 ●
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the [778]
forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793] charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per- [825] formed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

82 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
• 776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella 1 lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

1 [Errata: This should read "Cobra di Capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases 754 787 648 [683] reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

787 173 [776]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour[1] of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Koninchéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellûr in Távaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[1] [Errata: This should read "The favour". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite PúJári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

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[532]

[354]
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[796]

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

[532]

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776 ●
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
KANADA AW10
COORG AW5

K 782 K [755] cause death, and in these cases only a slight cut is made, usually in the nose or ear of the animal, sufficient to draw a few drops of blood, which are smeared on the tool, as already mentioned. In cases of epidemics, blood is poured over the image of the deity supposed to be responsible for the disease.

C 782 776 *Coorg*. The relic of human sacrifice described above, in Mr. Ramakrishna Row's memorandum, would serve to show that in Mysore such sacrifices, at one time, formed a regular part of the worship of the village deities; and this is confirmed by the account given in the *Mysore and Coorg Manual* by Mr. Lewis Rice[1] of the worship of the grāma-devatā in Coorg, which is a hill country to the west of the Mysore State inhabited by a mixed population consisting of aboriginal tribes, a hundred and twenty thousand cultivators and artisans, who were formerly serfs but are now freemen, and a ruling class of Kodagas or Coorgs, who probably migrated into the country about the third century A.D. He writes:

C 771 782 "The essential features of the religion of the Coorgs are anti-Brāhmanical, and consist of ancestral and demon-worship. As among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their grāma-devatās, Mariamma, Durgā, and Bhadra-Kālī,[2] the tutelary goddesses of the Śakti[3] line, who are supposed to protect the villages or Nāds from all evil influences. In Kirindadu and Koniucheri-Grāma in Katiyet Nād, once every three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kālī, and during the offering by the *panikas* (a class of religious mendicants), the people exclaimed 'Al Amma!'—'A man, oh mother!'—but once a devotee shouted 'Al All Amma, Adu!'—'Not a man, oh mother! a goat'; and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed.

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 264, 265.
[2] Durgā and Bhadra-Kālī are names of Kālī, the wife of Siva.
[3] See above, p. 29, n. 1.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanda mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāndek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Bāṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[777] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

● 777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual.

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage.

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'.

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593]
matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small 243
rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) 788
is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral [596]
estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the [846]
ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues [769]
to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger [787]
member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astro- [777]
loger, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
●[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvë and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:|ia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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585 [1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and
ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and
prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations
including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken
care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[674] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [779] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

243 Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been collected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and [354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they [782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2½ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

249 The cardamom requires a rich, moist soil in a bracing hill-climate, accessible to sea breezes and favoured by deep shade and partial sunshine. A western or northern hill-slope offers the greatest advantage. A working party of about 10 men start for the forest in February or March; and the site for a garden being fixed, one of the largest trees is marked for felling; a temporary hut is built on a convenient spot and operations are commenced. The smaller trees and brush-wood are cut down to some distance round the giant tree, that is to be felled, and a platform some 10 feet high built close to the tree on the upper slope. This part being completed, the party sets out early next morning with 4 good axes and, standing on the platform, a pair of cutters, generally Kudias or Yeravas, belabour the tree with all their might. [977] When tired they are relieved by their comrades. Their work must be finished by noontide or they are unlucky. At noon the front part of the tree is cut and at last some strokes are given to the side facing the high ground; the tree now trembles bends over and topples down the side of the hill, with a thundering crash, carrying down in its precipitate fall a number of smaller trees. The thorough shaking of the ground is the essential object of this operation. A piece of ground thus prepared is called a garden and according to the size of the large trees the party may cut down more than one in a day and clear as many as four or five gardens.

Within 3 months after the felling of the tree, the young plants shoot up all over the ground, shaken by the fallen giant especially near its stem and roots, and reach a height of one foot with 8 or 10 leaves within the first year; in the third year they will be 4 feet high and require a little culling, whilst previously one annual weeding is all the necessary work. In April of the third year the fruit bearing racemes shoot forth from the ground; they are alternately covered with short-stalked, beautiful, pale-white, solitary flowers of a

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. [778] The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at [788] Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1] 584 793

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāḷi were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs. [154]

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2] 793 [178]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation: 787 793

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today. 791 [584] 787

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57. [2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain maṇé*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

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342 mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters
596 from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding
[628] country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several
596 days.

423 The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some
[33] grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A
[764] part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main
[351] building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

[178] Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

596 According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children.
[591] Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a
596 variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An
587 *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

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623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké
778 joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period. 796 777

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on. 796 777 805

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*. 787 [815] 805

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India. [777] [779]

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain 796 778 783

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanḍa *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride sits on a plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pōḍa and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa gaṅga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
●778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
●778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character. 776 372 171

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning. 783 846

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen. [312]

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother. [778]

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

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when a girl is married she passes from her mother to her husband. Her mother is the person for whom she has the greatest affection, and the replacement of the mother's purse by the groom's purse explains much better what happens than mere words can.

After performing *mūrta* to the bride, the groom helps her to get up, and walks with her to the door of the kitchen. He crosses the threshold first, and then, standing on the outer side of the threshold, he offers his right hand to the bride standing in the kitchen. The bride takes his right hand with her right hand and then crosses the threshold. This act symbolizes her exit from her natal home: the kitchen is the normal sphere of activity of a woman, and it stands for and is associated with women in the minds of ordinary people. Thus when the groom helps the bride to cross the threshold of the kitchen of her natal house, the participants are made to realize the loss occasioned to the bride's natal *okka* at marriage.

The bridal pair go in state to the groom's house. The bride salutes the sacred wall-lamp, and then sits on a sacred bench in the central hall, after which she salutes the elders in the groom's house.[1] Normally a woman may not sit on the sacred benches either in the central hall or veranda, and when an exception is made in the case of the bride it is as a recognition of the fact that she has acquired membership in the groom's *okka*.

Later, the bride goes with two married women to the cattle-shed where three new reed-baskets, filled with cow-dung, are kept. Each carries a basket to the groom's rice-fields and empties it in one of the ridged-up plots where rice is grown.

Accompanied by her two companions the bride then goes to the domestic well. She worships the water in the well, and this is called *gangā pūja* or 'worship of the Ganges'. Each of the three women carries a vessel of water to the kitchen.

The duties of a woman normally include carrying manure to the fields and fetching water from the domestic well. When the bride carries manure to the groom's fields and carries water into the kitchen of his house she is doing something which she will have to do every day for the rest of her life. She ritually takes up her duties in her husband's house, and frequently on ritual occasions two people accompany the subject in the tasks he or she performs. The reed-baskets are left at the field for Poleya servants of the

[1] In some parts of Coorg she also salutes the south-western pillar and the lamp in the south-western room.

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he wears only the lower part, which covers him below the waist like a skirt. The Founder is reverenced more than the other ancestors. But sometimes the Founder[1] is outshone in importance by one of his descendants who was a famous fighter, or a commander of the Rāja's armies, or one of the Rāja's ministers, or a famous magician, or was noted for his piety. The Founder has a start over the other ancestors, but this start does not prevail against a very powerful descendant. Thus a Coorg carries the social importance which he achieves for himself into the world of his ancestors.

People who die on the battlefield, or who die a violent death, become *biras*, and *biras* are regarded as more powerful than other ancestors. The Karavanḍa, Biddanḍa, and Kaliyāṭanḍa *okkas* have separate shrines for *biras* called *bira kōṭé*.[2]

A man who is killed by a tiger or panther becomes a 'tiger spirit' (*nari pūda*), and at the ancestor-propitiation the Baṇṇa oracle paints his face yellow and marks it with black stripes or spots just before he is possessed by the 'tiger spirit'.

The wife of an ancestor is called a *kāraṇachchi* or *sōḍalachchi* or *toḍapijji*. It is believed that ancestresses are particularly liable to possess children, another instance of the Coorg belief in the strength of the bond which binds a mother to her children.

Every ancestral house has some place for the worship of the ancestors of the *okka*. This might be a separate shrine called *kaimaḍa*, or a low, earthen platform (*kāraṇava taré*) built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. The *kaimaḍa* is a single-room shrine usually facing east, the sacred direction. When an ancestor-propitiation (*kāraṇava téré*) is performed, wooden figurines representing each of the ancestors, or crude figures embossed on sheets of copper or silver, or gold, or even slabs of stone with figures sculptured on it, are kept before a lamp lighted in the ancestor-shrine. The Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform an ancestor-propitiation whenever an elder dies, and on this occasion they have wooden

[1] The Founder is usually a man, but in certain exceptional cases the honour may fall on a woman. In a certain *okka* in Nālknāḍ the men were all slaughtered in a fight over 160 years ago, and the only survivor was a pregnant woman who fled to the shrine of Pāyūrappa in Malabar. This lady gave birth to a son and returned later to her conjugal *okka* in Nālknāḍ. She is regarded as the Founder of this *okka*, and is propitiated annually at the end of the harvest festival.

[2] *Bira* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *vīra*, which means a 'hero'. In the Kannaḍa country memorial stones called *Iragallu* were formerly erected for heroes dying in battle.

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representations of ancestors made which they deposit in the river Kāvēri at the end of the propitiation. Sometimes personal possessions of the ancestors such as walking-sticks or the small Coorg sword called *piché katti* are kept in the shrine during the ancestor-propitiation.

Ordinarily the ancestor-shrine does not contain sculptured images, or unhewn stones, representing the ancestors of the *okka*. But during an ancestor-propitiation wooden or other figurines representing ancestors might be kept in the ancestor-shrine. In those parts of Coorg where there are no ancestor-shrines, every house has an earthen platform built round the trunk of a milk-exuding tree, and a rough, unhewn stone embedded in the platform stands for all the ancestors of the *okka* collectively. An unhewn stone embedded in an earthen platform might also stand for a deity like Pūda, Guḷika, Kētrappa, and Nāta (cobra-deity).[1]

Some Coorgs consider that the ancestor-shrine or platform is built over the grave of the Founder of the *okka*, and that the cobra-platform is built at a spot where a cobra breathed its last. There is no evidence to support either of these views.

Ancestor-platforms are the rule in Kiggaṭnāḍ in south-east Coorg. It has been mentioned that Kiggaṭnāḍ has a great deal in common with Kannaḍa culture, and contrasts with Nālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ in the south-west which are influenced by Malabar. The Baṇṇas and Paṇikas, masters of the technique of ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, are both Malayāḷam-speaking castes and their influence normally does not penetrate as far east as Kiggaṭnāḍ. The elaborate propitiation of ancestors, with the Baṇṇas or Paṇikas acting as oracles of the dead ancestors, does not prevail in Kiggaṭnāḍ: in the latter area propitiation is restricted to the offer of meat and liquor.

Ancestor-shrines or *kaimaḍas* are found in Coorg to the south-west of Mercara, but they are far from universal. Moegling, writing in 1855, tells us that only 'seven of the Armēri [village near Vīrarājpēṭ] houses have regular little temples where *kōla* or *bhāraṇi* is performed'.[2] Even today several prosperous and well-

[1] All over south India village-deities like Māri are frequently represented by rough unhewn stones. The Coorg instance is only a part of a wider phenomenon spreading over south India, but there are other features which link up Coorg especially with Malabar and South Canara.

[2] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 62.

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
●778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788]
expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, [778] some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[787] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[789] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

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heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[556] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

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778 custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water
171 is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

773 On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamanḍla there is an
778 immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

778 While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is
788 mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially
171 Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

776 Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are
171 sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

171 Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

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the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CP. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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[p 228]

VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

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181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
● 778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *ōkka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 river, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Urvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into
778 the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their
[551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an
773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [595] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

614 764 178

[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 [515] [602] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were [515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls [602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office [292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger [301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth [292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been [342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the [778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house [178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of [533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front [782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between [605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are [834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of [312] earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [343] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their [415] clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. [854] Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within [177] reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

[P C4]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs
173 devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendra built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

231 cription might be reared on sound farming principles. As it is, the cattle of Coorg are of a mediocre breed, better in the north and east, worse in the centre and south-west. The [439] Coorgs procure their cattle partly from Mysore, partly from the annual fair at Subramanya. The ryots have generally too great a number of them, to which they cannot properly attend, and it is not to be wondered, that there is almost annually a great mortality amongst the cattle from what the Coorgs call dodda róga i. e. great disease, the cattle refusing food and being frequently purged, gantlu-kattu i. e. throat swelling disease and the kálu-jwara or foot-sore disease. The [578] increasing coffee cultivation of late years has somewhat limited the pasturage and the constant cattle trespass on coffee plantations is a cause of much vexation and loss, both to 231 planters and ryots. The Coorgs, like other Hindoos, hold the • 778 cow sacred; it is a sort of sentimental veneration for the ani- 656 mal which ploughs the fields and, motherlike, gives milk; 648 but does not prevent them from inflicting cruelty upon the sacred beast by ill use, neglect and starvation. The slaughter of kine within the limits of the Coorg Province was distinctly prohibited by General Fraser on the assumption of the administration in the following terms:

To

Lieutenant C. F. Le HARDY,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

Having ascertained, that it is highly offensive to the religious feelings of the people of Coorg, that cows or bullocks should be killed for the purpose of being used as an article of food, I request, that you will be so good as to prohibit this

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

practice throughout the whole district by any person whether European or native. 231 778 656 648

J. S. FRASER, *Lt. Col.*
and Commissioner.

Mercara, 16th January 1835.

Whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained to this prohibition is not apparent, but the Coorgs have always, up to this time, regarded it as binding on the British Government; and, under these circumstances, we must await the dissipation by education of existing prejudices on the subject on the part of the people.

Not venerated like the cow is the bison (*Can.* kádi; Bos cavifrons) which is killed by the Coorgs without hesitation; its flesh, however, is only eaten by the lowest classes. It lives in herds throughout the thickest forests and in the highest hills, especially in Marenád and Hormalnád. The male stands nearly 6 feet high at the shoulder, but disproportionately low behind, and reaches the length of 9 feet from nose to root of tail; the tail itself is almost 3 feet long. Its hump is rather small. When young, the colour of the bison is of a dark reddish hue, which changes with age into a greyish black, the belly, legs as far as the knee-joint, breast and face being, however, of a dirty, whitish tinge. The whole body, especially the dewlap, is covered with long hair and the eyes are of a light blue colour. The horns are short and thick at the base, but gradually become thinner, leaving the tips small and sharp; they are remarkable for the symmetry of their curvature, take a fine polish and the fortunate sportsman may be proud of the trophy. The hide, which is very thick, is used for covering shields. Naturally timid and of retiring habits, preferring shady woods to open glades, except in the cooler parts of the day, the bison, when alarmed or wounded, charges headlong with mad fury his imaginary or [36* 262 554] [714 237]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 serve to lead the curious upon the right track. The Cobra di capella or Hood Snake (Naia tripudians; *Kg.* Nalla pámbu = good snake, in the sense of Eumenides?) is more frequent in the bamboo than in the mále district, and often takes possession of an ant-hill for its habitation, but also deserted huts and the thick thatch of out-houses are its favourite haunts. It [825] is kept and worshipped in demon temples and sometimes in [778] rooms to guard treasure. In a specimen 5 feet long just examined, the hood which is formed by the expanded skin of the neck, when the snake is excited, measured 7 inches in length and 4¼ in breadth. It is whitish in front and black on the lower part of the back, shading off into brown and white towards the flattened head; in the middle of the hood there is a peculiar mark resembling a pair of spectacles with the bridge downward, the frame being white and the space of the imaginary glasses black. Before an attack the cobra half raises its coiled body into a graceful curve, dilates its hood and swaying to and fro, its bifid tongue quivering all the while, it keeps its victim spell bound with its fiendish brilliant eyes, till it darts forward and hissing inflicts its [752] deadly wound. In spite of the most strenuous exertions of [825] science, combined with benevolence, no infallible remedy has yet been discovered against the bite of the cobra, and all the boasted native charms have proved worthless, though snake charmers have by their knowledge of the habits of the cobra and by the influence of the melancholy strain of their rude flageolet acquired a great power over the reptile.

The number of the poison fangs of this and all other venomous snakes, is but two, one in front of each side of the upper jaw, and they lie flat along the roof of the serpent's mouth, whilst at rest. The fangs are curved inside and as sharp as the finest needle, yet they are hollow and their root is in direct communication with the venom ducts behind them. In biting the same muscle that raises the fangs compresses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
[782] superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Kárana, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháricа, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achannaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the [778]
forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793] charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per- [825] formed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-bâne* in Kuyingherinád.

821 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella[1] lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

[1] [Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493. — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Malcyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

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788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to
[197] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal-
[823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
197 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
788 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with
798 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother
197 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the
539 bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[1] [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. see corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappakundu* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

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On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

The *Pálúr játre* in Kuyingherinádin honor of Pálúrappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

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as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or pújáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 177

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read 'Onkarésvara-dévastána'. See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 659 private contributions. The lion's share of this large Government grant falls to the Mercara-Omkarésvara temple with Rupees 4,850, to the Bhágiamandala-dévastána with Rupees 3,956; to the Tale-Kávéri pagoda with Rupees 2,320 and to the Rajahs' tombs with Rupees 2,000 per annum—a total of Rupees 13,126! When the people once see the folly of their superstitious idolatry, what an amount of spiritual good for themselves and their children they may effect with these large sums, should Government continue its liberality!

778 795 The *Mattas* or *Jangams* are religious institutions, originated and endowed by the Coorg Rajahs, who were themselves Lingaites. They are now evidently of greater importance to the Siváchára-priests, who derive an easy living from the rich endowments, than of any practical use for the Coorg people, amongst whom this sect, in spite of its royal patronage, never struck any root. The Siváchárics are easily recognised by the silver capsule, enclosing the Linga, which they wear suspended round their necks. The 57 Mattas hold as endowments 31,457 batties of land, representing an annual revenue of 3,360 Rupees due to Government, if the land were held [659] by ryots. Government, therefore, contributes not only that amount of revenue, but also the actual produce of the fields less the working expenditure.

The most richly endowed Mattas are the following:—

Bassava-hally	Matta in	Yedavanád	with 4,105	batties of land,
Abbi	do.	do.	4,005	do.
Madapur	do.	Gadinád do.	2,643½	do.
Siddapur	do.	Horurnurocklenád	2,372½	do.
Thanady	do.	Amatnád	with 1,485	do.
Chadadarally	do.	Horurnurocklenád	1,430	do.
Cheppada Katte	do.	Yedenálknád	with 1,188½	do.
Thorenur	do.	Gadinád do.	1,100	do.
their endowments amounting to			18,330	batties of land.

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Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 778 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [582] [162] [464] [184] [793] [174]

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712 8 feet thick and outside from 15 to 20 feet high with parapets 2 feet thick and 5 feet high. The fortress is an irregular hexagon and nearly conforms to the shape of the hill top, leaving enough space for a ditch all round and on the north side for a glacis. At its 6 corners there are bastions and the whole is built of strong masonry. The entrance on the east is intricate and circuitous and guarded by 3 successive gates, which close in the space, that is now occupied by public buildings the Jail, the Taluq-Subadar's, the Assistant Superintendent's and the Superintendent's Courts with the local Treasury. On the left side of the third gate there is a shrine erected against the wall, dedicated to Ganapati, the lord of hosts, whose image is daily worshipped by a Brahmin and who gets the first offerings, flowers and cocoanuts by Hindu devotees, because all who wish to prosper should begin their undertaking in Ganésha's name, and in former days it was not so dangerless for a Coorg to present himself before the Rája, as it is now before the British Superintendent! The fantastic superstructure has been added about 20 years ago by a devoted ministry who had been engaged in the building of the Frasérpet-Bridge, and who must have made large profits, to spend his money so lavishingly. Within the fort itself, there is in the centre the palace, to the left and in front of it the English Church, to the right the Quarter-guard and armoury and behind the palace the powder magazine. The English Church stands near the place which was formerly occupied by a temple dedicated to Vírabhadra and which was demolished in 1855 to make room for the Church. The latter was built by the Rev. A. Fennell in 1856-57 by private subscriptions, the Church Building Society and Government assistance and consecrated in April 1858 by Bishop Dealtry. It is a remarkably neat structure in plain Gothic style, having a tower surmounted with a low spire. From its position and elevation it is a conspicuous object from whatever side Mercara

[178]

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797

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Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlighten- 634
ed and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778] ●
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

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632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[871] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálkanád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the imposter Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131]

The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period. 796 777

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on. 796 777 805

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*. 787 [815] 805

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India. [77] [79]

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain 796 778 783

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaḳé meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, [778] some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[788] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[789] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus
184 in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of
171 Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

776 The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names:
171 Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayy-
779 appa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *désha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kéri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

779 It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic
634 Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamaṇḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

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VII

HINDUISM

I

●779 182 584 ATTEMPTS to define an enormously complex and amorphous phenomenon like Hinduism have usually ended in failure. No definition will be attempted here, but instead some important characteristics will be mentioned.

Hinduism has a long history, in the course of which it has spread over the whole of India. Buddhism, in origin a Hindu schism, is now the religion of a great part of Asia.

The structural basis of Hinduism is the caste system which occasionally even survives conversion to Christianity or Islam. The hierarchical system, with the Brahmin and Untouchable at either end, represents a fusion of Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic systems of ritual and beliefs. Each caste has both Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic ritual and beliefs, but the proportions in which the two are found together vary from caste to caste, and also from region to region. It is now possible to understand how Hinduism is able to include within itself the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and cults of ancestors and village-deities, as well as the profound philosophy of the Upanishads and Vēdānta, and the mysticism of the Bhakti Schools. Reformist sects like the Jains and Lingāyaṭs ended by becoming castes which resulted in walls being built round them, while, at the same time, they remained within the fold of Hinduism. The caste system has enabled a vast number of tiny groups with distinct cultures, occupations, and systems of belief to live side by side, the autonomy of each being respected while at the same time co-operation was ensured between them. But in the history of India the idea of hierarchy has occasionally been questioned, and unsuccessful attempts have been made to overthrow the caste system. More frequent, however, has been the effort of lowly placed groups to raise their status as a group by Sanskritizing their ritual and belief.

Rites and beliefs have been constantly undergoing a process of Sanskritization. This is going on both inside and outside Hinduism. The rites and beliefs of the castes occupying the lower rungs

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the caste-ladder as well as the rites and beliefs of outlying communities hidden away in the forest-clothed mountains of India have been subjected to Sanskritization. The presence of completely Sanskritized worship of rivers, trees, and mountains in Hinduism, and their incorporation in the vast mythology of Hinduism, make easier the assimilation of the ritual and beliefs of the lower castes and of communities remaining outside Hinduism.

Hinduism is not static. Like every living religion it has continually reacted to the political and social forces of the time, both influencing them and being influenced by them. In the last hundred years it has produced reformist movements like the Brahmo Samāj, Ayra Samāj, and the Rāmakrishṇa Mission. Mahātma Gāndhi himself in his fight against Untouchability and in the many other reforms he advocated provides us with an instance of the dynamic nature of Hinduism.

While the intellectual has all along concentrated on the Upanishads, Bhagavad Gīta, and the Philosophical Systems, to the ordinary Hindu the innumerable feasts, fasts, *vratas* (rites and austerities performed to achieve certain ends), pilgrimages, and occasional visits to nearby temples constitute the stuff of religious life. The *purāṇas* (stories illustrating the works and powers of the gods), *itihāsas* (consisting of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata), and stories about local saints and the songs sung by them, all have a conspicuous place in day-to-day living.

II

The concept of 'spread' has been used throughout this book: Hinduism has been split up, for purposes of analysis, into 'All-India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and finally purely 'Local Hinduism'. All-India Hinduism is Hinduism with an All-India spread, and this is chiefly Sanskritic in character. Peninsular Hinduism spreads over the entire peninsular part of India, while Regional Hinduism has a more restricted spread. A 'Region' has to be defined in every case, and in this book Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg Proper may be said to constitute a Region. Local Hinduism is Hinduism with its spread confined to Coorg Proper, or even a smaller area within it. In a very broad sense it is true that as the area of spread decreases, the number of ritual and cultural forms shared in common

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increases. Conversely, as the area increases, the common forms decrease.

'Spread' might vary for different castes in the same village or town: Brahmins everywhere have much Sanskritic ritual in common, and this we call 'horizontal spread'. A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking, and the Brahmins in any linguistic area share some cultural and ritual forms with all the castes, including the lowest, in that area. This type of spread, common to all the castes in an area, has been termed 'vertical spread'.

It is essential to distinguish here between the possession of common ritual and cultural forms, and of common deities and other objects of worship. The latter is more directly productive of solidarity than the former. The possession of common cultural and ritual forms is also a factor making for solidarity, but not as directly as the possession of common deities. It is possible to imagine situations in which the strength of the latter bond might result in a denial of the former. Members of two different religions living in the same area sharing the same language and other cultural and ritual forms might be involved in a mutually destructive conflict.

All-India Hinduism, as mentioned earlier, is chiefly Sanskritic and it spreads in two ways: by the extension of Sanskritic deities and ritual forms to an outlying group, as well as by the greater Sanskritization of the ritual and beliefs of groups inside Hinduism. Both these processes are at work, and the first results in Sanskritic deities assuming different forms in their travels all over India, while the second results in local deities assuming Sanskritic labels and forms. The Vēdic deity Kshētrapāla becomes Kētrappa in Coorg, while the local cobra-deity becomes identified with Subramaṇya, the warrior-son of Shiva.

All-India Hinduism possesses certain features which make easy the absorption of local elements. The worship of the river Ganges which is one of the features of Sanskritic Hinduism makes easy the absorption of river-worship in every part of India, including the worship of the River Kāvēri which rises in, and flows through, Coorg. The Kāvēri is sacred to Hindus all along its course from the source to the estuary. Temples are built along its course, and especially where other rivers join it, and on islands formed by the river. Bathing in rivers is productive of spiritual merit (*puṇya*) and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of *puṇya*.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the world. Certain ritual and cultural forms are found widespread 171
over peninsular India: the *tāḷi* or marriage badge tied by the groom
to the bride is found everywhere except among Coorgs. A married [302]
woman wears a vermilion mark on her forehead, and only she is
entitled to a necklace of tiny black beads and black bangles and
to wear flowers in her hair. The cult of the village-deities too is [776]
broadly similar.[1]

Coorg Proper forms a 'Region' along with Malabar and South 101
Canara. The three areas mentioned have many similar rites, beliefs, 779
customs, and habits. But within this 'Region', Coorg Proper seems
to have more in common with Malabar than with South Canara.
The ritual forms which Coorg shares with Malabar and South
Canara, and the deities worshipped by them, usually come under
Regional Hinduism, while the ritual forms and deities shared in
common with Kannaḍigas and Tamilians usually come under
Peninsular Hinduism.

Local Hinduism has a more restricted 'spread' than Regional 779
Hinduism. The people of a village or *nāḍ* share a great many ritual 184
and cultural forms in common, though membership of a caste
frequently cuts across these alinements in the case of the top and
immigrant castes. Castes like the Baṇṇa, Paṇika, and Kaṇiya share
certain ritual and cultural forms with not only their counterparts
in Malabar but with all Malayāḷīs. Similarly with castes like the
Poleyas and Mēdas who are immigrants from the Kannaḍa country.
The length of the period of residence of an immigrant caste, and
its position in the caste system, are factors which influence the extent
to which it has preserved its traditional culture.

The River Kāvēri is a manifestation of Pārvati, the wife of Shiva, 773
and the devout refer to it as Mother Kāvēri in certain contexts. 776
Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their patron goddess: the Kāvēri
Myth associates the river specially with Coorgs. Coorg women [291]
pleat their saris at the back instead of in the front as in the rest of
India, and this feature of their dress is attributed in the Myth to
the force of the floods which pushed the pleats of the assembled
Coorg women to the back. This happened when Pārvati first
assumed the form of a river, and Coorgs, men and women, were
waiting for their patron goddess to appear at Balmuri, a few miles
from the source.

Regional Hinduism often contains some Sanskritic elements, in 779
which case it directly stresses Regional ties and, indirectly, All-India 171

[1] [THROUGHOUT PENINSULAR INDIA -- ANALYST]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 ties. The identification of Subramaṇya with cobras in Coorg, and 171 in the Tuḷu, Telugu, and Kannaḍa countries is a case in point. Subramaṇya or Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva, is a Sanskritic deity having an All-India spread. Cobras are reverenced throughout India by Hindus and their worship takes different forms in different parts of the country. But the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya is confined to certain areas in peninsular India, and such an identification marks them off from other areas. At the same time such an identification draws the Regional phenomenon into the All-India complex.

A linguistic area is a culturally homogeneous area, relatively speaking. All the castes in such an area possess in common certain cultural and ritual forms. This type of 'spread' has been called 'vertical spread'.

The upper castes in every part of India have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common, and this has been called 'horizontal spread'. Thus a Brahmin in Coorg will have a certain amount of Sanskritic ritual in common with a Brahmin in Kashmir.

Every caste in practically every linguistic area in India shares in both horizontal and vertical spreads. Generally speaking, the higher castes have more of the former than the lower, and the lower castes share more of the latter than the upper castes.

The systematic reconstruction of Indian history which has taken place in the last seventy years, the all-round improvement in communications, newspapers, radio, films, and books have all contributed to greater and greater Sanskritization of Hinduism. The various reformist movements in Hinduism, while conducting a propaganda for the removal of what they considered to be 'defects' in Hinduism, tended to stress the value of Sanskritic Hinduism. The greatness of Sanskrit literature and the vitality of Indian philosophical thought in Sanskrit have also contributed to the increasing importance of Sanskritic Hinduism.

III

564 The complete absorption of any group of people into the Hindu fold is indicated by their becoming a caste. The exact position which such a group occupies in the hierarchy might be a matter of dispute, but this is not important. Once the popular idea of caste as a rigid, five-fold hierarchy is given up and it is thought of as

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg A-W5

564 authors of the Myth saw an inconsistency between Coorg dietary,
773 plus their failure to resort to Vēdic ritual on certain occasions of life, and their high economic position and the profession of arms. The last two factors favoured their being considered Kshatriyas, while the first two factors did not. The situation was resolved ingeniously by their being considered the descendants of an inter-caste marriage.

564 Educated Coorgs are, however, certain that they are Kshatriyas.
186 In 1902, Shri K. Appayya, a Coorg doctor in the employment of the Mysore Palace, wrote a book on Coorg customs in Kannaḍa, entitled *Koḍagara Kulāchārādi Tatvōjjivini*, and in this book he tried to derive every Coorg custom from the customs of the Vēdic Kshatriyas. This tendency is a common one: educated Coorgs regard themselves as Indo-Aryans, descendants of the original Indo-Aryan immigrants into India.

IV

773 Sanskritic Hinduism has a vast mythology. There are the *itihāsas*
773 which consist of the epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. There are
177 also the *purāṇas* which 'celebrate the powers and works of positive gods and represent a later and more extravagant form of Hinduism, of which they are in fact the Scriptures. The *purāṇas* are 18 in number, and in addition to these there are 18 *upa-purāṇas* or subordinate works . . . . None of them is devoted exclusively to one god, but Vishṇu and his incarnations fill the largest space.'[1]

The *purāṇas* are religious stories in which figure deities, and many semi-divine characters, and the public reading of the *purāṇas* and epics is even now popular. The *purāṇas* have played a great part in the spread of Hinduism as ordinary people became familiar with deities and ideas of Sanskritic Hinduism through them. Even more important is the fact that the *purāṇas* facilitated the absorption of local myths and legends. (The Kāvēri Myth is part of the Skānda Purāṇa.) The *purāṇas* have been continually expanding, absorbing local myths and legends, and also weaving myths round great historical figures and events. Another importance of the *purāṇas* is that they bring purely local myths into the main stream and thus charge them with All-India significance. Thus, through the *purāṇas*, a local community becomes acquainted with

[1] J. Dowson, *Hindu Classical Dictionary*. Kegan Paul, 1914, pp. 255–7.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CP. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōkshu*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare. 177 779

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status. 793

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Armēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year). 779 795 177

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive 793 177

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793 offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-
177 Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

●779 The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-
177 growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains,
564 and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots
776 everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly
779 and in a thoroughgoing manner.
177 The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

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The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main 779 body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat 177 and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering 182 balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty [792] years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahmi-
793 nism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, ap-
779 pears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of
177 the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends,
[648] drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in
[659] Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

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793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
799 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
177 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

344

7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaṇiya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of 823
the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, 776
and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. [342]
The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The
subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the [782]
wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by [243]
ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of
the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is [764]
buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic
Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a
good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is
associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both
these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two
deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of [184]
common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single
community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same
deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed 796
prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by 305
the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in 292
ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving,
the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers [584]
who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a [783]
higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a
purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is
being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and
it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long
sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional
ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305] defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782] the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the [764]
okka and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of 372
783

764 placed in his mouth. A bachelor and a wicked man are both in a spiritually unsatisfactory condition, and it is believed that their ghosts are likely to trouble survivors. The bitter fruit is an appropriate symbol of his unsatisfactory spiritual condition, of the fact that he is a danger to the surviving relatives and others.

553 It may be recalled here that a gold coin is used in ritually feeding a child on the occasion of conferring a name on it. A gold (or silver) coin which is used in solidarity rites itself becomes a symbol of a satisfactory spiritual and ritual condition. It was seen that this happened to a much greater extent in the case of milk.

XIII

782 The various forms of salutation prevalent among Coorgs have already been described. It is interesting to note that there is no difference between the mode of salutation adopted towards another Coorg and that adopted towards a deity. A deity might be saluted either by bowing the head and folding the palms at the chest, or by first of all prostrating oneself completely before the image and then getting up and bowing the head and folding the palms. The former mode is adopted normally towards the wall-lamp, while the latter is adopted at a famous temple, or towards the wall-lamp on a special occasion.

[171] The Coorg form of salutation is prevalent among Hindus all over India, and it is only one of several instances where Coorgs participate in a ritual idiom common to all Hindus.

576 Salutation brings into relief a particular aspect of solidarity rites: solidarity does not necessarily mean the equality of the persons participating in the particular solidarity rite. Conversely, inequality between the participants does not denote lack of solidarity. When a young Coorg salutes his father's elder brother he is not claiming to be his uncle's equal. The very act of salutation expresses that the junior is inferior to the senior: the former's head is bent and he touches the latter's feet with both hands. The junior's hands are later carried back to his forehead.

In fact, a junior who failed to show the respect due to a senior by not saluting him would be effecting a breach in the solidarity. Hostility would be the result. Everyone would say that such a youth did not know his place, that his elders had not brought him up properly, and so on.

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

796 A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

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593 bond. It is obvious that among Coorgs, Sanskritic Hinduism has
589 had such a strengthening effect and has contributed to subordinating the wife to her husband.

XIV

596 At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children. When the older members of the *okka* die the younger members take their places. The dynamic element in the *okka* consists in the younger members succeeding to the positions left vacant by the death of the older members. The *okka* may be looked upon as a certain configuration of persons bound together by agnatic and affinal ties, and this configuration remains more or less constant over a period of time. The generation-depth of an *okka* might expand by a birth, or contract by a death, a segment may cling on or split off, but in the main there is a certain constancy of configuration which makes it an *okka*. The members of an *okka* come and go, but the *okka* goes on for ever. They are like people on an escalator, those on the bottom stairs moving gradually up to the top and finally disappearing.

An *okka* not only looks forward to the future but also stretches back into the past. Each *okka* has a distinct tradition with which its living members are acquainted. The 'house song' (*mané pāṭ*) sung at the harvest festival and ancestor-propitiation enables the younger members to learn the 'history' of the *okka*.

596 The dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka* is called *kāraṇava*. *Kāraṇa*
769 in Sanskrit means, among other things, 'the cause, instrument, origin, principle, the cause of being, a father'.[1] All the ancestors are not of the same rank: the founder of the *okka* has a higher status than the others. He is called *mūla purusha* (original man) or *ādi guru* (first preceptor), or *ādi kāraṇava* (first ancestor), and his higher status is reflected in the fact that at the periodical ancestor-propitiations a pig must be sacrificed to him, while to the other ancestors a fowl will do.[2] Also the Baṇṇa oracle dons the upper part of his *téré* equipment in the Founder's honour. For the others

[1] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 274.

[2] Pigs are also usually sacrificed to bachelor-ancestors who died a violent death, and to elderly males who died subsequent to the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation. But elderly women who died after the performance of the previous ancestor-propitiation are offered only fowl.

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known *okkas* such as the Koḷandēra, Manḍepanḍa, Maneyapanḍa, and Koravanḍa have no ancestor-shrines.

Originally, odd stones embedded in earthen platforms built round the trunks of trees seem to have represented the ancestors everywhere in Coorg Proper, but later the ancestor-shrine seems to have replaced the earthen platforms in certain houses. The richer Coorgs then seem to have increasingly taken to such shrines: Moegling writes, 'those who cannot afford to build a *kaimaḍa* make a sort of mud bank for the purpose called *kōṭa* under a tree in the fields where the family's first house stood'.[1] It is likely that the possession or lack of an ancestor-shrine soon came to indicate, in certain areas, the economic and social position of an *okka*.

The next step in the elaboration of the *kaimaḍa*-complex was the building of special shrines for ancestors who died on the battle-field. Yet another step was taken when a sculptured image representing an ancestor or an ancestor's benefactor was placed in the ancestor-shrine. For instance, the chieftain Achchu Nāyaka was helped by the Kannaḍa ruler of Piriyāpaṭṇa, Nanjunḍa Arasu (*c.* 1670), to regain his chieftaincy. The grateful Achchu Nāyaka built a shrine in which sculptured images of himself and his benefactor were placed.

In the ancestral house of the Kōdanḍa house in Kaḍanga Marūr village there are two tombs built over the graves of two ancestors who attained to very high positions in the service of the Rājas. These tombs have been built just outside the ancestor-shrine, and are crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, the 'vehicle' of Shiva. Tombs, and especially tombs crowned with figures of the Nandi Bull, are very popular among the Lingāyaṭs of south India. Coorgs who were in the employment of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas borrowed the customs, manners, and ritual of their rulers.

During festivals like harvest festival, and at marriage, a little meat curry and rice are offered on a plantain leaf to the ancestors. A leaf-cup of arrack is also kept on the plantain leaf. The ancestors consume the essence of the offering and thereby consecrate it. All over Hindu India food, or any article which has been offered to a deity, is called *prasāda*, and worshippers have to partake of the *prasāda*. Food which is offered to a deity is later distributed among the worshippers, who eat it. Where flowers which have been placed

[1] Ibid., pp. 62–68. By 'family's first house' Moegling obviously means the ancestral house.

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769 on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks
782 them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

[796] Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with
[585] them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and
769 shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

782 The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of
787 the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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or *boiḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

A of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

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769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.
787

Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka*
[621] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.
[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

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ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But 789
unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of 787
sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he 782
described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate 769
ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic 782
modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food 184
and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788]
expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subra-
[778] maṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[787] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[789] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
●782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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several years ago, in some villages near Mercara, Coorgs successfully opposed the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to Māri on the ground that buffaloes were the same as cows and the slaughter of cows (and oxen) should not be allowed under any circumstances. It is interesting to note that elsewhere in south India a similar reverence for cattle did not prevent the sacrifice of bull buffaloes to village-deities. Very recently, however, the local leaders of the Indian National Congress have been everywhere more or less successfully opposing the propitiation of village-deities with blood-offerings.

The most common village-deities in Coorg are Bhagavati (Povvedi) and Ayyappa (or Shasta). The former is male and the latter female. Several other deities such as Chaunḍi or Chāmunḍi (f.), Kāḷi, (f.), and Kētrappa (or Kshētrapāla (m.)) are also occasionally found as village-deities.

All the above deities are also commonly found in Malabar and South Canara. The traditional songs which are sung in Coorg at the festivals of village-deities make the latter out to be immigrants from Malabar or South Canara.[1] In these folksongs an important deity coming from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg usually brings with him a few minor deities who meet him on the way and beg of him to find them shelter in Coorg. Sometimes deities who come from Malabar go round to the established temples in Coorg such as the source of the river Kāvēri, and Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) temple in Makki, the Subramaṇya temple at Pāḍi, &c., and beg one of these latter deities for shelter.

The song sung at the festival of Kētrappa tells the story of the coming of Kētrappa into Bēngūr from Malabar: a party of Bēngūr youths led by Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa go in a caravan to Māḍāyi in Malabar, and the leader is possessed by the deity Kētrappa while returning to Coorg after selling the rice carried by the caravan. The song tells us that a number of deities, viz. Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa, Povvedi (or Bhagavati), Chaunḍi, and Pūḍa request Kētrappa (represented by his oracle Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa) to grant them shelter. Kētrappa promises them shelter and settles them in Bēngūr and surrounding places such as Ivattu-okkalu, Heravanāḍ, and the Kopaṭṭi Hills.

It is obvious that these folksongs cannot be treated as accurate

[1] Frequently the songs tell us that a group of deities set out from the mythical Milk Sea. It is interesting to note that in such cases they reach some town on the Malabar Coast first and then proceed to Coorg.

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few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the 796
shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, 787
and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on [785]
his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the 796
priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, 782
children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 before decapitating the animals. As soon as a few drops of blood
782 drip from his finger, he sacrifices the 'village fowls'. Then he decapitates the 'village goat' before the shrine. The decapitation of the other animals takes place only after the decapitation of the 'village fowls' and 'village goat'. The Paṇika receives as his perquisite the heads of the 'village goat' and of all the fowls.

After all the animals have been cut, the assembled villagers turn their backs on the scene of carnage and remain silent for a few minutes. This is to enable the deity to consume the essence of the sacrificed animals in peace. They then turn round and sing the *ānanda pāṭ* (the song of joy), after which the villagers depart for their homes with the headless carcasses. The headless 'village goat' is tied to a high branch of the *dēvā kaṇigalé* (oleander) tree near the temple. It remains suspended there till noon of the twelfth day, when it is taken down and cooked for the communal dinner. It is said that vultures and kites do not touch the carcass of the 'village goat', nor does the flesh go bad as it normally would in the heat of summer. This is attributed to the power of Bhadrakāḷi.

VI

On the eleventh morning a representative of the Karṇaṇḍra
796 [783] *okka* cleans the temple yard of bloodstains and he is paid three *paṇas* (about nine annas) for performing this duty. The Brahmin priest then ritually purifies the temple and temple yard by sprinkling consecrated water everywhere and uttering the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*.

Races are held on the eleventh afternoon for 'prostitutes' (*chūḷé*) and for 'horses' (*kuḍuré*). The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇaṇḍra, and Nandiyaṇḍa *okkas* are each required to send one 'prostitute' and one 'horse' for the races. 'Prostitutes' and 'horses' are regarded as votive offerings. For instance, when a boy is ill, his parents might
[782] make a vow to the effect that they will dress him up as a 'prostitute' at the coming festival.

Getting the 'prostitute' and 'horse' ready in time is not very easy, and clear, if elaborate, rules are laid down requiring certain *okkas* to help each of the three *okkas* charged with the responsibility of making the offerings. For instance, the Tātaṇḍra *okka* is required to help the Māḷeṭṭira *okka*, the Kuṭṭaṇḍra *okka* (now split into two) to help the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and the Māḷeṭṭira *okka* to help

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that [788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 164 782 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual importance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[596] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head. 622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of [631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of 829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are, [634] however, the headmen of *sīmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamaṇḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
• [782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 It is important to remember that Sārtāvu is Ayyappa, the son
776 of Shiva and Vishṇu in the form of Mōhini. The lawless spirit of a magician-cum-fighter is tamed by making it subordinate to a deity who has been completely Sanskritized.

XII

182 The hierarchical idea inherent in caste expresses itself in a
584 variety of ways at the festival of a village-deity. For instance, at
782 the Kētrappa festival in Bēngūr, the fowls brought as offerings to the deity by members of the higher castes are decapitated by a Coorg, and the pigs brought by them, by a Paṇika. But neither the Coorg nor the Paṇika decapitates the animals brought by the lower castes like the Mēda and Poleya. The animals brought by the latter are decapitated by a Mēda.

Usually, the man who sacrifices the animal gets its head as his perquisite. The animal is then divided into two halves, one half going to the owner and the other to the village. Each *okka* in the village gets a share in the half which goes to the village. But the animals offered by Mēdas and Poleyas are not divided in this manner, nor do they get a share in the animals brought by the higher castes. That is to say, in this context, the village does not include the Mēda and Poleya. Nor does it include the Brahmin who does not sacrifice animals to deities.

182 The deities Kākkōṭ Achchayya, and Akkavva, according to the
584 folksong, leave Malabar to seek shelter in Coorg. After crossing
773 into Coorg they meet a Poleya deity, Kāryappa, whom they take as their servant. The three deities then go to Kākkōṭ village where they see some children playing. Kākkōṭ Achchayya and Akkavva possess Coorg children, whereas Kāryappa possesses a Poleya boy. In this instance, the caste-idiom is completely projected into mythology and religion.

776 The deities Kētrappa (m.) and Koḍli Povvedi (f.) are both
182 recipients of offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Coorgs explain this by saying that both the deities lost their caste on coming into Coorg. In fact there is an incident in the Kētrappa song giving an account of the change in the dietetic habits of the deity: while returning to Bēngūr from Malabar, Kallumāḍa Ayyaṇṇa, who was possessed by Kētrappa, put everyone to sleep while he climbed a *bainé* (caryota urens) tree and drank toddy from

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandal-
782 wood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mammā, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kundi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag in the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyē] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikati) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

585 gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians.
574 Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new
292 kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and
[301] his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father,
together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a
[405] carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

585 In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada,
[782] carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors.
[354] On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and
585 strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece
431 of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the
[576] guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they
[589] are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings
[777] because they are unlucky.

585 The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are
[574] invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion.
[533] Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

[P. 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
● [782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voices, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finishedtheir course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

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During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations.

7. 825 [782]

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjutre at the foot of Lakshmana-tirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Tulai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years.

771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

796 776 787 [782]

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
[533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[727] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then
[526] proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

241 THE principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

243 782 [221] The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On [354] an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

243 [221] Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes [474] as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it. 224 411 [177] 224

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thadusala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits. 226

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities. 264 262 [415] [782] [273] [177]

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the 462

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Tree Worship

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Huttari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

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312 773 guna in the year Párthiva. This was written by Venkadasya Mallia Bomarsia at the time of Basawalinga Déva Rája Vodea."

The legend is shortly this: "A merchant Malla Shetty of Yelusávirashíme vowed to build this tank. When it was [782] finished, there was no water forthcoming. Animal sacrifices were suggested by the tank diggers and offered, but in vain. In this distress the goddess Ganga appeared and demanded the little finger of the Shetti. Unwilling to make this sacrifice, he offered the life of Akkony, his daughter-in-law instead, whose husband was away on a journey. Akkony agreed, took an affectionate leave of her child and parents, who were ignorant of her intentions, and amidst great solemnities she stepped into the tank, when Ganga made her appearance in rushing water. Akkony's parents, hearing of the impending sacrifice, hastened to rescue their daughter, but she refused to leave the tank, uttered a curse upon her father and mother-in-law and disappeared in the rising water. She then appeared in a dream to her husband, who speedily returned home, and, on hearing what had happened, killed his parents, and with his child in his arms rushed to the tank and in despair threw himself into it, when both were graciously received by Ganga."

312 Besides the small public tanks, there are only private wells, that yield, if dug deep enough, everywhere sweet and clear water; but it appears, that the natives of Coorg do not bestow enough attention on the great blessing of wholesome water, and are often satisfied with the muddy contents of a hole, carelessly dug by the side of their paddy-fields, though from their own experience they assert, that most of their diseases are owing to the bad quality of their drinking water.

137 *Forests and their general flora and fauna.*—In Coorg extensive forests clothe every mountain range almost up to the summit and bamboo jungles, cover the more level eastern districts,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [777] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

243 Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been collected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and [354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they [782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2½ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in [757]
use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allaying medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umales, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gadémales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. "I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahádéva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and another invocation of the three deities concludes the performance.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

open space before the temple, many of them possessed by [796] devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- [786] lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787] lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation [796] of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers [782] of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535] Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788] the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787] Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793] hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

accompany him to the house of the astrologer. They enquire of the wise man, what will be the most propitious day for the celebration of the Keilmúrta. By the sage's answer the day of joy for the village-youth is fixed. The hard labours of ploughing, sowing and rice-transplanting are over, there is a lull in the monsoon, and now and then a most lovely day spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and valleys, forests and fields of Coorg. The people have long been at labour in their fields and houses: a holiday is now most welcome. On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is collected in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to some room or to the centre-place, the Nadumane, and there placed in a corner. They wait now for the muhúrta, the propitious time, assigned by the astrologer. At the right moment incense is burned before the weapons, sandalwood-paste is dotted upon them in profusion, and a show-offering of rice and other food (nevédya) is made to them, as to idols. As soon as this ceremony is over, a mat is placed before the weapons, and the whole house sits down to dinner. After the meal, the men take their arms and proceed to the Urumandu (village-green) to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark, and in athletic exercises. When the cocoanut has been hit, some of the company jump over a rope extended four or five feet from the ground. After this exercise, plantain-trees are fixed upon the ground, standing three deep. Now the strength of arms and the goodness of knives are tried. He who succeeds in cutting through three plantain-trees at one stroke, carries away the palm. Then round, heavy stones, placed on the Mandu for the purpose, are lifted and thrown, or put as in Scotland, over the head by such as are strong enough. The evening has now set in, and the company disperses. On the following morn-

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527 224 On the following morn-
ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

791 128

The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

778 177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs. [776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models [532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance. [793] In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places [782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca: 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

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769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests
does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems
are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarâtri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

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the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháricas, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the [778]
forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793] charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per- [825] formed, the *Kádéeru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

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778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

821 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to
[791] that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella[1] lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

[1] [Errata: This should read "cobra di Capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493. — Analyst]

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and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations. 778 825 753 [782]

c. **Astrology and Sorcery.**

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchayat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the 791 [787] [754] [753] [761] [777] 754 787 [642]

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754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Panchâyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases 754 787 648 [683] reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

● 782 173 [776]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Grâma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nâds from all evil influences. In Kirindâdu and Konichéri-grâma in Katiednâd, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pânikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (âlu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, âdu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellûr in Távaligherri-mûrnâd of Kiggatnâd-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour". see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

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782 789 791 178 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 782 753 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 783 **e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.**

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmánatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Beticdnád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Beticdnád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

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Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests 635
dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlightened and uncivilised in Coorg. 634 There are many jungle-people
especially the Kádu-Maratties, who live on Kumari-cultivation 635
(vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the 634
Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, 563
but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the 635
wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly 565
Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). 776
But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, [778]
having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, [782]
Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range 635
of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at 133
the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

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K 782 K [755] cause death, and in these cases only a slight cut is made, usually in the nose or ear of the animal, sufficient to draw a few drops of blood, which are smeared on the tool, as already mentioned. In cases of epidemics, blood is poured over the image of the deity supposed to be responsible for the disease.

C •782 776 *Coorg*. The relic of human sacrifice described above, in Mr. Ramakrishna Row's memorandum, would serve to show that in Mysore such sacrifices, at one time, formed a regular part of the worship of the village deities; and this is confirmed by the account given in the *Mysore and Coorg Manual* by Mr. Lewis Rice[1] of the worship of the grāma-devatā in Coorg, which is a hill country to the west of the Mysore State inhabited by a mixed population consisting of aboriginal tribes, a hundred and twenty thousand cultivators and artisans, who were formerly serfs but are now freemen, and a ruling class of Kodagas or Coorgs, who probably migrated into the country about the third century A.D. He writes:

C 771 782 "The essential features of the religion of the Coorgs are anti-Brāhmanical, and consist of ancestral and demon-worship. As among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their grāma-devatās, Mariamma, Durgā, and Bhadra-Kālī,[2] the tutelary goddesses of the Śakti[3] line, who are supposed to protect the villages or Nāds from all evil influences. In Kirindadu and Koniucheri-Grāma in Katiyet Nād, once every three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Kālī, and during the offering by the *panikas* (a class of religious mendicants), the people exclaimed 'Al Amma!'—'A man, oh mother!'—but once a devotee shouted 'Al All Amma, Adu!'—'Not a man, oh mother! a goat'; and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed.

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 264, 265.
[2] Durgā and Bhadra-Kālī are names of Kālī, the wife of Śiva.
[3] See above, p. 29, n. 1.

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has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellur in Tavaligeri-Murnad of Kiggatnad taluq, once a year, by turns from each house, a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but when the turn came to a certain home, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple, and said to the pūjārī 'Kalak Adu,' which has a double meaning, *viz.* Kalak, next year, Adu, we will give, or Adu, a goat, and thenceforth only scapegoats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon; the blood is sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas, dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths, and their faces covered with metal or bark masks, perform their demoniacal dances. In Mercara taluq in Ippanivolavade, and in Kadikeri in Halerinad, the villagers sacrifice a Kona or male buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Mēda (a wandering tribe, who are basket and mat makers), who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree, and the flesh eaten by the Mēdas. In connexion with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple, the *kombata* or horn dance, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *pili-ata* or peacock's feather dance, the performers being ornamented with peacock's feathers, and the *chauri-ata* or yak-tail dance, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yak-tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

"In some cases where a particular curse, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, is said by the Kaniya[1] to rest upon a house, stable, or field, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kaniya sends for some

[1] The Kaniyas are religious mendicants, said to be descendants of a Malayali Brāhman and a low-caste woman.

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782 of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannus, and they set
754 to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians descends. He sits down in Hindu fashion muttering mantrams. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc., are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *maranada bali*, or death atonements. They cost from ten to fifteen rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

755 "In cases of sore affliction befalling a whole Grāma
782 or Nād (village), such as small-pox, cholera, or cattle disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of Mariamma by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the *Mandu*: whence they are carried in procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, and waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the Nād boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions are consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of adjoining Grāmas or Nāds repeat the same ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from Nād to Nād, and at last expelled from the country."

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ments, ritually bores the ears of boys and girls. Formerly, the 328
ritual boring of a boy's ears was an important initiation rite, mark- 304
ing his transition from boyhood to adulthood.

The clothes washed by the washerman (Maḍivāḷa) are not only 296
clean but ritually pure (*maḍi*), and ritually pure clothes should be 292
worn on ritual occasions. The washerman's services are necessary 783
on every ritual occasion. For instance, at a Coorg wedding he has the duty of supplying clean cloths for the bridal pair to walk on, and cloths to cover the ceiling above the bridal seat. He has similar duties at the festival of the village-deity. He also acts as the ritual purifier when a birth or death occurs in a Coorg house. But some Coorgs, especially those in Kiggaṭnāḍ, resort to the Brahmin for ritual purification.

Contact with a barber defiles a Coorg, and every Coorg has a 305
purificatory bath after being shaved by a barber. Such a bath is 783
necessary in order to restore the shaved person to normal ritual status. The barber's services are, however, indispensable at a [302]
wedding and a funeral, and shaving is an essential preliminary act for men on ritual occasions.

The Mēda occupies a very low position in the caste hierarchy. [564]
He makes artefacts like baskets, fish-traps, and receptacles of cane, 285
vōṭé reed, and bamboo. He is indispensable at a Coorg festival, [538]
dance or hunt, where he beats his tom-tom. The Mēda is a byword for stupidity in Coorg folklore.

The strength of the bond prevailing between the Coorg master 357
and his Poleya servant expressed itself in ritual. Formerly, one or 765
two members of the Poleya servant-family observed ritual mourning for their dead master or mistress. On the day their mourning terminated they were given gifts of cloths and provisions by their masters. The Poleya servants (men) also performed a mourning dance (*anga kaḷi*) in front of the master's house before the corpse was removed to the burial-ground.

At a Coorg wedding, just as the bridal pair are about to leave the 357
bride's house for the groom's, a Poleya servant of the bride's 585
family comes forward, holding a torch in his left hand, while he spreads a cloth before them. The groom throws money, equivalent to a *paṇa* (about three annas), on the cloth. The Poleya then removes the cloth, thus enabling the bridal pair to proceed: contact with a cloth touched by a Poleya defiles a member of a high caste.

Sometimes ritual occasions stress the structural distance that 564

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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623 they are today. They controlled the public conduct of a Coorg very
681 thoroughly. The principal sanctions at the disposal of the assembly were *poḷévāḍu* or fine, and *poramaḍi* or excommunication. There was a regular scale of fines laying down the maximum that could be levied on an individual, and on an entire *okka*, village, or *nāḍ*. The maximum fine on a village headman guilty of an offence was very much higher than the maximum for an ordinary individual, and similarly, the maximum for a *nāḍ*-headman was higher than that for a village-headman.

[689] Fines are levied for minor offences such as failure to attend a communal dance or hunt, or to observe the requisite food restrictions during the festival of a village-deity. Failure to pay the fine resulted in the guilty person being excommunicated from the village. He was not permitted to attend the village-assembly or a communal dance or hunt. He was not allowed to enter the village temple or take part in the festival of the village-deity,[1] but he was allowed to remain in any house in which he had a right to stay, such as his natal house, or his wife's natal house. The guilty person could resume his normal social status after he had paid the fine, half of which went to the village temple and the other half to the elders who levied the fine.

688 Serious offences were punished by the offender's being ex-
[558] communicated from caste. Such a punishment was usually for a prescribed period, during which the offender was not entitled to stay or dine even in his natal house. Not only was he prohibited from attending a dance or hunt, but he was also prohibited from going into any house in the village. The barber was not allowed to shave him, the washerman was not allowed to wash his clothes, and similarly artisan castes could not make anything for him. Even his cattle were not allowed to graze on the common pasture.

• 783 After the prescribed period of punishment was over, the offender
778 had to go on a pilgrimage to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. He had to have his head and faced shaved, and bathe in the sin-cleansing waters of the sacred Kāvēri. He then went to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara for worship, and this was followed by a visit to the source of the River Kāvēri, which is probably the most sacred spot in Coorg. He bathed in the bigger of
783 the two springs and worshipped the smaller spring. He then

[1] A person polluted by the occurrence of a birth or death suffers from similar disabilities.

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returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society. 783

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities. 689 783

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity. 684 558

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours 634 [101] 184

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

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Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present.

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins.

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning.

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' 796
is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as in- 777
clusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspicious-
ness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are
auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds
in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which
mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Impor-
tant work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may 796
be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are 777
nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a 805
Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it
gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days
on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one
may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur,
and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu 787
theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to [815]
Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events
like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes 805
from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes,
and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the [77]
more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more
does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is [79]
Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to
the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but 796
also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in 778
his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he
has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, 783
Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house.
Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved
yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washer-
men (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house
except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, how-
ever, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

●783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which
841 a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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765 widower, ritual mourning lasts sometimes six months, and during
302 this entire period shaving is forbidden.

765 The restriction on shaving is only one of several restrictions
182 imposed on the mourners, and in order to understand its meaning completely all the restrictions have to be taken into consideration. The mourners are forbidden to consume meat, honey, betel leaves and areca-nut, mushrooms, and liquor. They may not go to a temple, or wedding, or dance. They have to wear mourning dress, and they have to perform certain ritual. It is necessary to emphasize that these restrictions have to be observed. They show to the outside world that the mourner is 'concerned' in the death that has occurred.

There are degrees of 'concern': the close relatives have to show greater concern than distant kindred. The mourning period is longer for them, and they are marked off from the others in other ways too. The obligatory expression of concern in the culturally defined manner serves to maintain a certain kinship and social structure.

VII

783 The preparatory, purificatory ritual act which comes after
[343] shaving is a ritual bath. It is usual for three[1] married women to give this ritual bath to the subject. The *guḍḍa* or bathroom is a room outside the main building of the ancestral house, and the subject
[533] marches in state to it. The procession is headed by pipers and drummers followed by four Coorgs beating a tiny drum and singing the traditional 'road song'. At a wedding, after the groom
[585] returns in state from his bath, the best man[2] helps to dress him in ritual robes and ornaments.

[515] A Coorg washes his hands, feet, and face before saluting the sacred wall-lamp every day, morning and evening; and on festival days he takes a bath and changes into clothes washed by the washerman. Both bath and change of clothes are preliminary to prayer.

It is usual to approximate physical impurity to ritual impurity.

[1] Odd numbers have ritual value in Coorg as elsewhere in south India.
[177] Number '3' is specially sacred. A person usually walks thrice round a sacred object like a tripod stool, temple, and funeral pyre.

[2] The best man (*bōjakāra*) is a married man, and the bride has a matron of honour (*bōjakarati*).

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid 846
of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because 296
of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the posi- [564]
tion he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such [177]
inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the 585
groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best 292
man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental [293]
Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni manḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not [783]
wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé taṇḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and [301]
also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764]
okka is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of 372
783

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372 a ritual attitude towards the kitchen stove. A few embers from the
783 kitchen stove and a few grains of cooked rice from a vessel on the stove are put into a dining-dish. Water is poured on the embers and rice, and a thick, ashy liquid is formed in the dining-dish. This liquid is *teḷi nīr*, and great protective powers are attributed to it. The mourners returning home on the eleventh day after performing the rites in the burial-ground, a daughter-in-law returning to her conjugal home with her baby born in her natal home, a member of the house returning from a long journey, and a newly bought calf are all sprinkled with it.

783 In the foregoing instances *teḷi nīr* removes some inimical or
778 dangerous power in the person or object that is coming into the house. People who are 'strangers' to the *okka* have this power in
[609] them. A child of a male member of the *okka* born in its mother's
372 natal house, a newly bought calf, a member long absent from home,
596 and a mourner are all 'strangers' for purposes of *teḷi nīr*. Members of the *okka* enjoy its protection and strength while persons and objects outside it do not do so. Things that stand for the *okka* represent its strength and protective power, and the kitchen stove is an appropriate object to stand for the *okka*. The embers and the cooked rice are both taken from the kitchen stove. The kitchen stove and the dining-dish also stand for commensality which is a basic feature of the *okka* in every part of India. In fact, commensality is a legal criterion of 'jointness'. Commensality denotes the unity and strength of the *okka*. Commensality is an act of solidarity. Absence of commensality indicates division. In a country like India where all kinds of ritual rules surround eating, commensality assumes even greater importance than what it would have in another society.

372 The domestic lamp, as long as it is burning, indicates that the
776 protective power of the *okka* is active, and its going out indicates
171 the withdrawal of such protective power. Such withdrawal spells dangers to the members of the *okka*. The domestic lamp led to a consideration of the significance of the kitchen stove, and this in turn led to a consideration of fire generally and the sun. In Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism, Agni is the god of fire and he is related to Sāvitār or Sūrya, the sun-god. Agni and Sūrya are deities in the Vēdas and they are known and understood all over Hindu India. The local phenomenon of the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and kitchen stove is absorbed into the

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character.

X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

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IV

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(2) THE CONCEPTS OF *POLÉ* AND *MAḌI*

I

THE external world is divided into two parts, the sacred and non-sacred. The term 'sacred' is used in its wider sense as inclusive of 'good-sacredness' as well as 'bad-sacredness'. Good-sacredness includes all forms of ritually desirable states and conditions like auspiciousness and purity, while bad-sacredness includes all forms of ritually undesirable states and conditions such as inauspiciousness and impurity. 771

The Koḍagi term for ritual purity is *maḍi*, and this term is found in all other Dravidian languages except Malayāḷam; and *polé*, which means ritual impurity, is found in all Dravidian languages except Telugu. 783

Polé is used in Koḍagi in two senses: one, in which it means ritual impurity generally; and another in which it means certain specific forms of ritual impurity. In the latter cases it is usual to add the necessary prefixes: for instance, *kuruḍu polé* (blind pollution) or *tinga polé* (monthly pollution) refers to the impurity of a woman in her periods, and *petta polé* or *puruḍu*[1] *polé* refers to birth pollution.

The pollution resulting from the death of a person is called *tīké*. *Tīṭ* in Tamil means death-pollution, while *tīṭ* in Koḍagi means faeces. A house in which an adult has died is referred to as *tīké mané* (polluted house) till the end of ritual mourning. On the day ritual mourning ends, in the afternoon, after the mourners have returned from the burial-ground, the family friend says, 'Until now mourning, from now on festival' (*indākaṇé tammé iṇṇa pinya nammé*). *Tammé* is used to mean mourning, while *nammé* is used to mean festival.

All over India there is a ban on a member of a higher caste touching, or coming very close to, a member of a lower caste. This

[1] *Puruḍu* which means the pollution consequent on birth occurs in all Dravidian languages excepting Malayāḷam.

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tindu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé—ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannada country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

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783 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and 827 objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle. 827 Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in 539 search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown 827 far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states. 783 827

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure. 783

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied. [764] [769]

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement. [787] [761] [784]

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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783 and so the person in question sits under a sieve while water is poured on him through it. The sieve has a few hundred holes, and every time a vessel of water is poured into it the person underneath has a few hundred baths. When the proper observance of a ritual rule or prohibition involves great trouble and inconvenience there come into existence ritual mechanisms which take the edge off the rules.

III

Bad-sacredness is a wider concept than pollution or ritual impurity; and there are several degrees of ritual impurity. The birth of a child results in a mild form of pollution called *petta polé* or *puruḍu* for seven or twelve days for all members of the *okka* except the mother of the new-born baby, who attains normal ritual status only on the sixtieth day. During birth-pollution the members of the *okka* avoid going to a temple. But they may go to a dance or wedding where they are bound to touch people in normal ritual status.

Tiké or death-pollution is quite a different matter, however. The members of the dead man's *okka* have to avoid touching people in normal status for a period of at least twelve days after death. During this period they have to observe certain taboos regarding food and dress. *Tiké* might be described as an acute form of pollution, while *petta polé* or *puruḍu polé* is a mild form of it. But the latter is a more serious form of pollution than normal ritual status.

Normal ritual status is the status which a person enjoys most of the time. From this point of view, both *maḍi* and *polé*, both ritual purity and impurity, are deviations from the normal. Death-pollution is also an abnormal ritual condition, lasting only for a short period, comparatively speaking.

There is no term in Koḍagi for normal ritual status. When Coorgs want to describe this condition they resort to the Kannaḍa (and also Telugu) term *mailigé*. It is interesting to note that the soiled clothes which a washerman takes away are *mailigé*, and the clean clothes which he brings back are *maḍi*. The washerman himself is referred to as *maḍivāḷa*.

Ritual impurity, normal ritual status, and ritual purity form a hierarchy. If a person in an impure condition touches another in a condition of either purity or normal ritual status, the latter becomes impure. If a person in a condition of normal ritual status

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touches another in a pure condition, the latter loses his purity and is reduced to normal ritual status. That is, normal ritual status is a mild form of impurity. 783

Tiké or death-pollution represents the highest degree of ritual impurity, *polé* or birth-pollution comes next, and *mailigé* or normal ritual status is the mildest form of ritual impurity. But *maḍi* or ritual purity is of a different quality altogether, and contact with impurity in any form usually destroys it.

IV

It has been mentioned earlier that there is an opposition between good-sacredness and bad-sacredness. This implies that *maḍi* which is good-sacred and *polé* which is bad-sacred are opposed to each other. In concrete terms, a man who is in a condition of *polé* or *tiké* may not go to a ritually pure place like the temple and village green. Conversely, a person who is in a condition of *maḍi* like the man who is chosen to cut ritually the paddy sheaves at the harvest festival may not come into contact with a man enjoying normal ritual status, still less with someone in a condition of *polé*. A person in *maḍi* avoids a person in *polé*.[1]

There are exceptions to this rule, however. Kaiyandira Appayya, the boy-hero who saved the honour of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, was showered with honours and privileges by a grateful *nāḍ*. One of the privileges permitted him to visit the temple even when he was suffering from *polé*. A similar privilege is even today enjoyed by the Bellitanḍa *okka* in the temple of Bytūrappa in north Malabar. Bytūrappa, a form of Shiva, is the patron-deity of a number of *okkas* in south-west Coorg. The Bellitanḍa *okka* have the special privilege of being able to send offerings to their patron-deity even while under *polé*. This is because a pregnant woman of the Bellitanḍa *okka* who was fleeing from Tippu's troops sought and found sanctuary in the Bytūrappa temple. She gave birth to a boy in the temple and the boy spent sixteen years in the temple before returning to his *okka* in Coorg. There is thus a special bond between the Bellitanḍa *okka* and the deity Bytūrappa, and this is recognized in the fact that the former are permitted to send offerings even while under *polé*.

[1] At the annual festival of the deity Kākkōṭ Achchayya, the Brahmin priest carrying the idol of the deity flies into the temple at the sight of the Banna oracle. The Brahmin and the idol he carries would both be defiled if he did not do so.

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783 *Maḍi* and *polé* are opposed to each other, and the normal relation between them is one of avoidance. But where very great solidarity is prevalent between two persons or parties, the existence of such opposition between *maḍi* and *polé* is overruled. In the folksongs there is an explicit recognition of the fact that the waiving of such opposition in certain special cases is a favour granted to a human being for certain reasons.

V

The ritual concepts of *maḍi* and *polé* are intimately related to the social structure. A member of a high caste is in a condition of *maḍi* in relation to a member of a low caste, and the latter is in a condition of *polé* in relation to the former. There is a ban on contact between castes belonging to different strata.

It is interesting to note that when a low-caste man touches a high-caste man, the latter is defiled and the former is not purified. It is argued by some that this is a *structural necessity* as the essence of a stratified society consists in maintenance of the structural distance between various castes, and this distance would be destroyed if contact between two men belonging to different castes led to the lower being purified instead of the higher being defiled. This argument ignores that egalitarianism is reached not only when everyone attains purity but also when everyone is defiled. In any case, *normally* the change of ritual status consequent on members of different castes coming into contact with each other is only temporary. It does not lead to a permanent change of ritual status.[1]

A high-caste man is no doubt in a condition of ritual purity in relation to a low-caste man. But considered by himself, his normal ritual status is *mailigé*, which is a mild form of impurity. He attains purity on certain occasions, and *polé* and *tīké* on certain other occasions. Similarly, the low-caste man, considered by himself, is *mailigé* normally, and *polé* and *maḍi* only occasionally.

One last point needs to be made before completing our account of the relation between *polé* and *maḍi*. The mourner who is in a condition of *tīké*, an extreme form of defilement, is required to perform certain rites. Usually these rites consist in the offering of

[1] It is not always that a *maḍi*-object becomes defiled when it comes in contact with a *polé*-object: the sprinkling of consecrated water purifies a person or house in a condition of ritual impurity.

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food in one form or another to the spirit of the departed person. 783
The mourner has to observe punctiliously a number of rules and restrictions while making these offerings: he has to have a bath in cold water, wear ritually pure robes, and observe a fast. He starts cooking his food only after he has made the ritual offerings for the day. Many kinds of food are prohibited to him during mourning, and he may have only one proper meal every day.

Conditions like a bath, the wearing of ritually pure robes, and the observance of a total fast till the completion of the ritual are also observed while performing good-sacred ritual. A person takes a bath and wears ritually pure robes before worshipping a deity. He breaks his fast only after the worship is over. While *polé* and *maḍi* are normally mutually opposed, the mourner who is in a condition of *tīké* fulfils the same preliminary ritual rules as the devotee about to pray. The mourner when offering food to the spirit of the dead person is inhabiting a world which is very far removed from that of the devotee about to pray. The former is living in a world of ritual impurity, whereas the latter is living in the world of ritual purity. But within the world of ritual impurity the mourner attains a form of ritual purity prior to performing the most important rites: in other words he attains *maḍi* in *polé*.

The concepts of normal ritual status, pollution, and purity apply not only to Coorgs but to all castes, including Untouchables. An Untouchable, like any high-caste man, is normally *mailigé*, and only occasionally and for comparatively short periods is he *maḍi* or *polé*. It should not be assumed that an Untouchable is in a permanent and unalterable condition of ritual impurity. While contact with an Untouchable always pollutes a high-caste man, an Untouchable, considered by himself, is as subject to the various ritual states as anyone else.

VI

A few words are necessary here on the length of the period of 765
mourning. For everyone except the dead person's spouse and 783
eldest son, ritual mourning ends on the day the *māda* ceremony is performed. Nowadays, *māda* is *usually* performed on the twelfth day. But sometimes, in the case of a big headman or official, it is performed on the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day. The length of the mourning period is thus an index of the social importance

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765 of the dead person. This statement receives additional support
783 from the fact that no ritual mourning is observed for an infant: only the parents of the dead infant take a bath and change their robes after the corpse has been buried. An elder, unlike an infant, is socially important and has a voice in the affairs of his *okka* and village. Ritual mourning is quite different from grief at the death of the person in question. The parents of the infant might be steeped in sorrow, while the death of a decrepit and senile elder might actually mean very little grief. Still, in the former case no ritual mourning is observed, whereas in the latter case it might be prolonged to the sixteenth or twenty-eighth day.

[178] Elderly Coorgs say that mourning periods are becoming shorter, and this is not surprising as the kin-groups are becoming smaller and the old values are giving place to new ones. Formerly *māda* was usually performed, for an elder, on the twenty-eighth day and *not* on the sixteenth. *Mādam* in Tamil means 'month', and there are twenty-eight days in a lunar month.

As has already been mentioned, the performance of *māda* puts an end to ritual mourning for all excepting the surviving spouse and eldest son. These two have to observe ritual mourning until they have performed *dīkshé uttuva* (untying of mourning), which is usually a few weeks, if not months, after *māda*. Between *māda* and *dīkshé uttuva* the two most important mourners do not perform any rites, but merely observe some of the food taboos and wear mourning dress.

Speaking very broadly, the length of the mourning period is an index of the closeness of the bond prevailing between the dead person and the mourners. This holds good for birth-pollution too: while pollution ends for all relatives on the twelfth day, it ends for
[593] the mother on the sixtieth day. The mother-child bond is the closest of all kinship bonds, and this fact finds expression in the mother being subject to birth-pollution longer than everybody else.

VII

Senior relatives of the dead person do not play an active part in ritual mourning. This does not, however, mean that they are completely exempt from it, especially those who are members of the same house as the dead person. As members of the pollution house (*tiké mané*), they may not salute anyone, nor allow anyone to

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salute them. They may not go to a wedding or dance. In general senior relatives are not supposed to observe any food restrictions or wear a special mourning dress, but when they are members of the same house as the dead person they observe the food taboos, refrain from shaving, and wear only white. They have been classed as mourners of the third grade.

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The widow or widower is the most important mourner among Coorgs, even more important than the eldest son of the dead person. The conjugal tie receives the maximum amount of emphasis: the surviving spouse has to be a mourner of the first grade except when prevented by serious illness. The eldest son, too, is usually a mourner of the first grade, though he does not seem to be as essential as the surviving spouse. It is interesting to note that a daughter may sometimes be called upon to be a mourner of the first grade.

The widower is usually senior to his dead wife except in the case of a leviratic marriage when he might be her junior. With the exception of the surviving spouse, all 'active mourners' are invariably the dead person's juniors. They are either mourners of the second or first grade. The Koḍagi term for mourning of the second grade is *mēngaté*, which means 'standing apart', or 'not mixing', and for mourning of the first grade, *kuḷik nippad*, or 'standing for bathing'.

All juniors to the dead person in the *okka* of which the dead person was a member have to observe mourning of the third grade at least. Certain relatives, such as a married woman's younger brother and a man's married sister, are also required to observe mourning of the third grade even though they do not belong to the same *okka* as the dead person.

Formerly, a male and female member from the servant Poleya[1] family observed mourning of the third grade for a dead member of their master's household. They observed all the food and dress restrictions which third-grade mourners observed, but they did not perform the rites which the Coorg mourners perform. The headman of the master *okka* gave the Poleya mourners mourning-dress to wear, and at the conclusion of mourning gave them provisions for a dinner, and a *sari* for the woman mourner, and cloth for a gown for the man mourner. Nowadays members of the servant family do not observe ritual mourning: the tie is not strong enough to express itself in ritual.

[1] The Poleya mourners had to be juniors to the dead person.

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765 783 Mourners of the third grade have to abstain from meat, fish, mushrooms, liquor, honey, milk, and betel leaves and areca-nut. The men are required to have their heads and faces shaved completely. They may not wear any jewellery, nor tie the red sash round their waists. They have to avoid wearing coloured garments, especially garments coloured red.

Women mourners of the third grade are required to remove their jewellery, except such as is symbolical of the married state. The widow of the dead man has to remove even that. Women mourners dress themselves in a white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. The upper ends of the former are tied in a knot at the chest.

It has been mentioned earlier that all men mourners indicate the beginning of mourning by having the head and face shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse. They may not have another shave till the *māda* day, when ritual mourning ends for all except the first-grade mourners.

Nowadays *māda* is performed usually on the twelfth day of death, and on this day, after the afternoon meal has been eaten by all the mourners, three men mourners have their faces shaved by the barber. This shave is one of the ritual acts marking the end of mourning and the resumption of normal social life by all except the first-grade mourners.

The men who are observing first-grade mourning have to wear either a white gown or a shoulder-cloth (*tuṇḍu*) and waist-cloth (*muṇḍu*). A mourner does not usually wear a gown nowadays, but if he wears one, he may not pass his right arm through the right arm of the gown.

Until the *māda* day, first-grade mourners take a cold-water bath every morning, after which they perform the rites prescribed for the day. They then start cooking their meal, which is done in the cattle-shed, or any other sheltered spot outside the main building. They may not have more than one meal per day, and they have to pay scrupulous attention to the various food restrictions. They are, however, allowed to eat a few fruits at night.

The surviving spouse has to observe more restrictions than other first-grade mourners. He (or she) may not sleep on a cot, or sit on a plank. He may not eat from a dining-dish (*taḷi*), but has to use a leaf instead. He may not ford a river. A silver chain is wound round his left wrist, and in his left hand he holds a knife.

The *māda* ceremony frees all mourners from ritual mourning,

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but not, however, the first-grade mourners, who are only freed at the *dikshé uttuva* ceremony, which is performed long after the *māda*. Until then, honey and milk may not be consumed, ornaments and coloured cloths may not be worn. A woman mourner has to wear the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. A man mourner may not have his face or head shaved.

VIII

The offer of food to the spirit of the departed person is a dominant motif in Coorg funeral ritual. When the corpse is still seated in the paved yard of the house, one of the mourners carries some cooked rice on a plantain leaf and places it at the bottom of the lane leading to the house. He also places on the plantain leaf a lighted cotton wick on a piece of coconut: this serves as a lamp. As he does this, double shots are fired from a gun. He salutes the leaf as he would a corpse, and other mourners follow him in saluting the food-offering and lamp.

The family friend places a food-bundle on the grave directly above the spot where the corpse's head rests. In case of cremation, the bundle is placed at the spot where the head lay before cremation.

On the second, third, and fourth days, the first-grade mourners offer raw, uncooked rice to fish in a pond or lake, and this is called 'water sacrifice' (*nīr beli*). On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, 'shore sacrifice' (*karé beli*) is performed: the first-grade mourners go to the pond or lake, and each of them cooks a little rice on an improvised stove on the edge of the pond or lake. No vessel may be used for cooking this rice. A flat bit of a broken pot is used instead. This rice is then removed on to a plantain leaf which is kept on a purified spot near the stove.

On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days food is offered to crows. A sacrificial post (*beli mara*) of wood is erected in the yard before the mourning-house. A plank is fixed horizontally to the top of the post. The dead person's spouse cooks rice and prepares vegetable curry, and these are mixed and placed on a plantain leaf. The leaf is then kept on the plank on top of the post. As he (or she) keeps this, he claps his hands and shouts '*kā, kā*' (in imitation of the cawing of crows).

On the eleventh (*pannand*) day, each of the second-grade

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷé*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

78 A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784] kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834] during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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793 ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of con-
79% cern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread
783 systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

796 The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or
785 *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and
262 the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual. 765 276

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage. 765 788 783

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'. [777]

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

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are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.

The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhaganḍēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamanḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
776 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are
778 embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
[539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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796 621 Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805] The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannaḍa and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[283] [2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

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796 before decapitating the animals. As soon as a few drops of blood
782 drip from his finger, he sacrifices the 'village fowls'. Then he decapitates the 'village goat' before the shrine. The decapitation of the other animals takes place only after the decapitation of the 'village fowls' and 'village goat'. The Paṇika receives as his perquisite the heads of the 'village goat' and of all the fowls.

After all the animals have been cut, the assembled villagers turn their backs on the scene of carnage and remain silent for a few minutes. This is to enable the deity to consume the essence of the sacrificed animals in peace. They then turn round and sing the *ānanda pāṭ* (the song of joy), after which the villagers depart for their homes with the headless carcasses. The headless 'village goat' is tied to a high branch of the *dēva kaṇigalé* (oleander) tree near the temple. It remains suspended there till noon of the twelfth day, when it is taken down and cooked for the communal dinner. It is said that vultures and kites do not touch the carcass of the 'village goat', nor does the flesh go bad as it normally would in the heat of summer. This is attributed to the power of Bhadrakāḷi.

VI

796 On the eleventh morning a representative of the Karṇaṇḍra
[783] *okka* cleans the temple yard of bloodstains and he is paid three *paṇas* (about nine annas) for performing this duty. The Brahmin priest then ritually purifies the temple and temple yard by sprinkling consecrated water everywhere and uttering the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*.

Races are held on the eleventh afternoon for 'prostitutes' (*chūḷé*) and for 'horses' (*kuduré*). The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇaṇḍra, and Nandiyaṇḍa *okkas* are each required to send one 'prostitute' and one 'horse' for the races. 'Prostitutes' and 'horses' are regarded as votive offerings. For instance, when a boy is ill, his parents might
[782] make a vow to the effect that they will dress him up as a 'prostitute' at the coming festival.

Getting the 'prostitute' and 'horse' ready in time is not very easy, and clear, if elaborate, rules are laid down requiring certain *okkas* to help each of the three *okkas* charged with the responsibility of making the offerings. For instance, the Tātaṇḍra *okka* is required to help the Māḷeṭṭira *okka*, the Kuṭṭaṇḍra *okka* (now split into two) to help the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and the Māḷeṭṭira *okka* to help

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783] purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

[174 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each [431] funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning [783] of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her [765] garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves [589] off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

765 On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *paniGrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

Disposal of the Dead

764 783 The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

241 The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

428 The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They 71 worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior 72 to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now 262 trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They 582 marry within the same *gotra* This may eventually hasten their extinction.

[P 69 ff. have not been Processed for this file]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

carry the bride with them. On her return to her former home, she is treated as unclean, her dress and ornaments are taken from her; she is not permitted to touch anything in the house, and is shut up like a woman after childbirth. In this seclusion the young woman is kept for a fortnight, or a month, or even two months, according to the wealth and respectability of the family. From that time she becomes free. She goes back to her new home, and may now return on a visit to her mother's house, whenever she likes, without fear of molestation. In Kiggattnád the Coorgs have conformed in some measure to Badaga (Canarese) customs. There the new couple first meet in the bride's house and are both of them welcomed by the relatives and other guests. Then the same ceremony is gone through in the bridegroom's house, whither the party repair in company. But the true Coorg-rites are strictly observed in Coorg proper, or the Méndalenád, i. e. the northern part, the highland-country. For Kiggattnád is in many more respects, than geographical position only, below Méndalenád.

It has been asserted, both by Lieutenant Connor and Dr. Moegling, that the married life of the Coorgs is disfigured by the extraordinary and pernicious system of Polyandry or rather communism of women in one house. Also Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore (Second Edition, Madras 1869.) asserts as "perfectly true" (Vol. II p. 102.) a similar statement, contained in Tippu's address to the Coorgs, which is given further on in the historical part. Upon a careful examination of the matter, I may state as a fact, that, whatever may have been the custom in bygone ages, there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a "national rite." That a people without the restraint of a morality, based upon pure and holy religious principles and enlivened by divine grace, should live together, exposed to great temptations, without occasionally falling into grievous sin, is too much to expect

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

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"Jûwa, jûwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jûwa, jûwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jûwa, jûwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jûwa, jûwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

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On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras.
789 Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth
791 a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood
178 is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole grráma or nád
782 such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine
753 to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grrámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

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e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asóge-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

788 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along
783 the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[2] alarming. According to
[177] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal-
[823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in
793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine
778 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin
177 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 battles of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon
788 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with
778 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother
177 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the
539 bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

2 [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 368 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the 632 312 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda- [789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál- [783] pare Rudáya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow 632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very 245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 491 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the [634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square [131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs, [162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as [563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception [55] of the large and influential house of the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol" see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 499 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talc-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi nīr* is again the result of

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above 783
instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. 827
Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire 783
household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollu- [764]
tion. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere [769]
associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone [787]
under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating [761]
will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who [784]
has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784] kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834] during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangolli* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pdyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

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764 of 'reversal' operates in some instances while 'identity' operates
784 in some others? If the principle of 'reversal' had been consistently carried out in the above instance, the mourners should have gone round an even number of times.

White rice grains are used in auspicious ritual, whereas rice grains yellowed with turmeric powder are used in inauspicious ritual. This is not the same as 'reversal' though akin to it. It is called 'confinement' here: certain ritual acts are confined to mourning and they may not be performed on auspicious occasions.

A mango or *pavili* tree which is growing in the burial-ground, and green, is cut down for the funeral pyre. The *entire tree* has to be used for cremating the corpse. If a branch or twig remains over, a chicken is killed and cremated with it. It is inauspicious not to use up the entire tree. Similarly, if a grave which is being dug has to be abandoned and another has to be started, a chicken is buried in the former. Otherwise there will be another death in the house in the near future.

[824] The leaves of the *bainé* palm (*caryota urens*) are associated with death: on the day before *māda* a *pandal* is put up before the mourning-house and the roof of the *pandal* is covered with *bainé* leaves. The corpse is fanned with a fan of *bainé* leaves. Again, when a man without relatives wants to have his obsequies performed during his lifetime alone, a *pandal* of *bainé* leaves is put up before his house.

While *bainé* leaves are used exclusively in funeral ritual, toddy is used on all kinds of ritual occasions. Systematization has not been carried to the extent of confining *all* products of the *bainé* palm to funeral ritual.

Rice yellowed with turmeric is sprinkled all along the way from the mourning-house to the place where the corpse is buried. Usually a man sprinkles the rice with his hands as he accompanies the funeral procession to the burial-ground. Sometimes, however, the rice is put into a bag and loaded on a pack-bullock. Two tiny holes are bored in this bag and the bullock is driven behind the corpse to the burial-ground. The bullock may not be used for any other purpose subsequently.

On the day before *māda*, first-grade mourners offer to the spirit of the dead person rice mixed with curd, plantain, and *ghī*. A quantity of this mixture is carried by him to the 'sacrificial post' in front of the mourning-house and placed on the plank on top of

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the post. After crows have consumed the offerings, the family friend kicks the post awry. On the next morning he cuts it down with an axe. The first-grade mourners pull down the stoves they had erected to cook their food.

In the above ritual is seen the destruction of articles used in mourning ritual, and the purpose of such destruction is to ensure their 'confinement' to mourning. Things associated with bad-sacredness and pollution themselves become bad-sacred and polluted. Consequently, they have to be destroyed.

'Inversion' and 'confinement' underlie more funeral rites than 'identity'. But it is important to note that 'identity' also exists. For instance, the corpse, which is ritually impure, is made to lie on a pure bench in the central hall. Besides, its head is made to touch the south-western pillar.

XI

Almost every Coorg adult chews betel leaves and areca-nut, and addicts chew all day. Lime paste is spread over the rough side of the leaf and the leaf is put into the mouth along with small bits of areca-nut. Frequently bits of *catechu* and tobacco are chewed along with betel leaves and areca-nut.

At night, after dinner, the men chew betel leaves in the veranda, and the women in one of the inner rooms. A man or woman looks forward to this part of the day: there is no more work to be done and everyone is at leisure. Talk flows freely.

The chewing of betel leaves is also intimately associated with married life. The husband and wife frequently chew betel together. The wife applies the paste, folds the leaf, and gives it to her husband. Until recently, among the upper castes in south India, unmarried boys and girls were told to keep away from betel leaves and areca-nut. Indulgence in betel leaves was a symbol of the married state.

Guests are offered betel leaves and areca-nut both to chew and to carry home. Failure to offer betel leaves to a guest would almost amount to an insult.

Betel leaves and areca-nut are indispensable on any ritual occasion. They must accompany every ritual gift or payment, whether it is made to another person or spirit or deity.

The chewing of betel leaves represents full participation in

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him [illegible] he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788]
expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village, and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed. This was easier in the past because the hierarchy was tacitly accepted by the people, and low castes like Mēdas and Poleyas did not object to participating with the other castes in the village at a lower level, or even being completely excluded on certain ritual occasions. Again the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nāḍs* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste.

At the *tappaḍaka* ritual, the members of the village or *nāḍ* celebrating the festival of the local village-deity undertake to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions while the festival lasts. The villagers may not kill an animal or break an egg or coconut for the table; and toddy may not be tapped within the village. Villagers who want to consume these articles have to import them from outside. The festival-priests, who are more important than ordinary villagers, may not consume even imported meat and toddy. They have to observe strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. They are also required to observe strict continence and avoid touching laymen.

In the Kētrappa festival, women in their periods are required to leave the village and return to it only after the festival is over. Such a woman is in a condition of pollution; and her presence in the village is regarded as inconsistent with the ritual status of the village. People in a condition of birth- or death-pollution are also not allowed to participate in the festival.

No marriage may be performed during the festival. If a person dies in the village he has to be buried quietly, without the customary firing of guns and band.

These restrictions serve to show that the village (or *nāḍ*) is the concerned entity in the festival. The restrictions increase as concern increases—the festival-priests have to observe more restrictions than the laymen. The village (or *nāḍ*) observing the festival is marked off from other villages by these restrictions. Every villager knows that failure by any one of them to observe the restrictions might result in some misfortune to the entire village. The unity of the village is projected to the 'mystical' plane and is supported by ritual sanctions.

A brief account of a part of the ritual of enumeration of restric-

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tions at the harvest festival is necessary here. The headman of the most important temple in the village begans by asking whether everyone (every adult male, that is to say) is present.

The village-headman replies,[1] 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Village-headman: 'Has the *okka* which has committed the wrong, the one who stays outside (Poleyas), the one who heats and beats (Airis or smiths), the one who lifts and beats (Maḍivāḷas or washermen), without a single absentee, is everyone assembled here?'

Temple-headman: 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Temple-headman: 'He who knew how to sing, but refused to sing or dance at the festival, or when the villagers went singing and dancing to his house, he did not open the closed door, or he did not remove the bell-metal dining-dish leaned against the wall, or he did not light the sacred wall-lamp, or he did not mix with another, or he abused another villager during the festival, or he beat another villager all over the body, such a man shall pay a fine of forty-eight *paṇas* for violating the injunctions of god.' Saying this the temple-headman extends his palm towards the village-headman who strikes it as witness to the statement.

The above rite makes it clear that the members of every caste in the village, including the Poleyas, attended the meeting of the village-assembly, and that everyone in the village had to observe certain rules and restrictions during the festival. The villagers had to keep their houses clean, with the doors open to receive a party of singers and dancers, with the sacred wall-lamp lit, they had to join in the singing and dancing, and finally they had to refrain from quarrelling, whatever the provocation. Failure to observe these rules was punished with a heavy fine.

At the festival of a village-deity *tappaḍaka* ritual is performed in the beginning and the restrictions enumerated to the members of the village (or *nāḍ*), whereas in the harvest festival *tappaḍaka* is an occasion for meting out punishment to those guilty of

[1] I have given above a translation of the formulas as they occur in *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 239–40.

In Kaḍiyetnāḍ the temple-headman, or a temple official, opens the proceedings, whereas near Mercara the village-headman does it. The person who has to reply again varies from region to region: it may be the village- or temple-headman, or some elder.

The date of the ritual of the enumeration of restrictions also varies from region to region.

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the mythology of All-India Hinduism, and also its myths and legends are Sanskritized and made the property of Hindus all over India. Thus the Kāvēri Purāṇa becomes a part of the mythology of All-India Hinduism.

The epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābārata, too, play an important part in the spread of Hinduism. The existence of 'Bhīma's pebble' near the source of Kāvēri has been mentioned earlier.[1] The Lakshmaṇatīrtha river which rises in the plateau of Brahmagiri in the extreme south of the province is named after Lakshmaṇa, brother of the hero of the older epic, Rāmāyaṇa. It is said that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa passed through Coorg in the course of their wanderings. Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother, whose obedience to Rāma is proverbial, and who is held up as a model for all younger brothers, disobeyed Rāma as soon as he (Lakshmaṇa) left Coorg and entered Malabar. He realized the enormity of his sin when he returned to Coorg and tried to atone for it by jumping into a fire which he made by shooting an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks. Rāma at once created a river to save his brother. This river he called Lakshmaṇatīrtha and it joins the Kāvēri in Mysore State. Rāma established a *linga* (symbol of Shiva or Īshwara) at the spot where Lakshmaṇa tried to commit suicide. The temple built there is called the Rāmēshwara temple (Īshwara established by Rāma), and it is probable that this temple is an imitation of the famous temple of Rāmēshwara, in the extreme south-eastern corner of India. Coorgs and others go on pilgrimage to the temple at Irpu during Shivārātri, an All-India festival in honour of Shiva.

Mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees become associated with characters and incidents in the epics and *purāṇas*. Such local myths are found in every part of India: Rāma built a temple here, Sīta bathed in this river near that rock, Shiva and Pārvati live in Kailāsa in the Himālayas, Agastya the sage meditated on top of that mountain, and so on. One's country becomes the home of one's gods. Patriotism acquires a religious quality.

Certain restrictions observed by Coorgs in common with other Hindus serve to mark them off from members of other religions. Occasionally these restrictions refer to certain incidents and characters in popular Hindu mythology. For instance, Coorg children are told to wash their feet and hands thoroughly before coming into the house from the street. The story of King Naḷa is told them as a warning: Naḷa one day left an unwashed spot on his

[1] [CP. CAT. 116, p. 216 -- ANALYST]

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ankle and this enabled Saturn to possess him. Subsequently Naḷa lost his throne, was separated from his beloved wife, became deformed owing to serpent-bite, and finally ended up as cook to a king.

It is said in Coorg that Saturn jumped on Naḷa while the latter was standing under a *tāṇḍi* tree. Coorgs usually utter Naḷa's name when they have to pass under a *tāṇḍi* tree, and this is said to have the effect of warding off Saturn.

The above restrictions make the story of Naḷa, which is known to all Hindus, more immediate to Coorgs. The observance of common restrictions frequently marks off one community from another. Such observance can become a symbol of the community's solidarity and identity.

Coorgs, like other Hindus, regard the cow as sacred, and are opposed to killing it. They also abstain from eating beef. The cow has recently figured prominently in Hindu-Muslim relations and has come to be a symbol for Hindu solidarity and identity. Orthodox Hindu opinion regards the killing of cattle with abhorrence, even though the refusal to kill the vast number of useless cattle which exist in India today is detrimental to the economy of the nation.

Reverence for the cow unites Coorgs with other Hindus. It marks both off from other communities living in India.

Certain Sanskritic theological ideas have profoundly affected the lives of Coorgs. Ideas about *karma* and *dharma* are widespread among Coorgs, not only amongst the educated but also amongst the uneducated peasantry. The Coorg funeral song abounds in Sanskritic theological ideas: a man dies 'when the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa is finished'. After death, a bad man goes to hell (*naraka*) and a good man to heaven (*swarga*). A man is continually reborn till he attains salvation (*mōksha*). The surviving relatives pray that the dead man may not be reborn either as man or beast, because being implies suffering. They pray that he may go to heaven and not return to earth any more.

V

Sanskritic Hinduism has a plasticity which enables it to absorb local religious phenomena. Sanskritic deities frequently undergo changes in the process of being localized. An example will make

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[p 228]

VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

would allow him to go with pleasure, and said, I would immediately ask his Highness; but he begged me not, as he was sure the Rájah would allow him to go, if it were really for his advantage; here the conversation dropped, and being reported, it had a capital effect. 175* 643* 648*

This forenoon we took our leave of the Rájah, who received us in his palace, where he was amusing himself shooting blunt, but very heavy headed arrows, at different men, armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on their shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly, managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me about for a short time, and then dismounted. I had been informed, that in consequence of my increased rank, since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present. I then imagined this was the one, but I was mistaken. He gave Meredith a bird's head, called Malliárapah, a gold-mounted Coorg knife, and sandalwood stick; and to me, two spears, a gold-mounted knife, sandalstick, and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey. With all this kindness, I could not help remarking, that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps, has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native Prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Rájah of Népaunee. He was particularly fond of the flower of the Calderah, called in Hindustáni, Kewrah, the odour of which is generally too strong for English organs, but sweet beyond any flower in the East. No man in his dominions dare use it, all being the property of the Mahá Swámi; as the finest flowers of their gardens are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples, by all the other natives of India. [431] [422] [784]

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793 ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of con-
796 cern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread
783 systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

796 The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or
785 *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and
262 the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasá*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangoḷḷi* = twisted firebrand).

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the 796
shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, 787
and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely [785] with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the 796
priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, 782
children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

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trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent phenomenon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voices, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The
825 *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asógo-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the mónsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

788 783 788 783 133 788 783 785

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs púja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the PúJári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

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open space before the temple, many of them possessed by devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannangalamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoanuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the forenoon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1] 564 793

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāḷi were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs. [154]

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2] 793 [178]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation: 787 793

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today. 791 [564] 787

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57. [2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[764] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

[821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

• [787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states. 783 827

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure. 783

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollution. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied. [764] [769]

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement. [787] [761] [784]

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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769 on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks
782 them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

[796] Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with
[585] them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and
769 shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.

782 The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of
● 787 the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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or *boiḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

A of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

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769 drawn. The descendants of the *X okka* who are looking on inter-
782 vene and stop the fight.

787 Sometimes the oracle, possessed by a particular ancestor, inquires into the state of the ancestral estate. He asks the members of the *okka* to take him to the paddy-fields, and he might even sharply criticize them for not paying sufficient attention to the ancestral estate. He might inquire after the welfare of the members of the *okka*. It is said that sometimes these oracles point out treasure troves.

The living members ask the oracle questions concerning the various matters affecting them. 'Will my child recover from illness?' 'Why is a son not born to me?' And so on.

Before a particular ancestor leaves him, the oracle goes to the ancestor-shrine, where one of his party sacrifices a fowl or pig. Liquor, parched rice, coconut, and plantains are all offered to the ancestor represented by the oracle. The latter eats the parched rice and drinks the liquor, after which the ancestor who is possessing him leaves him. He gets ready to impersonate the next ancestor named by the head of the *okka*.

The last ancestor to possess the oracle is the Founder, in whose honour the oracle wears the upper part of his *téré* equipment. A pig is usually sacrificed to the Founder. The head of the *okka*
[421] requests the Founder to bless the descendants.

On the next morning the sacrificed animals are cooked and the entire village is invited to dinner. Thus an ancestor-propitiation is also an occasion for the expression of the solidarity of the village.
[437] The Baṇṇas get as their perquisites the heads of the animals sacrificed, provisions, some cooked meat, and also a little cash. This is in addition to the fixed amount of paddy they are paid annually at harvest. The Baṇṇas in a village serve the Coorg *okkas* in that village or *nāḍ* during ancestor-propitiations and other occasions when their services are required, and in return for this they receive a certain amount of paddy annually. The relationship between a Baṇṇa family and a Coorg *okka* has a certain continuity and members of the former are well acquainted with the history of the latter. The Baṇṇa family almost becomes the repository of the traditions and history of the Coorg *okkas* it serves.

The Baṇṇa oracle is identified with the ancestor who is possessing him, and his acts and words are considered to be the ancestor's acts and words. In fact, an oracle is always identified with the

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ancestor or deity whose mouthpiece he is believed to be. But unbelievers are quite common among Coorgs, and an old man of sixty-five had not seen a single ancestor-propitiation, which he described as 'nonsense imported from Malabar'.[1] A sub-inspector of police considered both ancestor-propitiation and the worship of village-deities to be 'superstition'. Several educated Coorgs have told me they do not believe in ancestors and village-deities. The worship of fierce deities with pigs and arrack does not find favour with many, both Sanskritic and Western influences being opposed to it. Such opposition to propitiation of ancestors and village-deities frequently goes with a preference for Vēdānta of a kind. But still one comes across elders like Kuṭṭayya who tell you, 'they (the people) continue to disbelieve in ancestors till they get a knock on the head'. Repeated failure or illness makes a man go back to his old beliefs. Sometimes the Kaṇiya astrologer who is consulted says that the trouble is due to the failure to propitiate ancestors.

Sometimes a man or woman is possessed by an ancestor or ancestress, and while possessed, he or she might demand merely an offering of meat and liquor, or a full-fledged ancestor-propitiation with oracles, sacrifice of animals, &c. A person is identified with the spirit or deity possessing him, and consequently the demands of the person possessed by an ancestor are treated as the demands of the ancestor who is possessing him.

The offer of meat and liquor to ancestors as well as the elaborate ancestor-propitiation are non-Brahminical and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation involving the offering of non-vegetarian food and liquor. Also no Brahmin priests are present and no Sanskrit *mantras* are chanted. The non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation of ancestors contrast with the Sanskritic which consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

Amma Coorgs, the highly Brahminized section of Coorgs, do not make offerings of curried meat and liquor to their ancestors. Instead, on a certain day in the year they offer balls of rice to the ancestors, and this resembles the annual propitiation of ancestors with purely vegetarian offerings and Sanskrit *mantras*, which prevails among Brahmins and other high castes all over India.

Both the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation

[1] This particular person was very irreligious. He had not even gone on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri.

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776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, [778] some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[787] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[789] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical
[564] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice.
[534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chandés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and
787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

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few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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the immense fire that is burning several yards from the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*. The chicken and a little toddy are offered to the *téré* representing Bhadrakāḷi.

The Paṇika dancer gets ready for his performance which begins an hour later. He wears tiny bells (*gaggaras*) round his ankles, paints his face red and yellow, wears a turban, and ties an elaborate red skirt round his waist. He stands there waiting for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive and give him permission to place the circular *téré* on his head. The *téré* is kept flat on the head and held by one hand while the Paṇika dances and sings a song in praise of Bhadrakāḷi.

Three Poleyas, oracles of deities worshipped only by Poleyas, also wait for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive. The latter rushes into the Nandiyanḍa threshing-yard, stamps on the roaring fire with bare feet, and then touches the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*, signifying that the Paṇika may now place it on his head. He then rushes to the temple, where he starts dancing a very vigorous dance before the shrine of Bhadrakāḷi.

A change is noticeable in the Poleya oracles as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle rushes in. The deities of the Poleyas are regarded as subservient to, and dependent upon, Bhadrakāḷi, who is the deity of the higher castes. And the oracles, who are Poleyas of the deities of the Poleyas, are also regarded as inferior to, dependent upon, the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi, who is a Coorg. Thus the structural distance between Coorgs and Poleyas expresses itself in every sphere.

Two Poleya oracles run to and fro, with swords in their hands, while the third, the oracle of the deity Pūda, writhes on the ground and groans, while the Bhadrakāḷi oracle is stamping on the fire with bare feet. He stops groaning and writhing as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle leaves the threshing-yard.

The villagers place the *téré* on the Paṇika's head. The latter starts singing a song in Maylayāḷam in honour of Bhadrakāḷi. The entire body of villagers, headed by the Poleya oracles marching with their faces to the crowd, then run to the temple. The Poleyas stop outside the temple while the others go in. The votive sheep also may not go in, and they remain outside the temple. They are later sacrificed outside the temple.

The villagers go into the temple and walk round the shrine thrice. The village goat heads the procession inside the temple.

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Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the 796
shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, 787
and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on [785]
his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the 796
priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, 782
children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

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VII

791 The Bhadrakāḷi oracle plays a most important and, to the out-
786 sider, rather puzzling role in the festival. He directs the festival at every stage and these directions are given while he is believed to be possessed by the deity whose oracle he is.

It should be remembered here that the tasks which each *okka* has to perform in the festival and the contributions it is required to make are all determined by custom. The oracle rarely sets aside or countermands these tasks and contributions, and he does so only when there are good reasons: for instance, if the sole adult male representative of one of the concerned *okkas* is seriously ill during the festival the oracle will ask another *okka* to take over the duties of the sick man.

Sometimes the oracle is given the discretionary power to act with some latitude. For instance, he is required to allot some of the votive animals brought by the upper-caste devotees to the deities of the Poleyas. In 1941, when I witnessed the festival, he did not allot any goat to the Poleya deities as only three goats had been brought as offerings. The Poleya deities had to rest content with a few sheep and fowls.

The oracle also decides which day of the festival should be the fast-day or *paṭṇi*. He usually chooses the eighth day, but if it is unsuitable for some reason or other, he chooses an earlier or later day.

[787] The point to note is that all these instructions are issued while the oracle is believed to be possessed by the deity. The oracle's words are regarded as the deity's words. Coorgs commonly talk about 'the deity said this', and 'the deity did that', and it is only after a while that the outsider understands that they are referring to the oracle's acts and words. The oracle no doubt issues instructions while possessed, but these instructions only restate, confirm, and support what has already been decided by custom. The oracle exercises his discretionary power only in certain known and definite contexts..

The villagers know every step of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle beforehand. They tell you that 'he will be running in a minute', or that 'he will be gashing his head', and so on. It is like a play which they have seen before and you have not.

Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa is the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi and unlike

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nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [287]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small 243
rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) 788
is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral [596]
estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the [846]
ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues [769]
to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger [787]
member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astro- [777]
loger, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 This latter rite is the crucial point of the festival which lasts nine
788 to ten days, the seven days previous to the sheaf-cutting being spent in singing, dancing, and playing games. On the day following the cutting of sheaves there is a domestic feast, a dance, and sports for all the villagers. This is followed by a dance for the entire *nāḍ*, and a collective hunt and dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*).

243 The rite of cutting the sheaves takes place on the full-moon day
787 in the month of Scorpio under either of the constellations, *krittiké* or *rōhiṇi*. Formerly the hereditary astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi in Nālknāḍ used to decide the day and time for the ritual cutting of sheaves for the whole of Coorg Proper excluding Kiggaṭnāḍ. The local astrologer then decided for each high caste *okka* in his village the member who was most suitable for performing the rite of cutting the sheaves. The member selected for this honour had to wear the white gown.

243 On the festival day, very early in the morning, various leaves and
788 creepers are gathered for the rite of *néré kaṭṭuvudu*. The trees and creepers most common locally are chosen for this purpose, and they frequently vary from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*. They seem to symbolize the principle of fertility in vegetable nature. A wish for growth is also indicated in another rite, and such a wish is commonly indicated in harvest festivals in south India.

A part of the kitchen floor is cleaned with a solution of cow dung and a new mat is spread on it. A tripod-stool is made to stand on the mat, and a dish-lamp is placed on the stool. A harvest-basket containing the leaves, and short lengths of creepers, is kept near the dish-lamp. Later, at an auspicious time, a leaf of each variety is taken, arranged one upon the other, a short length of *inyoḷi* creeper crowning the pile of leaves. The leaves are then rolled round the creeper and the roll is secured with a length of *achchi* fibre. A number of such rolls are made.

A harvest-basket is filled with paddy and this is placed on the mat near the dish-lamp. Two measures and a small pot, filled with paddy, rice, and rice-flour respectively, are arranged one upon the other on the paddy in the basket. The new bamboo vessel (*kutti*) which the Mēda brought in the morning is stood near the basket on the mat. A little milk, honey, and *ghī* are poured into the vessel. Bits of coconut, fresh ginger, and green rattan cane, and a small quantity of gingelly grains are also put into it. Finally, the new sickle which the blacksmith brought is left in it.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspicious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport. An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanië), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. 585 [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are: 178 584 574 [304] [582]

(i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.

(ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.

(iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins. 584 585 768 [428] [587]

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans. 585 574 [787] [203]

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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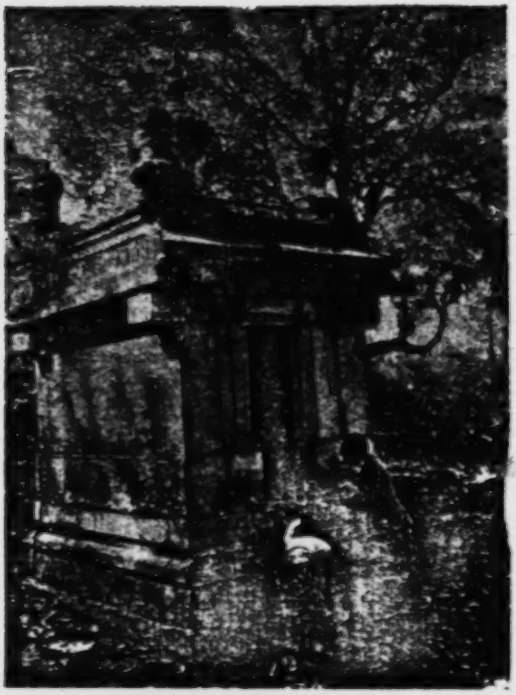

A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)

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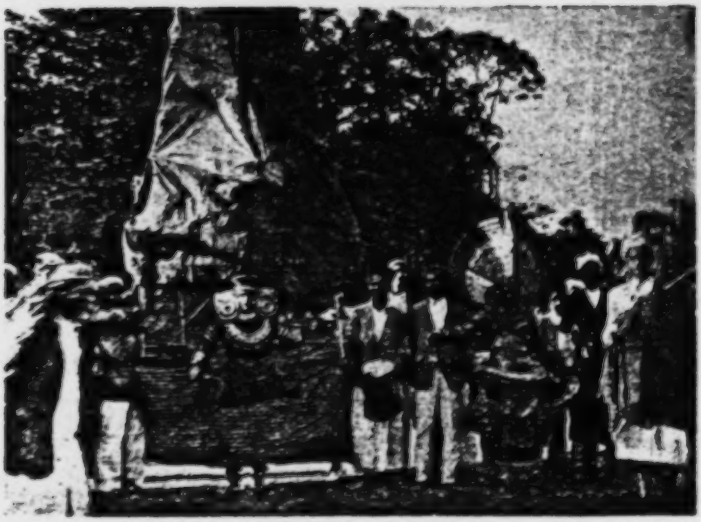

A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

[facing p.51]

[P. 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

796 The Coorgs perform anotherceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
●787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud [illegible], they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 7. 825 [782]

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares. 788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years. 771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikots* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting. "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of
[533] the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
[526] festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 796 844 846 787 852 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The present marriage rites of Coorg, especially in Kiggatnádu, where bride and bridegroom are welcomed together by the relatives and fellow-villagers of both parties, and sit together on the wedding-chair, closely resemble the common fashion of the Hindus, though they have not yet conformed altogether. 585 [171]

Young persons under sixteen years of age are not married in Coorg. Exceptions from this wholesome rule are very rare. It is to be hoped that the Coorgs will ever be preserved from the misery of child-marriages. 582

A young Coorg, when about to marry, has first to obtain the consent of his father or of the head of the family. This affair being settled, the Aruva of the house is taken into the marriage-council. He has to speak to the Aruva of the family, to whom the desired bride belongs. These Aruvas hold an important office among the Coorgs. They act as representatives, counsels, guardians of families and individuals on the great occasions of life. A particular friend of a neighbouring Coorg house becomes its Aruva, and a member of this house is naturally the Aruva of the other. On a certain day the Aruva of the intending bridegroom, accompained by his father or elder brother, goes to the house of the young woman, who is to be asked in marriage. They speak to the Aruva and to the head of the house. A favourable answer being returned, the whole house is carefully swept and a lamp is lit. Some families, affecting new fashions, at this time call in the astrologers to see whether the stars of the new couple will agree together or not. Where no horoscope has been taken, the astrologers, never at a loss, find the stars by the names of the parties! It is to be supposed, that the wise seers generally return acceptable answers. However, this part of the marriage-proceedings is evidently an innovation. The old fashion is to light a lamp in the newly swept house; when the two Aruvas, with the heads of the respective families, stand before 584 624 584 178 [787]

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584 [178] it, (the bridegroom's Aruva and father, or elder brother, on one side, the bride's representatives on the other) and shake hands together, in token of an inviolable contract having been concluded, in the presence of the Divinity or sacred light of the house. Such engagements are rarely, if ever, broken. After the above preliminaries the time for the wedding is agreed upon. The nuptials are often postponed half a year, sometimes for a twelve-month, but generally the Coorg weddings come off during the months of April and May, when the rice-valleys are dry, and there is little work to be done. [187] When the time approaches, the astrologer's counsel is asked for the choice of a propitious day. The relatives of the bride and the bridegroom are invited to the respective houses ten days before the wedding. Under the superintendence of the Aruvas they engage in the necessary preparations. The members of the respective families themselves are not expected to join in these labours. On the last day before the marriage all the families of the villages of the bride and bridegroom are summoned. Each house must send at least one male and one female representative. Now the wedding-sheds are finished; pigs are slaughtered and dressed; rice and vegetables are prepared. The whole company thus working together, join also in a good dinner provided for their guests by the principal parties interested. The Aruva of each house acts throughout as master of the ceremonies.

585 574 On the wedding day, at sun-rise, the two village communities, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, are in festive commotion. No house is permitted to absent itself from the general gathering. In the bridegroom's house the male guests, in the bride's house the female attendants, busy themselves with bathing, dressing and ornamenting the chief personage of the day, and in making every thing ready for a good Coorg-feast. The larger and fatter the pigs, the more abundant and strong the liquor, the greater will be the glory of

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Náráyana* and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans. Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bímakallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2¼ feet. On two sides there are rough stone terraces scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brahmins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

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"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

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796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

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796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs pûja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pújári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

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open space before the temple, many of them possessed by [796] devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- [786] lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787] lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation [796] of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers [782] of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535] Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788] the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787] Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793] hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

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796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

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accompany him to the house of the astrologer. They enquire of the wise man, what will be the most propitious day for the celebration of the Keilmúrta. By the sage's answer the day of joy for the village-youth is fixed. The hard labours of ploughing, sowing and rice-transplanting are over, there is a lull in the monsoon, and now and then a most lovely day spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and valleys, forests and fields of Coorg. The people have long been at labour in their fields and houses: a holiday is now most welcome. On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is collected in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to some room or to the centre-place, the Nadumane, and there placed in a corner. They wait now for the muhúrta, the propitious time, assigned by the astrologer. At the right moment incense is burned before the weapons, sandalwood-paste is dotted upon them in profusion, and a show-offering of rice and other food (nevédya) is made to them, as to idols. As soon as this ceremony is over, a mat is placed before the weapons, and the whole house sits down to dinner. After the meal, the men take their arms and proceed to the Urumandu (village-green) to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark, and in athletic exercises. When the cocoanut has been hit, some of the company jump over a rope extended four or five feet from the ground. After this exercise, plantain-trees are fixed upon the ground, standing three deep. Now the strength of arms and the goodness of knives are tried. He who succeeds in cutting through three plantain-trees at one stroke, carries away the palm. Then round, heavy stones, placed on the Mandu for the purpose, are lifted and thrown, or put as in Scotland, over the head by such as are strong enough. The evening has now set in, and the company disperses. On the following morn-

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wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

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the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháriés, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the [778]
forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793]
charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per- [825]
formed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

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and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations. 778 825 753 [782]

c. **Astrology and Sorcery.**

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the 791 [787] [754] [753] [761] [777] 754 787 [692]

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754 787 692 Superintendent, who has to get out of the difficulty as best he may. By the Pancháyat's self-constituted authority the wizard, or the person who has employed sorcery against his enemy, must promise to abstain in future; and in many cases reparation of some kind or other is made. In the days of the 754 787 648 [683] Rajahs such crimes were often punished with death. The British Government cannot, of course, follow the precedent. By a matter of fact order (No. 32 of 1858) from the Honorable Court of Directors to the Government of India: "Such "an offence as sorcery ought not to be recognised by any "British tribunal. If a pretended sorcerer is accused of "really injurious practices against the person or property of "any one, he shall be tried for these practices and if found "guilty punished accordingly and not for sorcery. The pre-"tended exercise of supernatural powers should be in itself "an offence and should be punished as a form of Fraud."

782 173 [776]

d. Substitutes for human sacrifices and other peculiar rites.

As among other Dravidian mountain-tribes, so also in Coorg, tradition relates, that human sacrifices were offered in former times, to secure favour of their *Gráma-Dévatas: Máriamma*, *Durga* and *Bhadra-Káli*, the tutelary goddesses of the Sakti-line, who are supposed to protect the villages or nád from all evil influences. In Kirindádu and Koninchéri-gráma in Katiednád, once in three years, in December and June, a human sacrifice used to be brought to Bhadra-Káli and during the offering by the Pánikas the people exclaimed "Alamma!" (álu-amma i. e. a man oh mother!) Once a devotee shouted: "Alallamma, ádu!" i. e. "not a man, oh mother, a goat," and since that time a he-goat without blemish has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellúr in Távaligherri-múrnád of Kiggatnád-ta'uq once a year by turns from each house a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but

[Errata: This should read "The favour", see Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

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itself the stronger, the narrower its local limits were confined, 619
and the less it came into civilizing contact with surrounding 186
nations. With the ascendancy of the Ikeri princes in Coorg, 175
who spoke Canarese, this language became the written official 643
medium and counteracted the Malayálam influence; but, how- 175
ever great the latter may have been through the intellectual 648
superiority of the Malayálam people over the savage Coorg mountaineers, who dreaded their supposed supernatural powers, it never laid a beneficial hold on the Coorg mind by imparting the means of acquiring knowledge in the Malayálam tongue. It is true the horoscopes which the Kanyas wrote and still [787] write for the Coorgs are in the Malayálam language, but they are unintelligible to the Coorgs. Thus it was left to the Coorg Rájahs of the Ikeri house to mould or rather to disfigure the Coorg mind into the character in which the English found it on their assumption of the Government in 1834; that it was of the most pitiable description, we have enough evidence to adduce: Lieut. Connor describes thus the condition 175
of the people under Lingarája—and the picture applies 643
equally well to the times of his predecessor and of the late Rájah—: "The chief of Codagu exercises an authority, that knows no restraint. He shares in common with the gods, the homage of the people and a more than ordinary portion of eastern humiliation is observed towards him; he is approached with a reverence due alone to the deity and addressed with all the servility fear could yield, or despotism claim; in his presence, in which no subject dare be seated or indeed within the precincts of his fort, the subject clasps his hands as in the act of prayer—the last sign of slavish vassalage—; and he is accosted in a language quite correspondent with this suppliant attitude; his subjects know no duty more imperious than attending to his mandates, which received with veneration are executed with singular precision, and his projects of whatever nature seconded without enquiry; nor would the

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

[778] [788]

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [77] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [576]

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III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

881 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *kemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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796 which is kept on the stool before the subject. The lamp rests on a thin bed of rice spread inside the dish. A few betel leaves and areca-nuts are also kept alongside the lamp. The dish, rice, lamp, and betel leaves and nuts are all collectively referred to as '*taḷiyakki-boḷuk*' which literally means 'dish-rice-lamp'. It will be referred to as 'dish-lamp' in future, and a dish-lamp is considered essential on all ritual occasions.

At *mangala*, in addition to the earthen lamp, a *kinḍi* full of milk [415] is kept on the dish-lamp. A *kinḍi* is a bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side. At *mangala* every relative performs *vis-à-vis* the subject a series of solidarity rites collectively called *mūrta*, and one of these rites consists in giving the subject a little milk to drink. This is done by the relative holding the *kinḍi* in such a way that the tip of the spout touches the subject's mouth. The subject sucks in a few drops of milk through the spout.

Each of the assembled relatives singly performs *mūrta*, described below, towards the subject of *mangala*. Three married women, close relatives of the subject, are required to perform it before anyone else. If the subject's mother is alive and not a widow, she is entitled to be one of the three, and what is more, perform it first, even if the other two are her seniors.

The mother, or senior married woman, begins by sprinkling rice on the two bell-metal lamps on either side of the subject, and then salutes them. The sun-god is saluted next after throwing some rice backwards, over the shoulders. This is followed by the relative depositing a little rice successively at the joints of knees, elbows, and shoulders, and on the head of the subject. The relative then holds the spouted vessel before the subject and he sucks in a little milk through the spout. After this she presents the subject with a gold or silver coin. The subject salutes her by touching her feet with both his hands and carrying the latter back to his fore-head. This is done thrice. The married woman blesses him by [788] touching his head and saying, 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'.

III

796 It has been mentioned before that *mangala* is an auspicious or 777 good-sacred ceremony and that it has to be performed on an auspicious day. All over India, among Hindus, it is believed that certain

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occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*boḷicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Koḍagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305] defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596] lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782] the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788 ● lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354 suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171] extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821] points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372 attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596 lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the *okka* and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the [764] *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teḷi ntr* is again the result of 372 783

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If the ritual chewing of betel leaves takes place earlier than the *māda* day, the chewing only confers partial freedom on the mourners. The third- and second-grade mourners are completely freed from ritual mourning only after the *māda* day, while the first-grade mourners are freed only after performing the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual, several days, if not weeks, after the *māda*. The latter may chew betel leaves after *māda*, but they have to observe certain other mourning taboos till they perform the *dīkshé uttuva* ritual. 765 276

XII

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual consists in the offer of *piṇḍa*, or balls of rice or rice-flour, to the spirit of the departed person. The offerings are made under the guidance of a Brahmin at a centre of pilgrimage. 765 788 783

The *dīkshé uttuva* ritual is frequently performed on the first of Libra, or on the Shivarātri day. The former occurs in October–November, the latter in February–March. On both these days, which are regarded as sacred, people go on pilgrimages to various places along the course of the river Kāvēri, and especially to the source of the river, Tala Kāvēri.

The first of Libra and Shivarātri are not, however, the only occasions for the performance of *dīkshé uttuva*. It may be performed on a new-moon day. Generally, first-grade mourners perform *dīkshé uttuva* after the lapse of what is considered to be a 'decent interval'. [777]

Formerly, first-grade mourners sometimes observed ritual mourning for as long as six months before performing *dīkshé uttuva*. This very rarely happens nowadays. The present tendency is to cut short the mourning period, but even now anyone who performed *dīkshé uttuva* before a month had elapsed after the death would be regarded as either wanting in affection or extremely Westernized, or both.

The first-grade mourners go to Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the river Kanaké joins the Kāvēri. The men mourners have their heads and faces shaved completely, after which they bathe in the confluence. They then dress themselves in the mourning uniform of white shoulder-cloth and waist-cloth. Women mourners similarly bathe and put on ritual robes.

Each of the first-grade mourners then offers a ball of rice-flour mixed with plantain fruit, honey, and a small quantity of gingelly grains. The ingredients of this offering are sold near by, and they

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are mixed and offered to the spirit of the dead relative under the guidance of a Brahmin priest who is paid a fee for his services.

The performance of *dīkshé uttuva* restores first-grade mourners to normal ritual status. Until then they are ritually impure, though this impurity is not as great as that which prevailed until the performance of *māda*, which puts an end to the mourning of all except the first-grade mourners.

The mourners then go to the temple of Bhagandēshwara and offer worship there. This is followed by a visit to the source of the river Kāvēri at the top of the Brahmagiri mountain. The river rises int wo small perennial springs, after which it disappears underground for some distance to re-emerge near Bhāgamaṇḍla.

One of the springs is larger than the other, and the mourners bathe in the larger spring, after which they offer worship to the very sacred smaller spring. The priests of these springs are Brahmins who live near by. Frequently a tiny representation (*āḷ rūpa* = man form) of the dead person embossed on a thin sheet of silver is dropped into the smaller spring. (It is in the smaller spring that the Kāvēri is annually reborn on the first of Libra, at the moment of the sun's transition from Virgo to Libra. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of south India go to the source of the river to witness the annual rebirth.)

The Coorg custom of terminating mourning at a centre of pilgrimage is a general Hindu custom. It is one of the numerous points where Coorgs touch the general Hindu ritual idiom. Every caste, sect, and tribe touches the general Hindu ritual idiom at varying numbers of points, but some part, small or large, of the ritual idiom of each group has a more restricted spread. The number of points where the ritual idiom of a local group touches the general Hindu ritual idiom has a tendency to increase with time.

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they live are worshipped on certain occasions. In south India there 776
is a belief that a cobra lives to a very great age, and that as it gets 778
older its tail becomes shorter. During the last period of its life it is said to develop wings. Coorgs share these beliefs, and some of them assert that a cobra-platform is built above the spot where a cobra ended its earthly existence.

All over India there is a reluctance to kill the cobra even though 776
it is a dangerous creature. Coorgs abstain from killing cobras [784]
found in temples and believed to be harmless, whereas they do not hesitate to kill cobras found outside temples.

The following incident is significant: *A*'s brother did not consider it a sin to kill cobras. He one day found two cobras copulating and shot one of them dead. Several years passed without *A*'s brother obtaining a son. Some Brahmins told him that he had committed a great sin in killing a sacred creature like the cobra and that he would not have a son till he had performed the necessary expiatory ritual. They further told him that the sin was so great that even after he had performed the expiatory ritual no more than one son would be born to him. He duly performed the necessary [788] expiatory ritual under the guidance of Brahmin priests, and later he made a pilgrimage to the great cobra-shrine of Subramaṇya in the Tuḷu country. Sometime afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, and together with his wife and son he again visited the shrine of Subramaṇya to express his gratitude to the deity.

Formerly, in the month of Scorpio, lamps were lit before the 776
cobra-platform every evening. In addition, in a few Coorg *okkas*, 782
a Brahmin priest visited the platform and worshipped the cobra- 184
deity, using Sanskrit *mantras*.

In the cobra-worship of Coorgs are to be found certain elements which are common to Hindus all over India, others confined to Hindus in Peninsular India, and yet others which are found only in Malabar, South Canara, and Coorg. The worship of cobras takes certain forms in Malabar which are very similar to those in Coorg: in the former area it is common to find in the houses of high-caste Hindus a shrine for cobras in the south-western corner of the large compound round the ancestral house. The cobra-deities in a house are intimately associated with it. The vegetation growing around a cobra-platform may not be cut down, and no one in a condition of ritual impurity may approach the platform.

In the Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu countries, on the other

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634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

782 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *sīmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

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destructive of sin (*pāpa*). Bathing in the Kāvēri on certain days 779
such as the first of Libra and Shivarātri is specially productive of 177
puṇya.

The Kāvēri is called '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or 'southern Ganges', and 778
the Kāvēri myth (see Appendix) tells us that waters of the Ganges 788
and other sacred rivers and seas are present in the source of the 171
river on the first of Libra at the moment of the river's birth. The faithful believe that there is an underground passage connecting the source of the river with the Ganges at Benares. Pilgrims to the Tala Kāvēri, like pilgrims to Benares, return with the water of the sacred river in sealed copper pots. This water is used for ritual [783]
purification and drinking on certain days. Coorg pilgrims sprinkle the holy water on members of their *okka*, and on the house, granary, and cattle.

Offerings of balls of rice-flour are made to dead relatives on the 171
banks of the Kāvēri; and the ends of the garments of the husband 769
and wife are tied together while bathing in the river and in the 783
larger of the two springs of Tala Kāvēri. Both these concepts are common to Hindus all over India.

The Kāvēri Myth, whose authorship appears to be Brahminical, 773
has the Ganges Myth for its model. As is well known, the Ganges 778
meets the Jumna at Allahabād, and to this, Hindu mythology adds 171
a third river, the Saraswati, which is said to flow underground and join unseen the first two rivers. The confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the mythical Saraswati is called '*trivēṇi sangama*' or 'union of three rivers'.

At Bhāgamaṇḍla, about three miles from the source of the Kāvēri, it meets the Kanaké. But to this the Kāvēri Myth adds a third river, the Sujyoti, which is said to flow underground and join the first two.

There is a myth about practically every river in India, and in every one of these myths some Sanskritic deities, and sages and characters from the epics and the *purāṇas*, take part. Each myth in time becomes a part of the vast corpus of Hindu mythology. Each myth makes sacred certain features of local geography by associating deities, and characters from the epics and *purāṇas*, with them. The myths abound in inconsistencies which, however, do not bother the bulk of the Hindus.

On certain occasions Coorg women are required to worship the 778
domestic well, and this is referred to as '*ganga pūja*'. A similar 171

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custom exists everywhere in south India among Hindus. Water is identified with the holy Ganges, and such an identification teaches a Hindu to regard the Ganges as a deity. It opens a window on Sanskritic Hinduism.

On the way to Tala Kāvēri from Bhāgamaṇḍla there is an immense boulder called 'Bhīma's pebble'. It is said that Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers, found a tiny 'pebble' in his dinner which he picked up and threw away. What was a tiny pebble to Bhīma is an immense boulder to ordinary human beings. Bhīma's strength was prodigious, and his strength, enormous appetite, and chivalry have made him the most lovable of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the epic, Mahābhārata. 'Bhīma's pebble' makes the epic more immediate to Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg.

The mountain in which the Kāvēri rises is called Brahmagiri, and it is said that the god Brahma has settled down on top of the mountain. Brahma was in two minds as to whether he should settle down on top of the Brahmagiri mountain or a neighbouring one, and he finally decided on the former as it was higher than the latter by a rice grain.

While ideally the Kāvēri is sacred to every Hindu, actually it is mostly Hindus from various parts of south India, especially Mysore, Malabar, and the Tamil country who go on pilgrimage to the river-source on the first of Libra. Similarly the shrine of Subramaṇya is sacred to every Hindu, though actually only Hindus from the Kannaḍa- and Tulu-speaking areas visit it. But there are centres of pilgrimage such as the Temple of Venkāṭāchala at Tirupati in the Telugu country visited by Hindus from practically every part of south India. The temples of Mīnākshi at Madura and Rāmēshwara at Rāmēshwaram in south-east India are visited by Hindu pilgrims from every part of India. In continental India, too, there are several places of pilgrimage for Hindus from every part of India.

Deities too have varying 'spreads' even though ideally they are sacred to all Hindus. In fact, over a period of time 'spread' shows a dynamic quality: a deity who commanded the devotion of a king enlarged his 'spread' to include the territory ruled by the king.

Peninsular India is an area of enormous cultural diversity, but it forms a loose unity viewed in relation to continental India, just as India itself exhibits some unity when viewed in relation to the rest

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VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [796] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astrologer, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 This latter rite is the crucial point of the festival which lasts nine
788 to ten days, the seven days previous to the sheaf-cutting being spent in singing, dancing, and playing games. On the day following the cutting of sheaves there is a domestic feast, a dance, and sports for all the villagers. This is followed by a dance for the entire *nāḍ*, and a collective hunt and dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*).

243 The rite of cutting the sheaves takes place on the full-moon day
787 in the month of Scorpio under either of the constellations, *krittiké* or *rōhiṇi*. Formerly the hereditary astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi in Nālknāḍ used to decide the day and time for the ritual cutting of sheaves for the whole of Coorg Proper excluding Kiggaṭnāḍ. The local astrologer then decided for each high caste *okka* in his village the member who was most suitable for performing the rite of cutting the sheaves. The member selected for this honour had to wear the white gown.

243 On the festival day, very early in the morning, various leaves and
788 creepers are gathered for the rite of *néré kaṭṭuvudu*. The trees and creepers most common locally are chosen for this purpose, and they frequently vary from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*. They seem to symbolize the principle of fertility in vegetable nature. A wish for growth is also indicated in another rite, and such a wish is commonly indicated in harvest festivals in south India.

A part of the kitchen floor is cleaned with a solution of cow dung and a new mat is spread on it. A tripod-stool is made to stand on the mat, and a dish-lamp is placed on the stool. A harvest-basket containing the leaves, and short lengths of creepers, is kept near the dish-lamp. Later, at an auspicious time, a leaf of each variety is taken, arranged one upon the other, a short length of *inyoḷi* creeper crowning the pile of leaves. The leaves are then rolled round the creeper and the roll is secured with a length of *achchi* fibre. A number of such rolls are made.

A harvest-basket is filled with paddy and this is placed on the mat near the dish-lamp. Two measures and a small pot, filled with paddy, rice, and rice-flour respectively, are arranged one upon the other on the paddy in the basket. The new bamboo vessel (*kutti*) which the Mēda brought in the morning is stood near the basket on the mat. A little milk, honey, and *ghi* are poured into the vessel. Bits of coconut, fresh ginger, and green rattan cane, and a small quantity of gingelly grains are also put into it. Finally, the new sickle which the blacksmith brought is left in it.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The members of the *okka* then eat a dish of cooked harvest yam (*putri geṇasu*, which ripens at the time of the harvest festival) mixed with honey and *ghī*.

At the auspicious time fixed by the astrologer, the sheaf-cutter leaves the house carrying the bamboo vessel in his hand. Before him goes a girl carrying a dish-lamp. A band marches farther ahead.

As soon as he reaches the rice-field, the sheaf-cutter salutes the sacred eastern direction and the field. He ties a leaf-roll to the bottom of a rice plant and pours a little of the contents of the bamboo vessel on it. Everyone shouts '*poli, poli, dēva*' (increase, increase, O god), and a shot is fired from a gun. The sheaf-cutter cuts a number of plants, taking care to see that each time he cuts an odd number.

After the party reaches home, the sheaf-cutter's feet are washed, and he is given milk to drink. He deposits the bamboo vessel in the kitchen.

He then prepares *yēḷakki puṭṭ* (seven rice-pudding), kneading together a quantity of rice-flour, a few plantains, some milk and honey, and seven of each of the following: new rice grains from the sheaves, gingelly grains, tiny stones, and bits of coconut, ginger, and green rattan cane. Small balls are made of this mixture and offered to the lamps in the south-western room and ancestor-shrine. Later everyone eats a little of the mixture.

Leaf-rolls (*néré*) and sheaves are tied to every part of the house. The sweet, liquid dish, *pāyasa*, is prepared and into this are put seven new rice grains.

The rites performed at the harvest festival stress, directly or indirectly, the great value of rice to Coorgs. The astrologer decides not only when the sheaves should be cut but who should be chosen for this important task. New articles are used for this ritual. Elaborate taboos surround the person of the sheaf-cutter, and solidarity rites, in which valuable articles like milk and honey are used, are performed towards the sheaves before cutting them.

Some of the rites performed, like tying plants and creepers locally prolific to every part of the house, and uttering a prayer for increase before cutting the sheaves, express a desire for plenty. The ritual eating of the new rice, and the eating of the yams and vegetables which ripen at this time, are another aspect of the harvest rites.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 On New Year's Day a clod of ploughed earth is brought home
788 and deposited in the granary. When a man sees paddy in the ear for the first time, he goes home, stands before the granary, and says, 'I saw paddy in the ear, I saw paddy in the ear, do not be startled, do not be astonished, O granary.' He tells the granary that there is going to be a bumper harvest, a harvest that will burst the granary. At the Kāvēri festival, pilgrims carry home a handful of rice from the granary (called '*akshaya pātra*', the mythical vessel of increase) in the Bhaganḍēshwara temple. This rice is put into the domestic granary to ensure a bumper harvest.

Rice is essential to the Coorg's survival, and formerly it was also the chief source of wealth. Its cultivation is the most important activity in which the *okka*, the nuclear unit of Coorg society, is engaged, and the axis round which revolve other activities. A long drought as well as excess of rain is likely to ruin the crop. Rain is a friend only if it comes when wanted and keeps away when not wanted. Proper rains in sufficient quantities mean a good crop, and abundance of rice means food, wealth, and the ability to make sacrifices to ancestors and festivals in honour of deities. It gives one the means with which one can get one's sons and daughters married, to keep one's servants, to give the feasts which have to be given, and to perform other obligations. It is because of its enormous social importance that rice, and everything associated with it in any way, receives ritual attention.

II

538 In Coorg folklore, Malabar is referred to as the 'land of ignor-
186 ance' (*ajnāna bhūmi*), and this is presumably due to certain matrilineal castes living there. All the patrilineal peoples of south India seem to have regarded matriliny as a very odd custom. The people of the Kannaḍa and Tamil countries occasionally refer to Malabar as '*stri malayāḷa*', which means 'Malabar which is dominated by
[723] women'. There are myths which try to account for the oddness of Malabar: according to a myth which is widespread over the whole of south India, the entire Malabar coast was created by Parashurāma, the great Brahmin enemy of Kshatriyas till he was finally defeated by the Kshatriya prince, Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, and an *avatār* of Vishṇu. The folktale on p. 221, which gives an account of a solitary act of disobedience on the part of Laksh-

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Pilgrims at Bhagamandala

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Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bhagamandala

[facing p. 3]

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Netas, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 77 825 [782]

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares. 788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years. 771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamandi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuthikotu* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

[P C4]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their
[776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turning to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
[788] yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast
485 by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendra built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol 585
the names of the principal persons among the assembled re- [574]
latives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. [533]
At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the [788] ●
bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is 533
heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the 585
glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging [574]
to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot 585
refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song trans- 539
lated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 35;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Apparandra.

In this Apparandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
Whom he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly jumma land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gain,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-púJáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Káveri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

open space before the temple, many of them possessed by 796
devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- 786
lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787]
lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation 796
of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers 782
of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535]
Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788]
the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787]
Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793]
hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[594] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 789 791 178 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 782 753 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or náds repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 783

e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

nád and the day following at *Irpu* five miles further on where, at the foot of the "*Lakshmanatírtha fall*," thousands of pilgrims submit to the supposed sin-cleansing shower-bath. The way thither leads through a jungle, so that the landscape of Irpu, forming an open valley with a high wall of mountains at the back, bursts all at once upon the wanderer's view. The Lakshmanatírtha which, in its primordial course, descends in beautiful cascades over the almost perpendicular mountain wall lies before the eye and calmly meanders through the rice valley. On the right bank of it the Dévastána, an unsightly building, but adorned by a splendid specimen of the beautiful scarlet-flowered Asóge-tree, is situated. Near it and all along the banks of the stream pilgrims build their booths. The bathing place is 200 feet above the temple. The way is romantic, with steep rocks to the right, to the left the shallow winding stream, tumbling and foaming over large boulders, but during the monsoon swelling into a thundering torrent. All around the scene are the hundreds of pilgrims, Coorgs and Malayálam people. Every few steps a beggar is encountered exhibiting his deformities or sores. Here lies a fanatic as if dead with a wooden nail through his cheeks; there a boy with a lancet through his outstretched tongue and a smoking chatti on his stomach; here another man with a long knife across his throat, and a horrible corpse-like appearance. At the holy bath the stream high above breaks through a woody embrasure over a succession of rocky ledges till it spreads itself into a foaming shower-bath, received in a stony caldron formed by slippery sharp-edged rocks. Here the crowd of pilgrims finds its goal. The bathing multitude now forces its way under the falling spray. But few can, at the same time, make use of the sin-cleansing bath. See that old woman with bent head right under the spray, her body trembles from the shock, yet for several minutes she perseveres. There a father lifts his screaming child under the splashing water;

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

788 783 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to [177] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal- [823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in 793 the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine 798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin 177 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon 788 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with 798 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother 177 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the 539 bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

1 [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappakunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hattur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Beticdnád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Beticdnád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg A.W5

On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

The *Pálúr játre* in Kuyingherinád in honor of Pálúrappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkarésvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or pújáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 779

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Onkarésvara-dévastána." See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
779 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
179 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 hand, cobra-worship has a different orientation. In each village or
782 locality, a platform is built round a peepul-tree (*ficus religiosa*) and
184 on this platform are kept sculptured images of single snakes, or of two intertwined snakes. Such a platform is worshipped by all the people in the locality.

Cobra-worship among Coorgs has the same orientation it has in Malabar but for one important difference: in Malabar the deity Subramaṇya does not seem to be connected with cobras, whereas everywhere else in south India cobras are identified with Subramaṇya, the second son of Shiva. Shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya, [778] some of them well-known centres of pilgrimage, are commonly found in south India.

776 The identification of cobras with Subramaṇya demonstrates the
779 way in which Sanskritic Hinduism operates. The worship of
177 cobras is very popular among all Hindus, and the identification of cobras with Subramaṇya provides a door for the entry of Sanskritic Hinduism. People who until then had only been worshipping cobras came to know about Subramaṇya, the son of Shiva. They also learn of the story of Subramaṇya's birth, which is a tiny slice of Hindu mythology; and of Shiva, his relation to other gods like Vishṇu and Brahma, and so on. Pilgrimages to shrines dedicated to Subramaṇya became popular, and these shrines again are a source for the further spread of Sanskritic Hinduism. There are usually myths about these shrines and each such myth tells the pilgrim a little more about Sanskritic Hinduism.

776 Stones representing Pūda and Guḷika are frequently found in
778 the compound of a Coorg's house. Pūda is the Tamil corruption of the Sanskritic *bhūta*, which means a spirit. Pūda is frequently one of the deities in a village temple.

Guḷika in the Tamil country is the name of one of the eight serpents supporting the earth in Hindu mythology. In Malabar and Coorg, however, he is better known as the son of Saturn. He is also referred to as Māndi.

[761] Guḷika is associated with death: a man is supposed to see
[787] Guḷika just before dying. Horoscopes drawn up in Malabar and
[789] Coorg show the position of Guḷika, and this is said to indicate when the native is going to die. When a number of deaths take place in a Coorg's house it is customary to plant a stone called Mrityu Guḷika (death Guḷika). This is believed to put an end to the deaths.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Liṅgāyaṭ priests.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him 791
greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, 796
who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from [789]
possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of [437]
some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is (21
in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

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seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [574] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. [825] The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws." See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 The fact is, that, as the jackal eats only the ripest berries, the beans are naturally of a good quality.

The mungoose or Ichneumon Múngos (Viverra mungo *Can.* kíra)—is frequently found on the bánes, where it is seen running from one copse to another. Its elongated, slender body with pearly, ash-grey fur and thick long tail, its pointed head and bright eyes and its rapid movements give it a pretty appearance, and, but for its wanton depredations amongst the poultry, it might become a useful pet, as [824] it destroys rats and snakes. The natives say that after its struggle with a poisonous snake, it takes recourse to the Nágadále (Ruta, Rue) the leaves of which act as an antidote.

Black bears (*Can.* karadi) are found in Marenád on the Pushpagiri, Kóte-betta and Kálur-betta, where there are colonies of beehives, for Master Bruin is very fond of honey. [262] His flesh is not eaten, but pieces of his skin are attached to [789] the necks of horses and cows, to keep off the evil eye. [231]

On the wooded banks of the Hatti and Shóran-hole and elsewhere there are small colonies of a species of otter-hound, which the natives call Nírunái or water-dog (Lutra Nair Cuv.) The animal is deep reddish brown on the back, lightest on the sides and below, lives in artificial burrows and subsists on fish, which it catches with great skill. It is eaten by the Yerawas.

Mice and *rats* there are more of in Coorg, than the farmer and house-owner would wish. The musk-rat betrays itself by its piercing shriek, but has a safeguard in its strong smell against its pursuing enemies. Great havoc has been done on some coffee plantations by the bamboo-rat (Golunda Ellioti) which is gregarious and for want of jungle-food often attacks in great numbers the coffee shrub, selecting the tender and succulent shoots and, to get at them, cutting off the primaries near the stem. Most wary of traps of any kind, this destructive animal is difficult to deal with. The field-rat (*Can.*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the venom ducts and by the force of the actual bite a drop of the venom is injected through the channel of the fangs into the tiny wound and in a few minutes the whole system of the victim is poisoned and inevitable death ensues. Varieties of the cobra with hood and mark are the Pillandi-murga and the kád-murga, the former is greyish white and 1 to 1½ foot long, the latter is dark brown; their bite is less poisonous. The Kare-náda (black snake) with white marks about the throat, is 8 or 10 feet long and very rapid in its movements. It is found in dense forests and is sometimes washed down by the mountain torrents. Its bite causes death within half an hour. The late Rajah is said to have ascertained the power of the venom by experimenting upon sheep and buffaloes. The bite of the Patte-kolaka produces festering sores over the body; the Coorgs string the bones of this snake together and wear them as a charm against sores or swelling of the glands. There are three kinds of Cardamom-snakes: the green, the black and the grey Mandoli or Kummepámbu or Kurudu-mandoli which during the day are in a state of torpor, but active at night. On this account the natives term them "blind snakes"; they are often trodden upon by the cardamom cultivators, but a certain charm is said to render the poison innocuous. The kádu-bale and kére-bale muri or the jungle and tank Bracelet-snakes have white rings round their dark body, which become visible when the snakes are irritated. They are from 4 to 6 feet in length. The Pachi-balli-murga is dangerous to cattle whilst grazing.

136* [789] [825] [789]

Amongst the innocuous snakes the largest is the Perampámbu (big snake) or Rock-snake, a kind of Boa constrictor, which grows to a length of 12 to 15 feet and has in thickness the girth of a man's thigh. It even devours spotted deer and, after the monsoon, is often shot by Coorgs in the cardamom jungles. Next in size is the Black-tank or Rat-snake

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 461 526 legs well qualify them. The sign is given and away they scramble and plunge and stagger in the deep mud and roars of laughter greet the unfortunate wight who tumbles into the mud. Having reached the opposite bank, they return the same way, and hard is their struggle close to the winning post. The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a basket of oranges and the fifth with parch-
[594] ed rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast for the people is given by the landlord.

243 As a protection against the evil eye, some half burnt
[989] bamboos about 6 feet high are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business, to regulate the water supply of each field and to fill up holes made by crabs in the embankments. Also the weeding is attended to and any failures are replanted. At the end of
[343] October, when the ears of the grain are fully out, huts on high posts are erected, one for every 100 butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild beasts and occasionally fires off a gun. In November or December the paddy gets ripe and the feast of first fruits or "Huttari" is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields, the paddy cut down with sickles close to the ground and spread out to dry; after 5 or 6 days it is bound up into sheaves and carried home and stacked in a heap, the
[435] ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlight nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar, fixed in the middle, and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed, the best quality reserved for seed and the rest stored up in the granary, already described, for home consumption and for sale, the price varying from 2 to 4 Rs. a
[177] butty. A threshing machine, lately introduced by Lieut. Mackenzie, excited the astonishment and admiration of the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the púJári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras.
789 Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth
791 a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood
178 is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád
782 such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine
753 to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or nádes repeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 783

e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.

Besides the annual *Tale-Kávéri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and tear whatever objects first met his fury, until he was satiated with blood and his paroxysm subsided. Dr. Ingledew, who was sent early in 1809 by Mr. Cole, the Resident in Mysore, to attend upon the Rájah, heard some vague rumours of several thousand people having been destroyed "after the late disturbances," that is, the conspiracy above related. Vírarájendra had long to wait for an answer from the Governor General to his petition of October 1807. He had requested, that the concurrence of the Governor General with his settlement of the succession might be registered in the books of the Supreme Government and a copy sent him of the registry, which he would wear about his body as an amulet.

During the year 1808 fits of madness seized the unfortunate Rájah. They rarely passed without some victims of his incontrollable fury, falling by his bullet or under the knives of his African executioners. Some time in October or November 1808 Vírarája was seized with forebodings of his own death and terrible fears for the safety of his daughters in case of his decease before the Governor General had concurred in his plan of securing to Dévammáji the throne of Coorg, and before his sanction insured her succession and, it might be, the preservation of her life. His melancholy warned him of his approaching death. And if he was carried off on a sudden, who would be the friend and guardian of his daughter? Appáji, his proud brother, who had never loved him, and who had long kept sullenly at a distance, or even the dull mean-spirited Lingarája might covet the wealth and power of the throne, murder the helpless children and seize the great prize. But no! He was yet alive and omnipotent in Coorg, he could yet defend his beloved Dévammáji and her sisters. The executioners are called. A party is despatched to Appagalla, a second party to Háleri, to bring the heads of the brothers, Appáji and Lingarája. They prostrate themselves and depart

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632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
368 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
632 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
312 head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet. In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittangala and Hattúr.

Kiggatnád-taluq extends with its four Náds over the
635 whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[634] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
[131] taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurubas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and 223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are well provided with the necessaries of life. With the exception of the large and influential house of the late Devan
[55] Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth.

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol." see corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 -- Analyst]

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564 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 793 The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

[778] [788]

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

564 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1] 564 793

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāli were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs. [754]

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2] 793 [778]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation: 787 793

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today. 791 [564] 787

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57. [2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 768 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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water from the domestic pond or well and carry manure in reed baskets to the fields.

The sexes are generally segregated. The outer veranda serves as a club for the men, and they sit down on the benches there, drinking, chewing betel, and talking. The women rarely visit the veranda.[1] Similarly, men rarely join the women who are all presumably sitting in the kitchen, or in one of the inner rooms. Men and women dine separately, the women dining after the men.

When relatives visit a Coorg house, the men guests join the men hosts in the veranda, whereas the women guests join the women hosts in an inner part of the house. During the harvest festival and festival of the village-deities the men sing and dance while the women watch them from a distance. Usually the men play a more active part in the festivals than the women. There is an oracle in the festival of every village-deity, and the oracles are usually men. Women oracles are indeed rare, but where they function they are important.

Women are expected to observe a stricter code of conduct than men. For instance, formerly, a Coorg woman who had committed adultery with a low-caste man was summarily thrown out of caste, whereas a lapse on the part of a man was not treated with equal seriousness. Again, there was some difference in the punishment meted out to a man and woman: a man was liable to be fined or excommunicated, whereas excommunication was the only punishment for a woman.

Different ideals are held up for men and women. Strength, skill in fighting and hunting, and courage are admired in a man. A proverb states, 'men should die on the battlefield, and women should die in child-bed'. The killer of a tiger or panther and mother of ten children were both accorded the honour of a *mangala* ceremony. (See Chapter III.)

Formerly women seem to have enjoyed greater freedom than they do nowadays. Elderly informants remember that even as recently as fifty years ago women used to sing and beat cymbals in public on festive occasions. Coorg folksongs tell us of women who killed tigers and held assemblies of men to ridicule. In some folk-

[1] Frequently a Coorg house has a separate entrance which enables the women to move in and out of the house without being seen by the men who are gathered in the veranda.

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621
two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). 796
The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776
Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346
whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621
made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796
dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535
villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvti respectively. The services of 791

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical
[544] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice.
[534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chaṇḍés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and
787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

VII

•79/ 7% The Bhadrakāḷi oracle plays a most important and, to the outsider, rather puzzling role in the festival. He directs the festival at every stage and these directions are given while he is believed to be possessed by the deity whose oracle he is.

It should be remembered here that the tasks which each *okka* has to perform in the festival and the contributions it is required to make are all determined by custom. The oracle rarely sets aside or countermands these tasks and contributions, and he does so only when there are good reasons: for instance, if the sole adult male representative of one of the concerned *okkas* is seriously ill during the festival the oracle will ask another *okka* to take over the duties of the sick man.

Sometimes the oracle is given the discretionary power to act with some latitude. For instance, he is required to allot some of the votive animals brought by the upper-caste devotees to the deities of the Poleyas. In 1941, when I witnessed the festival, he did not allot any goat to the Poleya deities as only three goats had been brought as offerings. The Poleya deities had to rest content with a few sheep and fowls.

The oracle also decides which day of the festival should be the fast-day or *paṭṇi*. He usually chooses the eighth day, but if it is unsuitable for some reason or other, he chooses an earlier or later day.

[787] The point to note is that all these instructions are issued while the oracle is believed to be possessed by the deity. The oracle's words are regarded as the deity's words. Coorgs commonly talk about 'the deity said this', and 'the deity did that', and it is only after a while that the outsider understands that they are referring to the oracle's acts and words. The oracle no doubt issues instructions while possessed, but these instructions only restate, confirm, and support what has already been decided by custom. The oracle exercises his discretionary power only in certain known and definite contexts..

The villagers know every step of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle beforehand. They tell you that 'he will be running in a minute', or that 'he will be gashing his head', and so on. It is like a play which they have seen before and you have not.

Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa is the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi and unlike

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa
[782] when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
776 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kaṇiẽ), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [173] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations.

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years.

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjula Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Náráyana" and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

821 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella[1] lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it
[791] disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[753] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communicate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

[1] [Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493. — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

782 789 791 178 cends. He sits down in Hindu fashion, muttering mantras. Pieces of wood are laid across the pit, and covered with earth a foot or two deep. Upon this platform a fire of jack-wood is kindled, into which butter, sugar, different kinds of grain, etc. are thrown. This sacrifice continues all night, the Panika sacrificer above, and his immured colleague below, repeating their incantations all the while. In the morning the pit is opened, and the man returns to the light of day. These sacrifices are called *Máranada bali* or *death-atonements*. They cost from 10 to 15 Rupees. Instead of a human being, a cock is sometimes shut up in the pit and killed afterwards.

789 782 753 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole gráma or nád such as small-pox, cholera or cattle-disease, the ryots combine to appease the wrath of *Mári-amma* by collecting contributions of pigs, fowls, rice, cocoanuts, bread, and plantains from the different houses, and depositing them at the Mandu; whence they are carried in a procession with tomtoms. In one basket there is some rice and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand and, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the nád boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by the persons composing the procession. The people of the adjoining grámas or nádsrepeat the same ceremony and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities a flock of sheep is driven from nád to nád and at last expelled from the country.

788 789 783 **e. Pilgrimages of the Coorgs within and outside their own country.**

Besides the annual *Tale-Káveri festival* in October and the *Kuttadamma-játre* in April there is a large concourse of people in February during *Sivarátri* at *Herumálu* in Kiggat-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves.

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1]

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades.

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōḷi Pajamé*, pp. 20–21.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

791 compatible. But not all Coorgs have horoscopes, and marriages
787 are frequently arranged without resorting to the Kaṇiya astrologer.

Coorgs formerly resorted to the Kaṇiya on every conceivable occasion. If an ox strayed, or if someone was ill in the house, the Kaniya was consulted. It was believed that he was able to tell, by consulting the planets, whether the strayed ox would return and whether the patient would recover. Sometimes he suggested the performance of some rite which would enable, for instance, the ox which had strayed to return home and the [782] patient to recover. Perhaps a minor deity or spirit like Guḷika, or an ancestral spirit, was annoyed because it had not received the necessary attention from the members of the particular joint family. The Kaṇiya would then suggest the performance of appropriate propitiatory ritual.

792 The Baṇṇa and Paṇika are two low castes, originally from [564] Malabar, who are very similar to each other and who actually perform the ritual which the Kaṇiya prescribes for his Coorg client. These two castes stand in a relation similar to the one in which the dispensing chemist stands to the doctor in the Western [769] world. The Kaṇiya says, for instance, that the ancestors of his client are angry because they have not been propitiated for a long time, and he suggests the performance of the *kāraṇava téré* which is an elaborate propitiation of ancestors lasting over a day. The Baṇṇa (or Paṇika) actually performs the elaborate ancestor-propitiation at which the ancestors of the Coorg joint family possess the Baṇṇa oracle.[1]

Each Baṇṇa family serves a group of villages which they are under an obligation to serve. Besides ancestor-propitiation and other occasions when their services are wanted by families, Baṇṇas play very important parts at the festivals of village-deities where they are oracles, dancers, and cutters of the sacrificial animals.

322 Coorgs come into contact with the blacksmith, carpenter, and
325 goldsmith usually in non-ritual contexts. The blacksmith and
328 carpenter make the agricultural implements and domestic articles, and also help in building the massive houses of Coorgs. Some of the articles made by them, like the bier and palanquin, are used on ritual occasions.

328 The goldsmith, in addition to making the gold and silver orna-
304

[1] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 169–70, contains an example of the kind of service which the Kaṇiya performed with the aid of the Baṇṇa.

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

• 792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous growth produces certain inconsistencies. For instance, the main 779 body of Coorgs propitiate their dead ancestors by offering meat 177 and liquor with the Baṇṇa acting as oracle, as well as by offering 182 balls of rice-flour under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. Amma Coorgs, a Sanskritized division of Coorgs, make the inconsistency in the customs of the main body of Coorgs all the more glaring by observing annual *shrāddhas* (propitiation of ancestors with balls of rice using Sanskrit *mantras*) after the manner of Brahmins, and by completely eschewing the other mode of propitiation.

Many village-deities who are made out to be forms of Mahādēva (or Shiva), and goddesses who are made out to be Povvedi (i.e. Bhagavati, wife of Shiva), are offered meat and toddy. Side by side with these deities, Coorgs offer worship at the temples of Tala Kāvēri, Rāmēshwara in Irpu, and Omkārēshwara in Mercara, where the priests are Brahmins and Sanskrit *mantras* are used, and where only offerings of fruit and flowers are permitted.

Inconsistencies are also seen on the plane of belief. It has been mentioned earlier that the Coorg funeral song says that the man died because the ration of rice kept for him by God Nārāyaṇa was finished; and the survivors pray God not to cause the dead man to be reborn as living is synonymous with suffering. These ideas are entirely consistent with Sanskritic theology. But at another place in the funeral song the mourner says, 'Nārāyaṇa's thieving horde (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) came to kill you. Had I known it, I would have hacked the horde to pieces.' This is entirely consistent with the martial idiom of Coorgs, but inconsistent with the ideas of Sanskritic theology mentioned earlier.

As a rule, educated Coorgs turn more and more to Sanskritic deities, rites, and beliefs. The Rāmakrishṇa Mission is active in Coorg, and in recent years it has been responsible for carrying the message of philosophical Hinduism to Coorgs. In the last thirty [792] years four Coorgs have become *sanyasis*, dedicating their lives to prayer and meditation and the active service of their fellow men. One of these *sanyasis* has a hermitage (*āshrama*) called appropriately *Kāvēri Āshrama*.

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584 Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

791 •793 [778] [788] The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

793 437 In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *puṭri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

584 793 754 The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

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not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1]

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāli were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs.

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation:

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today.

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57. [2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

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ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

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564 621 emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

621 796 564

[793] The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

[783]

[791] Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

[777]

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784]
kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834]
during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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793 ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of con-
796 cern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread
783 systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

796 The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or
785 *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and
262 the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyat priests.

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346 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhagandēshwara temple in Bhāgamandla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate
346 ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of
793 this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar
793 who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship
796 is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest.
[776] Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

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epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities propitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēdas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a number of *ṅāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

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793 swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the
796 women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

796 The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various
621 high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

796 According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas*
773 which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

796 The festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in
621 south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

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On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi 796
temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round 621
the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for [437]
his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by 796
Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by 564
Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual [793]
services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins [437]
a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he
177 inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

[224] Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa
[551] is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

177 The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours every-
779 where Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars,
● 793 from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare. 177 799

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status. 793

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Ārmēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year). 779 795 177

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive 793 177

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-
177 Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

VI

779 The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-
177 growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains,
564 and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic
776 cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly
779 and in a thoroughgoing manner.
177 The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

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CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendra built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *makadaraana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanapraata*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 844 845 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Náráyana* and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
791 kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
133 the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2¼ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
346 races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

187 At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
768 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized.

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs pûja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pûjâri and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padârthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

open space before the temple, many of them possessed by [796] devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannangalamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787] lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation [796] of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers [782] of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoanuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the forenoon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535] Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788] the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787] Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793] hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilmúrta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

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The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

778
177 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the
superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places
[782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Kárana, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggery, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Linguites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

788 783 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure[1] alarming. According to [177] [823] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the caldron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 793 778 177 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 battics of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon 788 778 177 539 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[1] [Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháriés, 769
collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed [787] men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of 776
all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called 782
Kuttadamma. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kutta-[778]
damma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of [793]
the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in [793]
charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly per-[825]
formed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu! 788 778 77 539

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappakunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift! 788 [793] [177] [782]

On the *Hattur kill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth. 778 788 [842]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December. 788

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkaréśvara-dévastána*[1] at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or púJáries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore. 778 793 778 177

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by 778 659 [652]

[1] [Errata: This should read "Onkaréśvara-dévastána". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pája in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
194 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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[648]
[659]

[844]
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Purôhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot pursuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
779 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
179 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore, which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Meroara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "the Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 403 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*

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596 794 In the first place the Coorg individual is a member of a domestic group, the *okka* or patrilineal joint-family. His closest social ties are with this group and its members, and the well-being of this group is something that is for him of supreme importance. Each such group has its own religious cult. There are daily religious observances of the members of the joint family. There are recurrent occasions on which ritual performances are called for. Any event which affects the solidarity or well-being of the group is an occasion of ritual, such as in births, deaths, and marriages. Piety, for a Coorg, is in the first place the observance of the requirements of this domestic cult.

114 794 182 Dr. Srinivas has described for us the various features of this domestic cult, but he has done more than that. He has helped us to see the social function of these rituals as expressing and maintaining the solidarity and continuity of the structural system. Further, he has sought, with some considerable measure of success, to reveal the meaning of the ritual idiom of the Coorg domestic cult. In any system of ritual each ritual action has its meaning, and the totality of such meanings constitutes the idiom of that system. Just as different societies have different languages so also they have their systems of ritual idiom, and it is the task of the social anthropologist to investigate a system of ritual idiom in the same way that he studies a language. To understand the way a people talk it is necessary to know the idiom of their language; to understand a religion it is necessary to have some understanding of the ritual idiom in which they express their religious sentiments. We do not understand the Coorg domestic cult unless we understand the religious meaning to the Coorgs of the lamp hanging in the hall of the house; and other features of their rites and ceremonies.

621 794 Besides being a member of a joint family (*okka*) the Coorg individual is a member of a village community which includes not only persons of his own caste but also members of other castes. The village community has its own religious cult, with its god or gods and its temple or shrine or temples. The village-deities, when properly propitiated, protect the village and its inhabitants from smallpox and plague and other supernatural evils, and afford blessings such as good health and abundant crops. Thus the cult of the village-deities is a collective action of the community. Just as the domestic cult has for its ostensible aim the preservation of the well-being of the particular group, so the village cult has for its

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

aim the well-being of the village. Both these cults emphasize for an individual his membership of a particular social group, the joint family in the one instance and the village community in the other.

Three other features of social structure have to be considered in connexion with the village cult. In the first place, though the whole village community takes part in the ceremonies, different caste groups have different parts to play and are thus differentiated. Some, for example, take part in the animal sacrifice, while others have nothing to do with it. Thus a caste group within the village is able, within the cult, to establish its own unity and its separation from other groups. This is a significant feature of the caste structure of the village.

In the second place, though each village community has its own unity as exhibited in the cult performances, there is co-operation between different villages, and members of one may take part in the ceremonies of another. Thus the Coorg villages are groups within a single Coorg religious community. It is therefore not only the solidarity of the village that is exhibited in the village cult but also the religious solidarity and unity of the people of Coorg.

Thirdly, there is the fact that the local deities of the villages have been assimilated to the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as when a particular local deity is identified with Shiva or Pārvati. In this way the Coorg religious community has become incorporated as a part of that wider Hindu religious community. The incorporation, however, is only partial. In an orthodox Hindu cult the temple should be served by a Brahmin. Orthodox Hindu deities are vegetarian and dislike alcohol. But some of the Coorg village-deities demand the blood and flesh of animals and offerings of toddy. What Dr. Srinivas calls the process of Sanskritization of the Coorg village cults is therefore very far from being complete. There are very important remains of paganism. This need not surprise us when we remember the many survivals of local paganism in the Christian countries. What is significant is that in his participation in the worship of the village-deities the Coorg individual is able to think of himself as a member of the widespread Hindu religious community.

The individual in Coorg belongs to a particular joint-family, and to a particular village, but in addition he belongs by birth to a particular social group of the kind to which we apply the name

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits 793
and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities pro- 796
pitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had 794
three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a [533]
high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēdas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a 793
number of *kāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during 796
the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

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[For information on the cult practices of the patrilineal extended family, or okka, see category 116, pp. 123-175.]

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c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized. 796 793 [177]

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge. [346] [794] [154]

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796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs púja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the PúJári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

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796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

175 The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance
● 795 of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Mala-
184 yāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

[302] Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark
[533] used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

648 The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the
178 beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and
423 ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations.
648 Richter applauds the change:
178

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare. 177 799

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status. 793

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Armēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year). 779 795 177

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive 793 177

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 659 private contributions. The lion's share of this large Government grant falls to the Mercara-Omkarésvara temple with Rupees 4,850, to the Bhágiamandala-dévastána with Rupees 3,956; to the Tale-Kávéri pagoda with Rupees 2,320 and to the Rajahs' tombs with Rupees 2,000 per annum—a total of Rupees 13,126! When the people once see the folly of their superstitious idolatry, what an amount of spiritual good for themselves and their children they may effect with these large sums, should Government continue its liberality!

778 795 The *Mattas* or *Jangams* are religious institutions, originated and endowed by the Coorg Rajahs, who were themselves Lingaites. They are now evidently of greater importance to the Siváchára-priests, who derive an easy living from the rich endowments, than of any practical use for the Coorg people, amongst whom this sect, in spite of its royal patronage, never struck any root. The Siváchárics are easily recognised by the silver capsule, enclosing the Linga, which they wear suspended round their necks. The 57 Mattas hold as endowments 31,457 batties of land, representing an annual revenue of 3,360 Rupees due to Government, if the land were held [659] by ryots. Government, therefore, contributes not only that amount of revenue, but also the actual produce of the fields less the working expenditure.

The most richly endowed Mattas are the following:—

Bassava-hally	Matta in	Yedavanád with	4,105	batties of land,
Abbi	do.	do.	4,005	do.
Madapur	do.	Gadinád do.	2,643¼	do.
Siddapur	do.	Horurnurocklenád	2,372¼	do.
Thanady	do.	Amatnád with	1,485	do.
Chadadarally	do.	Horurnurocklenád	1,430	do.
Cheppada Katte	do.	Yedenálknád with	1,188¼	do.
Thorenur	do.	Gadinád do.	1,100	do.
their endowments amounting to			18,330	batties of land.

4: Richter M; G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Musjids.—There are but 5 small Musjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Viráj pet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas. 795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 in- [162] habitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing púja in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot persuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but
795 the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to
779 marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pro-
179 nounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of
539 Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

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7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 413 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

211 figures are in grotesque attitudes, but remarkably well grouped
532 and closely resemble the sculptured reliefs of Halibeed.
172 In the top compartment there is occasionally a lamp and a Linga both on pedestals, and these insignia, together with the Basavas in the third frame, evidently denote the heroes as Linga worshippers and aliens from the present Coorgs, who know nothing about them; the Canarese Gaudas, in whose countries they are chiefly found, claim them as relics of their ancestors and annually present before these stones offerings of cakes and fruit. The dresses of all the figures represented are not in the Coorg but in the costume of Hindus of the scantiest clothing. Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* Vol. I. p. 15. explains the sculptured representations in the
[195] three compartments thus: "The lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva."

211 In north and north-east Coorg similar stones, but with
178 simple and coarse sculptural figures are still erected by re-
766 lations of influential men who met with a violent death or were carried away by small-pox and cholera.

211 With the Coorgs it is the custom, to keep images of men
769 and women in Coorg costume chased in silver-plates in the *Keimatta*, which is a small square building near the house, in remembrance of their ancestors whose departed spirits are
[326] there annually worshipped. These plates which are of little artistic merit are made by the country goldsmiths. Near the
[175] *Kannana house*, on that fine hill slope opposite the Central
[648] School in Mercara, there is a stone-slab with a picture in relief of a Coorg warrior. The stone is erected in the paddy

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon
his followers instead of the voluntary Dháli-batta (dusty-grain) 175
a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas 643
eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was 648
to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembán Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put 643
to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri 648
government. 174
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That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs [795] ●
maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwunád, Benganád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were [144]
required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received
by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [578]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 of the former fort. It was a happy thought to select this
[485] spot for a travellers' bangalow, where after a weary journey over the monotonous Mysore-roads the traveller is placed in the midst of a charming scenery, a worthy introduction into Coorg!

[132] From the position of Fraserpet its climate is hotter than that of Mercara, but during the monsoon it is extremely pleasant, as very little rain falls there and the heat of the sun is moderated by constant clouds and light fogs. The nights are cool and pleasant, nor is the sun ever very oppressive at any season, except for an hour or two at midday; after the monsoon, however, and especially after considerable inundations by the Kávéri, the place becomes feverish and is not inhabited by Europeans.

The town was named "Fraserpet" in honor of General
[162] Fraser, the first Commissioner of Coorg. It contains now
[361] 326 houses, mostly tiled, and a population of 1,213 souls, of whom 360 are Christians, 388 Mussulmans and 465 Hindus.
[368] The town can boast of a Roman Catholic Church, a newly built shrine, dedicated to Ganapati, with a very useful public well in front of it, an Anglo-Vernacular School, a native rest-house with a tank and a Government wood-yard, besides the
[795] European bangalows. The Roman Catholics are mostly native or East Indian pensioned soldiers and their families, a detachment of Sappers and Miners having been stationed there when employed in making the great road to Mercara and the bridge over the Kávéri.

Sómawárpet in Yedavanád is 26¼ miles to the north of
[131] Mercara and of the same elevation. It lies on the highroad
[362] to Manjerabad, but there is nothing remarkable connected
[162] with the Petta. Of its 197 houses 19 are tiled and 178
[241] thatched. Of the 953 inhabitants 862 are Hindus and 91
[437] Mussulmans. There are but few cultivators, most of them live on trade in various articles. Though fully alive to their

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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them in and about his capital. The Konkanis are noted for their industry and skill of adapting themselves to circumstances. Dodda-Vírájender eagerly welcomed them into his depopulated country, granted them land at Vírájpet, procured for them a Priest in the person of Father John de Costa, a native of Goa, assisted in building a chapel and allotted to its maintenance a stipend of 84 butties of paddy and a certain amount of oil and candles, which allowance his successors continued and which the English Government since 1835 commuted into a monthly grant of Rs. 20, "its continuance being dependant not only on the Priest's conduct, but that of his flock, in as far as he may justly be considered responsible for it." This stipend is now looked upon as the Priest's salary from Government and attempts have been made, to get it increased, but Sir Mark Cubbon declared: "that the amount, the Priest enjoyed, had no doubt been deemed proportioned to the ordinary duties of his office, but if called to the discharge of any extra duties by the requisition of the members of his congregation, the Commissioner conceived that the latter should contribute the means of enabling the Priest to meet such extra-official calls."

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795

Pastoral jurisdiction having been claimed by the Archbishop of Goa, the Rev. F. Bernardino De Sta. Agnes, Bishop-Coadjutor, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore addressed in 1846 the Superintendent of Coorg in the following letter:—

The Mission of Coorg, by a Firman passed by the Rájah in 1805, was founded to remain always under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, who has ultimately transferred it to me. No jurisdiction over it was ever or is now possessed by the Archbishop of Goa. The jurisdiction of His Grace does not extend beyond that Portuguese territory as shewn by various Bulls which have emanated from Rome regarding the same, but the Archbishop, actuated by certain national presumption, pretends to possess something like an omnipotence in the spiritual throughout the whole of India and therefore sends his emissaries to excite dissensions and disturbances among the Roman Catholics, subject to the Vicars Apostolic, and he has

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

563 795 accordingly sent one to Coorg named Francesco Pacheco, who endeavours to take forcible possession of the Church there."

Now the Roman Catholic establishments in Coorg are under the spiritual charge of the Bishop at Bangalore, the See at Mangalore having declined about ten years ago to send Priests to so unhealthy a locality as Vírájpet.

[659] In 1835 a grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned by Government for the restoration of the delapidated church at Vírájpet and in 1866 a new grant of Rs. 2,500 for rebuilding the same edifice, which after completion is said to have cost Rs. 15,000 (vide p. 375). The Priest's dwelling and the school-houses for boys and girls are on the same premises. The streets of the Christian quarter look clean and tidy and the houses like those of the better class of other natives in the [162] place are substantial and comfortable. The number of Roman Catholic Christians in Vírájpet amounts to 313, and there may [165] be as many more in the neighbourhood. The mortality amongst those in the town has of late years been very considerable.

As stated by Mr. Kerr, the late Superintendent of Coorg and himself a Roman Catholic, "the Christian colony at Vírájpet is not a mission-establishment in the ordinary acceptation of the term," and no Coorg and hardly any other caste people of Coorg have ever joined it. The Christians, away from their pastor's eye, seem to be more influenced by the surrounding heathenish superstition, than to exercise any renovating influence by their Christian life and testimony upon the heathen; but socially as well as morally they appear now to be in a better condition than they were, when Lieut. Connor saw them in 1817 and drew a picture of the colony in the following sketch:—

"The Christians here are under the Church of Bombay, a small chapel has been built and its services are performed by an ecclesiastic from that place; the condition of his flock, however, is far from flourishing, the greater portion of them are employed in the manufacture of arrack from rice, an

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

avocation that bespeaks the estimation in which they are held. Christianity has impressed no very awful sense of religion on its rude followers, who are subject to all the degradation, attaching to a profession of it in eastern countries; but a small share of the morality it inculcates is observable, and its votaries seem still to retain most of their ancient superstitions; indeed, if either the condition or character of these followers of it be taken as a criterion, the most sanguine could scarcely hope much good to result from a more general conversion to its divine doctrines." 563 795

A church and native congregation, chiefly of Tamil-Christians, the servants of Europeans, and pensioned sepoys, especially Sappers and Miners, have been established at Mercara and Fraserpet at which places periodically a European or Native Priest resides.

2. THE ENGLISH CHAPLANCY IN MERCARA.

Mercara containing a greater number of Europeans than Mangalore and offering a more salubrious residence, the chaplain of the latter station removed to the former in 1854[1] and Mercara was ever since under the spiritual care of a clergyman of the Church of England. His congregation, comprising civilians, military officers and planters, numbers over hundred souls. Through subordinate agency native Christians, especially Tamulians, have likewise been benefitted by the successive Chaplains and the heathens around have at least an opportunity of witnessing in a chaste church (vide p. 192.) the pure and simple worship of a Protestant congregation; and should all who profess and call themselves Christians be led in the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life, what amount[2] of good might thus be effected even by those who cannot speak to the natives in their tongue! There would certainly be less cause for taunting the Christian missionary with want of success! 797

1 The first resident Chaplain at Mercara, the Rev. Mr. Prosnett,

1 [Errata: This should read "in 1852". or See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 — Analyst]

2 [Errata: This should read "what an amount". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p 494 -- Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

a joint family speaking Koḍagi while another speaks Kannaḍa. Until recently Coorgs living south of Mercara had a prejudice against marrying those living in the north. The latter were regarded as inferior and derisively referred to as those living 'beyond the hills' (*boṭṭat mēlé*), the implication being that Coorgs south of Mercara were the best Coorgs.

Coorgs formed a compact unit in relation to other castes. They possessed wealth and power, they liked dancing, competitive games involving the exercise of skill and strength, hunting, and soldiering. In the Vēdic or classical caste system these virtues are attributed to Kshatriyas, the caste of warriors and kings, who are next only to the Brahmin in the hierarchy. The resemblances between Coorgs and the Vēdic Kshatriyas are striking indeed in the matter of values, and it is understandable that Coorgs should regard themselves as Kshatriyas. But the classical Kshatriyas, as one of the three 'twice-born' castes, were entitled to perform certain rituals at which sacred verses (*mantras*) from the Vēdas were recited by the priests. Coorgs do not perform any of these rituals and Vēdic *mantras* are not recited when a Coorg is given a name, or marries, or dies.

Coorgs, like other Caste Hindus, object very strongly to the eating of beef, and the strength of their objection was early recognized by the British who banned all slaughter of cattle for the table in Coorg in 1835. But the Coorg dietary includes pork and liquor, and this is occasionally singled out for comment by the other castes. The correlation between status and dietary is particularly strong in the interior of south India, and the Coorg claim to be considered as Kshatriyas comes up against this fact. Coorgs rightly point out that the Rajputs of north India eat pork and that this has not prevented them from being generally regarded as Kshatriyas. However, Rajputs eat only the wild pig and not the domesticated one.

In the Sanskritic myth (*Kāvēri Purāṇa* or *Kāvēri Māhātmya*) about the River Kāvēri, Coorgs are said to be Ugras,[1] or the descendants of the marriage of a Kshatriya prince and his Shūdra wife. The Kāvēri Myth thus cleverly reconciles the economic and

[1] Ugra means 'strong, formidable, terrible, violent, angry, passionate, cruel, fierce, pungent, hot, high and noble. It is also the name of a mixed tribe, descended from a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother, and of Malabar.' M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 172.

564 prevails between the higher castes and Poleyas. For instance, Poleyas may not come out of their huts during the first eighteen days of the biennial festival of the deity Kētrappa at Bēngūr. It is believed that they will suffer some misfortune if they come out and see the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*) going about their sacred work.

792 Quite the opposite attitude prevails towards Poleyas at the festival of the Bhadrakāḷi of Kunda. The Poleya oracles have many duties at the festival, though they are not permitted to enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. They may not touch a high caste person, but they have the right of barring anyone from entering the temple. They stopped me presumably because they considered my dress—I was wearing a suit—improper, and they let me in only after a Coorg friend had explained who I was.

564 Ritual occasions might either emphasize the structural cleavages that normally exist between high and low castes, or they might 796 tend to minimize them. The former leads, among other things, to the exclusion of the lower castes from ritual, while the latter leads to their inclusion. But inclusion does not mean that structural distance is abolished totally for the duration of the ritual occasion. What happens may be more accurately described by stating that certain individuals belonging to the low castes have ritual roles which place them temporarily in a superior position *vis-à-vis* the high castes.

791 At an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, a Baṇṇa acts as 769 oracle: he is possessed by each of the ancestor-spirits in turn, and while the possession lasts, he is identified with the particular ancestor possessing him. As the temporary vehicle of the spirit of an ancestor he is entitled to say and do things which he normally would not dream of saying and doing. As ancestor, he might censure the head of the joint family for not attending to his duties properly.

[178] Nowadays young Coorgs who are sceptical about their traditional beliefs tend to see the Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation as an actor playing several roles in a play, and not as the vehicle of the spirits of their ancestors. A young Coorg told me that he had seen a Baṇṇa oracle saluting a big official while he was alleged to be possessed by an ancestor-spirit, and this was proof to him of the fact that all possessions were just make-believe and not real.

554 Another Coorg youth told me that while he was witnessing an 769 ancestor-propitiation at a friend's house, the Baṇṇa oracle, address-

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emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

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villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village. 621 564 796

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1] 596 428 562 [539]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted. 596 [597]

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession. 462 596

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival. [623] [437] [796]

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

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621 765 is a taboo on cooking being done in the mourning house till the corpse is removed.

621 796 On certain occasions the entire village co-operates, though the lower castes co-operate at a different level from others. An example will make clear what we mean. Every caste in the village co-operates during the harvest festival of Coorgs. It is the harvest festival of *Coorgs* alone, and not, for instance, of the Mēdas or Poleyas. The Mēdas beat the tom-tom and Poleyas play on their pipes to the dancing of Coorgs. Every Coorg *okka* has to send all the adult men in it to the village dance and hunt. Poleyas and Mēdas act as beaters at this hunt while the other castes do the shooting. Later, there is a dinner for the entire village, called, appropriately enough, *ūrormé*, i.e. 'village harmony', where the game killed in the hunt is cooked. Every male member of the village participates in this dinner, Coorgs and equivalent castes sitting together, while Mēdas and Poleyas form separate groups. The meat is cooked by Coorgs and equivalent castes, while every house brings its own supply of *puṭṭ*, or cooked rice-flour, which is eaten with the curry. The Brahmin does not participate in the village dinner as it is cooked by castes lower to him in the hierarchy. Besides, he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. It may be noted that the Brahmin is almost as frequently excluded from village activities as the Untouchable. The Brahmin does not hunt or dance, nor does he favour the propitiation of deities with animal sacrifice and liquor.

[574] Every member of the village is required to observe certain rules during the harvest festival. He has to keep the door of his house open and the sacred domestic lamps lit. He must be hospitable to parties of singers and dancers and mix with other villagers. He must refrain from abusing and fighting even if there is provocation from the other party.

Though parties of Coorg singers did not visit the houses of Mēdas and Poleyas, even the latter were required to observe the rules. Every caste, including Mēdas and Poleyas, was present when inquiry into cases of breaches of rules took place.

[585] A wedding in a Coorg house requires the co-operation of all the castes in the village, and the fee payable to them is fixed by custom. It is the same with the festival of the village-deity, though sometimes the Poleyas are almost entirely excluded from this festival. During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngūr, the Poleyas may not be

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Bēngōr, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest. 621 796 776

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village. 622 [364] [363] [485]

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter. 622 829

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a proverb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances. 622 623 [539] [367] [344]

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

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634 as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority.
184 The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pājé*', which might be translated as 'six
[539] *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

634 The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions
● [794] as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held
[578] in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength
[526] and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

634 When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house
585 it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

634 A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in
539 Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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Four Coorgs beat the small Coorg drum called '*duḍi*' and sing some traditional songs at various points during *mangala*. These songs give an account of the ritual that is being performed. The singers also sing the 'road song' (*baṭṭé pāṭ*), while conducting the subject of *mangala* from one part of the house to another, and the road song gives a traditionally exaggerated account of everything that is found *en route*. At night, after dinner, Coorg singers sing songs about the groom, bride, their ancestors, and the guests who are present. 796 [533]

The elaborate preparations for *mangala* and the selection of an auspicious day for its performance stress the social importance of the occasion. *Mangala* indicates the movement of the subject from one position in the social structure to another, it marks a change in his social personality. *Mūrta* ritual is the most important part of *mangala*, and, consequently, it is performed during the most auspicious part of the auspicious day, and the subject undergoes a series of preparatory and purificatory rites before sitting down for *mūrta*.

The subject of *mangala*, if male, is ritually shaved by the barber, after which he is given a bath by three women relatives whose husbands are alive.[1] Women whose husbands are alive enjoy a higher ritual and social status than widows. Only an unmarried girl, and a woman whose first and only husband is alive, are entitled to take part in auspicious ritual. Not only widows, but also remarried widows, are excluded from auspicious ritual, but such exclusion is not as thorough among Coorgs as it is, for instance, among the Brahmins. [783] [589]

After a bath, the subject wears ritual garments, and proceeds to the sacred central hall (*nellakki naḍubāḍé*), where all ritual ought to take place, ideally speaking. In the central hall is the sacred tripod stool (*mukkāli* = three-legged) on which the subject sits, and on either side of the stool stands a bell-metal lamp (*kuttum boḷicha*). The subject thrice walks round the tripod stool and lamps, and then salutes the lamps and the tripod stool before sitting down on the latter. Circumambulation is clock-wise in auspicious ritual and anti-clockwise in mourning. [346] [778]

In front of the sitting subject is another such stool covered with a red silk cloth. An earthen lamp burns in a metal dining dish (*taḷi*)

[1] The subject sits on the floor fully clothed while the women relatives pour vesselfuls of hot water on him.

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796 which is kept on the stool before the subject. The lamp rests on a thin bed of rice spread inside the dish. A few betel leaves and areca-nuts are also kept alongside the lamp. The dish, rice, lamp, and betel leaves and nuts are all collectively referred to as '*taḷiyakki-boḷuk*' which literally means 'dish-rice-lamp'. It will be referred to as 'dish-lamp' in future, and a dish-lamp is considered essential on all ritual occasions.

At *mangala*, in addition to the earthen lamp, a *kinḍi* full of milk [415] is kept on the dish-lamp. A *kinḍi* is a bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side. At *mangala* every relative performs *vis-à-vis* the subject a series of solidarity rites collectively called *mūrta*, and one of these rites consists in giving the subject a little milk to drink. This is done by the relative holding the *kinḍi* in such a way that the tip of the spout touches the subject's mouth. The subject sucks in a few drops of milk through the spout.

Each of the assembled relatives singly performs *mūrta*, described below, towards the subject of *mangala*. Three married women, close relatives of the subject, are required to perform it before anyone else. If the subject's mother is alive and not a widow, she is entitled to be one of the three, and what is more, perform it first, even if the other two are her seniors.

The mother, or senior married woman, begins by sprinkling rice on the two bell-metal lamps on either side of the subject, and then salutes them. The sun-god is saluted next after throwing some rice backwards, over the shoulders. This is followed by the relative depositing a little rice successively at the joints of knees, elbows, and shoulders, and on the head of the subject. The relative then holds the spouted vessel before the subject and he sucks in a little milk through the spout. After this she presents the subject with a gold or silver coin. The subject salutes her by touching her feet with both his hands and carrying the latter back to his fore-head. This is done thrice. The married woman blesses him by [788] touching his head and saying, 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'.

III

796 It has been mentioned before that *mangala* is an auspicious or 777 good-sacred ceremony and that it has to be performed on an auspicious day. All over India, among Hindus, it is believed that certain

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

841 Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaṛé kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*uṃbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

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the white original: it is of wool, has short sleeves, and a V-shaped neck permitting the display of a collar and tie. The white gown is ritually superior to the black gown.

Usually the gown is secured at the waist by a tasselled red silk sash called *chēlé*, but when the subject is sitting for the shaving rite, a red cotton scarf is used instead of the silk sash.

The subject salutes the lamp in the south-western room, the south-western pillar, and the wall-lamp before sitting on the tripod stool placed on a mat. Near the mat is a dining-dish (*taḷi*) containing milk, and a harvest-basket containing some rice, a coconut, a bunch of plantains, and betel leaves and areca-nut.

Water may not be used for shaving on this occasion. Milk is used instead. The shavings are put into the dining-dish, and later the barber empties the dish at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

A distinctive form of shaving prevails at marriage, and perhaps at subsequent *mangalas* (it does not, however, prevail at the ear-boring *mangala*). The front of the head is shaved in such a manner that it leaves two 'horns' above the temples, formed by the shaved patches. This mode of shaving is called '*kombanjavara*' which means 'horn shave'.

The harvest-basket containing rice, plantains, and the bell-metal dining-dish, and the scarf at the subject's waist, are given as gifts to the barber.

Two other men get themselves shaved after the subject. All over south India it is common at a wedding for two or four companions of the subject to 'accompany' him (or her) in certain rites. For instance, two men are given a bath along with the groom, and two girls are given a bath along with the bride.

In the south-western parts of Coorg the bride undergoes, before *mūrta*, a rite called '*kūrangodi muripa*', which is analogous to shaving. The bride's brother's wife removes from the bride's head a thin wisp of hair, and pares her nails. (The barber normally pares the nails after shaving a man.) These are put into a dining-dish containing milk. Later, the dining-dish is emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding tree.

Coorgs are generally more Westernized in their ways than others in Coorg, and there are more cropped heads among them than among others. But formerly they, like other Hindus, had their entire heads shaved but for a tuft of hair at the crown. Tufts started giving place to cropped heads towards the close of the last

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765 mourners attains partial freedom from mourning after he has
783 offered rice mixed with *ghī*, curd, and plantain to the spirit of the departed person. The food is carried on a plantain leaf to the sacrificial post, where it is placed to be eaten by crows. As each of them comes into the house from the sacrificial post the family friend gives him (or her) a few betel leaves and areca-nut. The mourner chews the leaves and nut for a while, and then takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and throws it on the roof. The chewing of the leaves and nut on the eleventh day is one of the ritual acts symbolizing the end of mourning.

On the *māda* day curried meat, rice, arrack, water, and betel leaves and areca-nut are offered to the dead person's spirit. A plantain leaf on which some curried meat and rice are heaped is placed at each of the three spots where the corpse was rested *en route* to the burial-ground. At the burial-ground itself the surviving spouse and two other mourners sprinkle water on the spot where the dead person was buried or cremated. Above the spot where the corpse's head rests are kept three leaves, each containing curried meat, and rice, and three leaf-cups (*chaḷḷē*) containing arrack, water, and betel and nut respectively. Each of the mourners takes a betel leaf and nut from the leaf-cup in which they are kept, and chews them.

Food is offered to the dead ancestors of the *okka* at the periodical
769 ancestor-propitiations. It is also offered to them as a body on the
782 last days of Taurus and Cancer, and on the tenth of Libra. Besides, at every festival celebrated in the house, food is offered to the ancestors before the members of the household sit down to their meal.

The idea of offering food and drink to the dead person has a very important place in funeral ritual. The departed ancestors of the *okka* are remembered constantly, and food and drink are offered to them. They are also saluted and prayed to every day.

IX

796 A village is in a condition of ritual purity during the festival of
783 the main deity of the village, a festival which usually lasts nine or eleven days, and sometimes even twenty-one days. No woman in her periods may stay in Bēngūr village during the festival of Kētrappa. She has to leave the village at once and may return only

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784]
kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834]
during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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793 ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of con-
● 7% cern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread
783 systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

796 The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or
785 *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and
262 the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on th's day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancackes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

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unrelated to the rest of the structure of the festival of a village-deity.[1]

X

Some of the ritual acts performed and practices observed at mourning are obviously reversals or inversions of the acts and practices performed on good-sacred or auspicious occasions. For instance, the corpse is made to lie on a mat spread with the underside on top. It is true that like the subject of *mangala* the corpse is dressed in a white gown, but the latter is reversed in some way: it is worn with the underside uppermost, or with the left end of the gown coming on top of the right end. On auspicious occasions the proper side has to be on top, and the right end should rest on top of the left.

After the corpse has been laid in the grave, the surviving spouse throws three handfuls of earth into the grave. He (or she) twists his hand (*terangai* = twisted hand) while throwing the earth into the grave. The eldest son and other relatives follow the surviving spouse. If the corpse is going to be cremated instead of being buried, the surviving spouse sets fire to the pyre by thrusting a firebrand into it. Again, he employs the twisted hand while setting fire to the pyre (*terangoḷḷi* = twisted firebrand).

In ritual circumambulation, movement in the clockwise direction is prescribed for auspicious occasions, while anti-clockwise movement is prescribed for inauspicious occasions. The groom goes round the sacred tripod stool clockwise. A devotee goes round the temple clockwise. But the mourners go round the funeral pyre in the anti-clockwise way. Similarly, the bier is thrice carried round the paved yard before the mourning-house, the bier carriers moving anti-clockwise.

There is an interesting little problem here: while clockwise movement is restricted to auspicious occasions and anti-clockwise movement to inauspicious occasions, on both kinds of occasion the subject goes round thrice. That is to say, both the mourner as well as the groom goes round *thrice*. How is it that the principle

[1] The restrictions observed during the village-deity's festival vary from village to village. As regards the food restrictions observed on the fast day the general idea seems to be to avoid everyday diet and to starve oneself as far as possible. In some festivals only roots and boiled plantains are allowed. Steam-baked pudding (*puṭṭ*), a favourite dish of Coorgs, is prohibited in some places. Green gram *pāyasa* (liquid dish) is generally allowed except in a few villages.

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769 on the image of the deity are given to a worshipper, he or she sticks
782 them in his hair, or keeps them in his pockets. When such flowers wither, they are either put in a well or pond or on a tree. They are not thrown where people are likely to tread on them.

[796] Quite apart from festivals and other occasions when the dishes cooked in the house are offered to the ancestors before the members themselves partake of them, there are special occasions when the ancestors have to be offered food and drink, and these occasions are the last days (*changrāndi*) of the months of Taurus and Cancer, and the tenth of Libra.

The propitiation of ancestors with food (invariably non-vegetarian) and liquor and lights is called *kāraṇava bhāraṇi*. There is also a more elaborate propitiation of ancestors called *kāraṇava téré* or *kāraṇava kōla*, at which Baṇṇas or Paṇikas officiate as priests and oracles.

This elaborate propitiation of ancestors is prevalent everywhere except Kiggaṭnāḍ. Also there is no uniform rule as to when the propitiation should be performed: each *okka* seems to follow a different rule in this matter. For instance, the Mātanḍra *okka* perform it annually in May, while the Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* perform it once every few years, while some other *okkas* perform it before a wedding in the house and still others perform it some time after the death of an elderly male. In the last case the object of the propitiation is to convert the spirit of the dead person into a *kāraṇava*. An old saw has it, 'The eleventh should be added to the group of ten'.

The propitiation is invariably performed at the ancestral house. The latter is whitewashed, colour-washed, and the floors washed with a solution of cow-dung. Nowadays the head of that branch of the *okka* which is resident in the ancestral house writes a letter to the heads of the branches living elsewhere, and to other relatives, informing them of the date of the propitiation. On the appointed day they all gather together at the ancestral house, bringing with
[785] them their votive offerings of fowl or pig or both. A daughter of the house who has married out might bring with her a votive animal to a *kāraṇava* of her natal *okka*.

The propitiation begins after sundown. Everyone takes a bath, and the head of the house dresses himself in a waist-cloth and
769 shoulder-cloth. If he is very pious he even observes a fast.
782 The Baṇṇas perform the propitiatory ritual in the central hall of
787 the ancestral house. One of the Baṇṇas acts as oracle (*tiruvaḷkāra*

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or *boiḷchapāḍ*) while another, or two others, beat drums and sing the house song of the propitiating *okka*. The song gives us an account of the life of each ancestor and ancestress. The oracle wears an elaborate equipment called *téré* which consists of two bamboo frames covered with red cloths. One of the two frames covers the lower part of the oracle's body, and the other, the upper part. The lower part is really like a skirt, while the upper part, which is flat and tapers towards the top, is tied to the back by means of a stout cord going round the waist. The *téré* is decorated with tufts and frills of the pith of *pāmbaḷé*.

The Baṇṇa oracle mimics the ancestor who has possessed him. If the ancestor possessing him had a game leg, the oracle limps about, and when an ancestress is possessing him he ties a scarf round his head in the way a woman ties it.

The possession has the quality of drama. Sometimes a certain incident which occurred in the past is restaged during the possession. For instance, *A* of *X okka* was in the service of one of the Rājas, and he was put to death by the Rāja's order. It is alleged that this was due to the machinations of *B* of *Y okka*. Now, when an ancestor-propitiation is performed at *X okka*, the Baṇṇa oracle who is possessed by *A* shouts, 'I was betrayed by *B* of *Y*. I have descendants to proclaim my name. *B* of *Y* has none.' The *okka Y* was about to become extinct through the absence of male heirs when a girl of the *okka Y* was married in the *okka parijé* fashion to a boy of *okka Z*. *Okka Y* no doubt continues to exist today, but through the descendants of a female member and not through an unbroken line of agnatic kindred. Agnatic continuity has more prestige than continuity otherwise achieved. Of course, continuity, however achieved, is better than cessation.[1]

A of *X* was induced to enter the Rāja's service by his father, who was a renowned magician feared by all on the Wynāḍ side of Taṇḍra river. At the ancestor-propitiation mentioned above, the Baṇṇa possessed by the son (*A* of *X*) accuses the Baṇṇa possessed by the father of being the real cause of the former's death, for, but for the father's pressure, the son would no thave entered the service of the Rāja. 'Father' and 'son' start fighting with swords, and blood is

[1] This incident makes it clear that a grave offence against the ethical code results in the ending of the offender's *okka*. It is surprising to note, especially in view of the existence of special customary devices like *okka parijé* and *makka parijé*, that continuity through a female descendant may be regarded as ineffective.

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Guḷika is different from Kūḷi which merely means a spirit or 776
ghost. Kūḷis are troublesome spirits which cause illness, possess people, and have to be propitiated with offerings of food and drink.

XVI

The ancestral house has a special importance to a Coorg: he 596
regards it as sacred, he is bound by very powerful ties to it, and he 778
considers it the proper place where the marriage of a member 796
should be celebrated and where his funeral should be performed. Even today the various branches of an *okka* gather together at the ancestral house during the harvest festival and during the Kāvēri festival. They also gather together for the festival of the local village-deity which may be held annually or biennially, and for the performance of ancestor-propitiation.

The house is swept and cleaned every day, and on special ritual [356]
occasions such as a festival or ancestor-propitiation, its walls are colour-washed, and the floor washed with a solution of cow-dung, a common purifying agent all over India. A festival is also a holiday, and the men abstain from agricultural work and perform festival tasks such as hanging up festoons of mango leaves on the lintel above the main door. Everyone has a bath and changes into clean clothes brought by the washerman. A festival also means a feast and the [262]
feast may be either vegetarian or non-vegetarian. All over south India the feasts which are a part of calendar festivals may not include non-vegetarian dishes—this is an idea implicit in Sanskritic Hinduism. Non-Brahmins usually prepare non-vegetarian dishes on the day following the feast.

Coorgs follow other Hindus in preparing purely vegetarian 796
dishes on festival days. Even the ancestors are offered vegetarian dishes at these calendar festivals. But on those occasions which are exclusively devoted to the worship of ancestors meat and pork dishes and arrack are the preferred offerings to them. Some village-deities again require offerings of non-vegetarian dishes and liquor at festivals in their honour.

Another aspect of calendar festivals needs to be referred to here: 796
festivals such as the festival of arms and the harvest festival include 526
games like shooting at a target, running a race, throwing a 578
stone, &c. These games prove an occasion for the expression of the rivalry that exists between the *okkas* in a village or *nāḍ*. Such an

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796 occasion also canalizes the rivalry that exists in certain forms that
526 are not destructive of the social order. Coorgs themselves treat this
578 part of their calendar festivals as providing an arena for the expression of inter-*okka* rivalry.

Co-operation between *okkas* also receives emphasis at these
596 festivals. Every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) is required to send all
796 the adult males in it to the collective dances which are held at the
621 harvest festival. Again, there is a collective hunt at the end of the harvest festival (and usually at the end of the festivals of the village-deities) to which every *okka* has to send *all* the adult males in it. Failure to do so would result in a fine being levied on the defaulting *okka*.

When the festival of a village-deity is being performed, every *okka* (excluding *okkas* of very low castes) has to send a man to help in festival work such as clearing the weeds growing in the temple compound and on the road along which the deity will be taken out in procession.

There is also a minute division of the ritual tasks among the high caste *okkas* in the village. For instance, the representative of one *okka* carries the image of the deity, while the representative of another *okka* carries a lamp and the representative of yet another *okka* carries the money-box (*cheppu*), and so on. Formerly these tasks were looked upon as privileges, and an *okka* was jealous of the privileges to which it was entitled by tradition and custom.

The village is a unity made up of the various *okkas* in it. The individuality of each participating *okka* and the unity of all the *okkas* in the village[1] are both brought out in Professor Emeneau's description of a dance held at the festival of Bhadrakāḷi at Karavalé-bāḍga near Mercara. Professor Emeneau writes:

> this dance is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each *sib* [*okka*] in the village, carrying each a *koḍi* or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has the right arm bare and a fold of the turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a *sib* should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the *koḍi*

[1] Castes like the Poleya are excluded from this unity. It is recognized that such castes perform extremely useful tasks both in day-to-day living and at festivals, but their position in the social hierarchy excludes them from certain positions and tasks. The principle of stratification modifies the idea of the unity of a village.

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must be carried by a member of another *sib* along with that of his own *sib*. It is the *sibs* that are represented at the performance and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive manner of the *sib*-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance which is forbidden for the staff-carriers.[1]

The calendar festivals as well as the festivals of the village-deity emphasize both the solidarity and the individuality of the *okka* in a variety of ways. The games which are a part of some festivals give expression to and canalize inter-*okka* rivalry. All the *okkas* in a village have to co-operate in certain common tasks and games, but even this co-operation is on the basis of the acceptance of the *okka* as the nuclear unit of society. The participation of all the *okkas* in the common tasks stresses not only the unity of the larger groups such as caste, village, and *nāḍ*, but also of the unity and individuality of the participating *okkas*. This is clearly brought out in the dance at Karavalébāḍga.

XVII

Every Coorg *okka* has a relationship of friendship with another Coorg *okka* living not far away. Such friendship is between two *okkas*, and not between the individual members of them. It is traditional and institutionalized. It is usually, though not always, mutual, and the headman and mistress of the friend-*okka* have duties, ritual as well as social, on occasions such as birth, marriage, and death. These duties are in addition to those derived from common membership of the village. (See Chapter II, Section XI.)

It has been stated earlier (see Chapter II, Section XI) that the social stressing of family friendship offset the disadvantage of the lack of any real neighbourhood in a village in Coorg Proper. But isolated as a Coorg *okka* was, it was not completely without neighbours. Only they were not the right kind of neighbours. The Poleya or other low-caste servants of the Coorg *okka* lived in huts near by, but the few small Poleya familie scould not give effective help in beating off a raiding party from another village; and their caste prevented them from participation in the ritual of a Coorg house. They could only do menial jobs and carry messages.

The relationship between a Coorg *okka* and its servant families

[1] 'Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs', *J.R.A.S.* (Bengal), iv, 1938, p. 124.

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VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

796 634 THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

621 796 346 776 A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Gaṇēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

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several temples: one dedicated to Bhagavati, another to Mahādēva, 621
two to Ayyappa, and six to Raktēshwari (identified with Chamunḍi). 796
The temples dedicated to Bhagavati, Mahādēva, and Ayyappa have 776
Brahmin priests who worship the deities by using Sanskrit *mantras*, 346
whereas those dedicated to Raktēshwari do not have Brahmin priests, and pigs are sacrificed annually to her. There are two modes of worship, the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, and in the festival of a village-deity these two modes are found mixed in varying proportions.

Usually there is more than one temple in a village, and a temple contains more than one deity. The temples in a village might be either Sanskritic or non-Sanskritic, or might represent varying degrees of compromise between the two elements. Finally, a village-deity might also be the deity of more than one village.

The festival of a village-deity requires a certain amount of co-operation between the various temples in a village, and not infrequently between villages. For instance, the festivals of the various deities in a village are so arranged that they do not clash if not actually dovetail. The festivals of the deities Kētrappa and Chaunḍi in Bēngūr occur at the same time, but they dovetail remarkably considering the elaborateness of the ritual that is performed. A kind of offering known as *térémuḍi* (usually a man wearing *téré* equipment) is sent by both the Bhagavati (in common parlance, Povvedi) and Chaunḍi temples to the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day (which is also called the *nammé* or 'festival day') of the biennial Kētrappa festival.

A few miles from Bēngūr is Balmāvṭi, which has an important temple dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). This deity also has a very elaborate biennial festival, similar to Kētrappa's, but the interesting point is that the two festivals are performed in alternate years. When the 'big festival' of Kētrappa is being performed, Bhagavati of Balmāvṭi has a 'small festival', and vice versa. That is to say, this arrangement implies some co-operation between Begunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ. This is all the more surprising as formerly there was a [628] feud (*maradalé*) between these two *nāḍs*, and this feud seems to have been a long and bitter one.

There is another type of co-operation to which reference must be 621
made here. The Baṇṇas and Maléyas who officiate as oracles and 796
dancers (wearing *téré*) at the festival of Kētrappa come from the 535
villages Saṇṇa Pulikōṭu and Balmāvṭi respectively. The services of 791

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621 Baṇṇas and Maléyas are in demand in surrounding villages, but
● 796 they manage to fulfil all their ritual engagements. Similarly,
535 Paṇikas from the village Biḷigunda officiate at the festival of
791 Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. These Paṇikas too are very busy people, serving as they do a number of villages. But the people of Kuklūr have ensured their services by giving them, in the past, an advance (*iḍu*) of Rs50 and two gold bangles. This is paid in addition to the customary fees paid after every festival. The payment of the advance guarantees the Paṇika's attendance and service at the festival. It is clear that the Paṇika or Baṇṇa or Maléya can only fulfil his engagements if the festivals do not clash with each other. The Baṇṇa is essential at the festival of a village-deity, and it is perhaps his list of engagements which ensures co-operation between the villages he serves.

796 The saying 'kētrappang pātradoḍané', meaning 'the entire pot
776 of toddy for Kētrappa', testifies to the deity Kētrappa's great liking
273 for toddy. Part of the ritual of the festival of Kētrappa consists in fetching toddy from the Kopaṭṭi hills, about seven miles from Bēngūr. The Kuḍiyas (a tribe) in the Kopaṭṭi hills tap the toddy, and the festival-priests go to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day of the festival carrying new earthen pots (*kaléyas*) filled with paddy, which is the perquisite of the Kuḍiyas. These pots are brought back on the sixteenth day, and toddy is offered to Kētrappa and other deities in Bēngūr on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days. The Kuḍiyas visit the Kētrappa temple on the eighteenth day to offer their homage to the deity, watch the ritual, and receive a share of meat and toddy.

Every priestly (*kāvukāra*) *okka* in Bēngūr sends at least one representative to the Kopaṭṭi hills on the seventh day. They all leave the village at about 4 a.m., after taking a bath in cold water and donning ritually pure robes. They are in a condition of purity and other villagers may not look at them till they have crossed the boundary of the village. Both when they go to deposit the pots and to bring back the pots full with toddy some esoteric ritual takes
[787] place in the Kopaṭṭi hills. The festival-priests are very secretive about it, but I learn that all the ritual centres round the possession of a Kuḍiya oracle by Ayyappa, a deity of the Kuḍiyas in the Kopaṭṭi hills.

796 The festival necessarily implies co-operation between Bēngūr people and a hill tribe living in inaccessible hills covered with

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heavy jungle. A festival of a village-deity usually implies co- 796
operation with the people of another village or *nāḍ*, or with certain castes or tribes living in different villages or *nāḍs*.

II

Village-deities are an All-India phenomenon. By this it is 101
meant that the deities who are worshipped in villages in various 776
parts of India have more or less the same character and attributes, and that the technique of propitiating them is broadly similar. These statements no doubt sound vague and general, but any attempt to make them more precise will have to take account of exceptions at every point.

While the phenomenon is broadly similar all over India, there are important regional variations. Generally speaking, within India, each region or district has a greater unity than the larger area of which it is a part. Inside peninsular India, for instance, each linguistic area represents an area of greater cultural homogeneity and social solidarity. But there are also cultural forms which are common to two or more linguistic areas. Malayāḷam and Tamil areas have certain cultural forms in common; and similarly Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Marāṭhi areas have some cultural forms in common. Within each linguistic area too there are differences: cultural forms present in the centre of a linguistic area might not be present in the peripheral regions or present only in an altered form. Geographical barriers also usually represent cultural barriers. For instance, cultural forms found in the Malabar littoral strip have great difficulty in spreading into the mainland of peninsular India. A country like Coorg, which lies at the periphery of three linguistic areas, Kannaḍa, Malayāḷam, and Tuḷu, has certain cultural forms in common with each of them.

Throughout peninsular India village-deities are represented by 171
unhewn stones or by crude images of stone or wood. They are 778
either housed in shrines which are usually not very elaborate, or 782
simply embedded in the earth without any roof above them. A shrine dedicated to a village-deity is frequently found either at the foot of a tree or in the shade of a grove. Worship may or may not be offered daily at these shrines. There is no uniform rule applicable in this matter. Practice varies from village to village, and even from temple to temple: in some temples worship (*pūja*) is

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346 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhaganḍēshwara temple in Bhāgamanḍla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest. Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

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epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits 793
and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities pro- 796
pitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had 794
three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a [533]
high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēdas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a 793
number of *kāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during 796
the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

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swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas* which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

The festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

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Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805]

The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannaḍa and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[783]

[2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

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On the first of *kādiyār* (Taurus), at about 8 a.m., the members of Kuklūr village gather together before the temple of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi. The Brahmin priest of the temple worships the deity, and then the Bhadrakāḷi oracle, Shri Tātanḍra Kāryappa, becomes possessed by the deity and, while possessed, he issues instructions as to how to conduct the festival. He allots the work of the festival among the various Coorg *okkas* in the village and decides the dates of the fast and festival days. These days as well as the work which each *okka* has to do have already been decided by custom, and one might say that the oracle only decides according to custom. Sometimes, however, he makes minor alterations to suit special circumstances.

An elder of the Moṇṇanḍra *okka* then administers the festival vows to the assembled villagers. The headmanship of the Bhadrakāḷi temple runs in the Moṇṇanḍra *okka*, and to him as *dēva takka* belongs the right of administering oaths. A member of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* then dances the 'peacock dance' before the temple, carrying a bundle of peacock feathers. The dancer dances to the beat of the Poleya's drum.

No ritual is performed on the second day. On the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the representatives of the Kuṭṭanḍa *okka* dances the peacock dance a hundred and one times round the stone post before the temple. Four Coorgs sing the Bhadrakāḷi song to the beat of a big drum (*dōḷu*).

On the eighth day a partial fast is observed till dusk when a horn is blown which puts an end to the fast. At night, after dinner, there is a fancy-dress (*bōḍu*) show in which Coorg men take part. They dress themselves as *sanyasis*, Māpiḷḷa traders from Malabar, Mēda drummers, and so on. The ways and customs of different castes and people from different parts are satirized in the fancy-dress show. In 1941 (when I witnessed the festival) the marriage of a Coorg girl with a Tamil Mudaliar man was satirized. Coorgs do not approve of marriage with non-Coorgs and this disapproval expresses itself in a variety of ways.[1] Such marriages are still unusual.

After the fancy-dress show at the threshing-yard (*kaḷa*) of the

[1] I remember an attempt to pass a formal resolution of censure against a high-placed Coorg gentlemen who had married a non-Coorg. This was during the harvest festival when the various branches of the *okka* are expected to assemble at the ancestral house. The attempt failed conspicuously as a very important branch of the *okka* living outside Coorg failed to turn up.

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796 624 Nandiyanḍa *okka*, those taking part in the fancy-dress as well as the spectators go to the temple along with the Poleya oracles. The latter dance outside the temple, before the platform where representations of their deities are kept. After this dance the fancy-dress men proceed to every high-caste house in Kuklūr, beginning with the house of the *nāḍ*-headman and ending with the house of the Brahmin priest of the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The order in which they should proceed to the various houses has been fixed by custom. At each house the fancy-dress men are treated to coffee, coconut, plantains, and cooked rice dough (*puṭṭ*).

The duties, contributions in cash or kind, and offerings which each Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr has to make are clearly laid down. These duties run in the *okkas* concerned, and they may not be altered except with their consent. When an *okka* dies out or migrates to a different part of Coorg and a new *okka* from outside buys its property, the latter steps into the rights and duties of the former.[1]

The performance of the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi requires the co-operation of several castes. In the case of all the co-operating castes except Coorgs the contribution to the work of the festival is on the basis of caste. In the case of Coorgs, however, it is on the basis of *okka*. Every Coorg *okka* in Kuklūr is a priestly *okka* at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāḷi.

The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇanḍra, and Nandiyanḍa *okkas* are each required to make offerings of an *ettu pōraṭa* (rice loaded on a pair of bullocks), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), and *kuduré* ('horse'). These offerings are made on different days towards the end of the festival. A young boy from each of the three *okkas* is dressed as a girl and he is called a 'prostitute'. On the eleventh afternoon the three 'prostitutes' run a race and this is followed by a race of the three 'horses'.

A hollow 'horse', minus legs and tail, is made with plaited split bamboo, and in the middle of its back the 'horse' has an opening large enough to allow a man's head and shoulders to pass through. One man sits on the shoulders of another and the head and shoulders of the top man are made to pass through the opening in the bamboo 'horse'. The lower man's head is hidden by the bamboo frame. The frame is decorated with garlands of flowers.

[1] At the Kētrappa festival the immigrant Paṭṭamāḍa *okka* now perform all the duties which once belonged to the Ayyanḍa *okka*. The latter died out and the Paṭṭamāḍa bought their lands and settled down in Bēngūr.

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On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

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796 horizontal ties and this has to be balanced by stressing vertical
[564] ties periodically.

In the case of the Brahmin the dishes prepared for offering to the deity also become gifts to people who normally contribute to the upkeep of the temple and its priest. The Brahmin and Poleya, though they stand at either extreme of the social scale, are similar in this, that they are normally receivers of goods at the hands of Coorgs and others. During the festival they make token returns which, while negligible economically, are enough to stress the goodwill prevalent between the various sections of a village community.[1]

The tenth day, the festival day, is the most important day of the festival Visitors come from surrounding villages to witness the ritual that is performed on this day at the temple. A ritual fast is observed till about 10 p.m., and adult villagers subsist till then on pancakes and *pāyasa*.

The morning is devoted to making preparations for the rites in the evening, and for cooking. Some time in the afternoon the villagers go in procession to the Bhadrakāḷi temple. The procession is led by Poleya oracles who walk with their faces to the Bhadrakāḷi oracle and the crowd. Pack-bullocks carrying votive offerings of rice (*ettu pōraṭa*) form part of the procession.

[791] The Poleya oracles stop outside the temple, before the wooden platform on which an image and representations of their deities are placed. The villagers go into the temple driving their pack-bullocks before them and walk round the Bhadrakāḷi shrine thrice.
[534] They then dance the torch dance in the temple yard, holding yak-tail whisks or swords in their hands.

Drummers belonging to the Mārāya caste beat big drums called *chaṇḍés* while the Brahmin priests worship Bhadrakāḷi inside the shrine using Sanskrit *mantras*. Devotees, Coorgs as well as others, who pay the requisite fees, can have worship performed by the priest to the deity in their names.

796 Meanwhile, the Bhadrakāḷi oracle stands behind the shrine and
787 people put questions to him on matters concerning their welfare: one wants to know whether his wife will recover from an illness, another why he has suffered from a series of misfortunes in the last

[1] They are alike in that both are excluded from the activities of the middle castes. Extreme purity excludes the Brahmin while extreme impurity excludes the Untouchable.

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few years, a third man whether he should go ahead with a business or other venture he has been contemplating for some time, and so on. (He answers questions again that night.)

Outside the temple compound Poleya oracles are possessed by their deities. They run about possessed, and their possession comes to an end when the possession of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle comes to an end. While possessed, the Poleya oracles may be called upon to exorcise evil spirits from people.

After the possession stops, devotees make offerings of money (*kāṇiké*) to the deity.[1] Miniature silver representations of a human being, of any part of the body, and of a cradle are made by those who had vowed to make such offerings on recovery from an illness, or recovery of the normal use of an organ, or the birth of a child, respectively.[2]

The afternoon concludes with the Brahmin priests' offering to the devotees parched rice sweetened with jaggery and coffee. The villagers then disperse.

V

At about 9 p.m. the people of Kuklūr and sightseers from other villages gather together at the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*. Mēdas and Poleyas play on their drums and pipes, and Coorg men and boys dance to their music. Four villagers beat the big drum (*dōḷu*), singing the drum song which is about Bhadrakāḷi. Votive animals, to be offered to Bhadrakāḷi, are all assembled here before being driven to the temple. In 1941 there were twenty-three sheep, three goats, and fifty fowls. This was exclusive of one 'village goat' (*ūrāḍu*) and two 'village fowls' (*ūru kōḷi*) which are subscribed for by the entire village.[3]

With a brass mask of Bhadrakāḷi as nucleus, a Paṇika builds a circular *téré*—a framework of bamboo covered with thin sheets of the pith of the *pāmbaḷé* plant. This *téré* is leaned against two pegs and then the Paṇika worships it. He kills a chicken and cooks it in

[1] Collections are also made on the ninth and eleventh days. The expenses of the festival are met out of the money raised at the collections. Rs110 was collected on the tenth day.

[2] This custom prevails all over south India.

[3] It is known that formerly between 300–400 animals were annually sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi. The number has fallen off very greatly now. A very small section of Coorg opinion would like to do away with animal sacrifice altogether.

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796 the immense fire that is burning several yards from the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*. The chicken and a little toddy are offered to the *téré* representing Bhadrakāḷi.

[535] The Paṇika dancer gets ready for his performance which begins an hour later. He wears tiny bells (*gaggaras*) round his ankles, paints his face red and yellow, wears a turban, and ties an elaborate red skirt round his waist. He stands there waiting for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive and give him permission to place the circular *téré* on his head. The *téré* is kept flat on the head and held by one hand while the Paṇika dances and sings a song in praise of Bhadrakāḷi.

796 787 Three Poleyas, oracles of deities worshipped only by Poleyas, also wait for the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to arrive. The latter rushes into the Nandiyaṇḍa threshing-yard, stamps on the roaring fire with bare feet, and then touches the Bhadrakāḷi *téré*, signifying that the Paṇika may now place it on his head. He then rushes to the temple, where he starts dancing a very vigorous dance before the shrine of Bhadrakāḷi.

A change is noticeable in the Poleya oracles as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle rushes in. The deities of the Poleyas are regarded as subservient to, and dependent upon, Bhadrakāḷi, who is the deity of the higher castes. And the oracles, who are Poleyas of the deities of the Poleyas, are also regarded as inferior to, dependent upon, the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi, who is a Coorg. Thus the structural distance between Coorgs and Poleyas expresses itself in every sphere.

Two Poleya oracles run to and fro, with swords in their hands, while the third, the oracle of the deity Pūda, writhes on the ground and groans, while the Bhadrakāḷi oracle is stamping on the fire with bare feet. He stops groaning and writhing as soon as the Bhadrakāḷi oracle leaves the threshing-yard.

The villagers place the *téré* on the Paṇika's head. The latter starts singing a song in Maylayāḷam in honour of Bhadrakāḷi. The entire body of villagers, headed by the Poleya oracles marching with their faces to the crowd, then run to the temple. The Poleyas stop outside the temple while the others go in. The votive sheep also may not go in, and they remain outside the temple. They are later sacrificed outside the temple.

The villagers go into the temple and walk round the shrine thrice. The village goat heads the procession inside the temple.

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Once the third round is completed, the Paṇika dances before the 796
shrine. The villagers let off fireworks, the Mārāyas beat drums, 787
and there is general tumult and shouting.

The Bhadrakāḷi oracle executes a vigorous dance for about forty-five minutes before the shrine. After the dance is over he selects two swords out of a number offered by the Brahmin priest and then proceeds to the roofed platform at the entrance to the temple, where he declares how many of the votive animals may be sacrificed to the Poleya deities. Then he proceeds to place one sword on [785]
his head and hit it with the other. Soon his head is covered entirely with blood. The Poleya oracles gash themselves following the Bhadrakāḷi oracle. The latter then proceeds to the veranda of the shrine, where he gashes himself more. This gashing is called *narāhuti* (human sacrifice). After the oracle has stopped gashing himself he answers questions. He orders the Paṇika to cease dancing and remove the *téré*. The Brahmin priest then offers him consecrated water which he drinks. The priest begs the oracle, identified with Bhadrakāḷi, to pardon the lapses which might have occurred through ignorance and to leave the village without inflicting any harm. The oracle orders those present to conduct the festival properly, and then the possession ceases.

The oracle is completely identified with the deity supposed to be possessing him. Even the Brahmin priest believed that the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi was really the deity herself. It was temporarily forgotten that he was a Coorg by caste. There was a look of fear on the priest's face when he was requesting the deity (the oracle) to leave the village without harming anyone. But though the oracle is identified with Bhadrakāḷi, he does not enter the innermost room where Bhadrakāḷi's image is kept. That is to say, the implications of the identification of the oracle with Bhadrakāḷi are not fully worked out. Only the priest may go into the innermost room, and this rule is not relaxed in favour of the oracle who is temporarily identified with Bhadrakāḷi.

After the Bhadrakāḷi oracle returns to his normal condition, the 796
priest shuts the door of the shrine and goes home. Women, 782
children, and a good many spectators also leave. Only the festival-priests and other functionaries remain, along with those who have brought the votive animals, to witness the decapitation that follows. The Paṇika, whose duty it is to sacrifice the animals brought by devotees, makes a small incision in the little finger of his left hand

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796 before decapitating the animals. As soon as a few drops of blood
782 drip from his finger, he sacrifices the 'village fowls'. Then he decapitates the 'village goat' before the shrine. The decapitation of the other animals takes place only after the decapitation of the 'village fowls' and 'village goat'. The Paṇika receives as his perquisite the heads of the 'village goat' and of all the fowls.

After all the animals have been cut, the assembled villagers turn their backs on the scene of carnage and remain silent for a few minutes. This is to enable the deity to consume the essence of the sacrificed animals in peace. They then turn round and sing the *ānanda pāṭ* (the song of joy), after which the villagers depart for their homes with the headless carcasses. The headless 'village goat' is tied to a high branch of the *dēva kaṇigalé* (oleander) tree near the temple. It remains suspended there till noon of the twelfth day, when it is taken down and cooked for the communal dinner. It is said that vultures and kites do not touch the carcass of the 'village goat', nor does the flesh go bad as it normally would in the heat of summer. This is attributed to the power of Bhadrakāḷi.

VI

796 On the eleventh morning a representative of the Karṇaṇḍra
[783] *okka* cleans the temple yard of bloodstains and he is paid three *paṇas* (about nine annas) for performing this duty. The Brahmin priest then ritually purifies the temple and temple yard by sprinkling consecrated water everywhere and uttering the appropriate Sanskrit *mantras*.

Races are held on the eleventh afternoon for 'prostitutes' (*chūḷé*) and for 'horses' (*kuduré*). The Māḷeṭṭira, Moṇṇaṇḍra, and Nandiyaṇḍa *okkas* are each required to send one 'prostitute' and one 'horse' for the races. 'Prostitutes' and 'horses' are regarded as votive offerings. For instance, when a boy is ill, his parents might
[782] make a vow to the effect that they will dress him up as a 'prostitute' at the coming festival.

Getting the 'prostitute' and 'horse' ready in time is not very easy, and clear, if elaborate, rules are laid down requiring certain *okkas* to help each of the three *okkas* charged with the responsibility of making the offerings. For instance, the Tātaṇḍra *okka* is required to help the Māḷeṭṭira *okka*, the Kuṭṭaṇḍra *okka* (now split into two) to help the Moṇṇaṇḍra *okka*, and the Māḷeṭṭira *okka* to help

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the Nandiyanḍa *okka* to get the 'prostitute' ready. Elaborate rules are again laid down as to which *okkas* should help each of the three *okkas* concerned to get the 'horse' ready. The punctilious regard for detail is characteristic of the festivals of village-deities. 796

The Moṇṇanḍra 'prostitute' and 'horse' are conducted by the Poleya oracles to the Moṇṇanḍra rice-fields, and after leaving them there, the Poleya oracles accompany the Bhadrakāḷi oracle to the Māḷeṭṭira house. Together they escort the Māḷeṭṭira 'prostitute' and 'horse' to the Moṇṇandra rice-fields. Finally, the entire body proceed to the threshing-yard of the Nandiyanḍa *okka*, where they meet the latter's 'prostitute' and 'horse'. At first, the three 'horses' run a race and then the 'prostitutes' follow suit.

The villagers, oracles, 'horses', and 'prostitutes' then proceed to the temple, where they walk round the shrine thrice. The 'prostitutes' and 'horses' perform a dance and this is followed by the villagers dancing the 'torch dance'.

Tengé pōré or 'coconut scramble' takes place afterwards. The *nāḍ-* or temple-headman holds a coconut aloft in his right hand, and this is a signal for youths to gather round him. He then lowers his right hand and stretches it horizontally before him. This is a sign for the youths to try and snatch it from him. After snatching the coconut, the man in possession of it has to run a few yards to a stone where he should break it, but before he does this, anyone may pounce on him and snatch the coconut from him. He who breaks it on the stone is the winner. He is given a prize. [526]

The Brahmin priest then worships the goddess, using Sanskrit *mantras*, and this brings the proceedings to an end on the eleventh day.

On the twelfth morning there is an elaborate purification rite which the priest performs before the assembled villagers. The accounts of the money-offerings made on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh days are checked. Out of this sum fees are paid to the priest, oracles, cooks, Mārāya drummers, Paṇika, and Mēda, and Poleya musicians. The Bhadrakāḷi oracle then decides how much money should be spent on the evening's dinner.

The 'village goat' is brought down from the tree, cut up, and cooked into curry along with the 'village fowls'. There is a huge dinner at which all the villagers take part. Toddy is also served at this dinner, as at other village dinners.

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VII

791 The Bhadrakāḷi oracle plays a most important and, to the out-
7% sider, rather puzzling role in the festival. He directs the festival at every stage and these directions are given while he is believed to be possessed by the deity whose oracle he is.

It should be remembered here that the tasks which each *okka* has to perform in the festival and the contributions it is required to make are all determined by custom. The oracle rarely sets aside or countermands these tasks and contributions, and he does so only when there are good reasons: for instance, if the sole adult male representative of one of the concerned *okkas* is seriously ill during the festival the oracle will ask another *okka* to take over the duties of the sick man.

Sometimes the oracle is given the discretionary power to act with some latitude. For instance, he is required to allot some of the votive animals brought by the upper-caste devotees to the deities of the Poleyas. In 1941, when I witnessed the festival, he did not allot any goat to the Poleya deities as only three goats had been brought as offerings. The Poleya deities had to rest content with a few sheep and fowls.

The oracle also decides which day of the festival should be the fast-day or *paṭṇi*. He usually chooses the eighth day, but if it is unsuitable for some reason or other, he chooses an earlier or later day.

[787] The point to note is that all these instructions are issued while the oracle is believed to be possessed by the deity. The oracle's words are regarded as the deity's words. Coorgs commonly talk about 'the deity said this', and 'the deity did that', and it is only after a while that the outsider understands that they are referring to the oracle's acts and words. The oracle no doubt issues instructions while possessed, but these instructions only restate, confirm, and support what has already been decided by custom. The oracle exercises his discretionary power only in certain known and definite contexts.

The villagers know every step of the Bhadrakāḷi oracle beforehand. They tell you that 'he will be running in a minute', or that 'he will be gashing his head', and so on. It is like a play which they have seen before and you have not.

Shri Tātaṇḍra Kāryappa is the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi and unlike

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other Coorgs he is a vegetarian and teetotaller. People respect him 791
greatly for his piety. He is frequently contrasted with other oracles, 796
who, in their day-to-day lives, are neither conspicuously pious nor virtuous.

Poleyas may not enter the temple of Bhadrakāḷi. Images and representations of their deities are placed on an improvised platform outside the temple compound. The Poleya oracles dance before this platform.

Some of the duties performed by the Poleyas, however, require them to exercise power over people belonging to the higher castes, and this has the effect of compensating them for the low position they normally occupy in the caste structure. The Poleya oracles who dance before their deities have the power to spot any stranger trying to enter the temple. They also exorcise evil spirits from [789]
possessed persons who may frequently belong to a high caste.

Votive animals are brought on the tenth day to Bhadrakāḷi mostly by the members of the high castes. A few of these are allotted to the Poleya deities by the oracle of Bhadrakāḷi. While half of each decapitated animal before Bhadrakāḷi is shared by *okkas* belonging to the high castes in Kuklūr, the animals decapitated before Poleya deities are not so shared. The Poleyas share among themselves the animals decapitated before their deities. The allotment of [437]
some of the animals brought by members of the high castes to the Poleya deities constitutes a gift by the high castes to Poleyas. This might be regarded as a return gift for the twenty-five chickens which were 'given' on the ninth day by the Poleyas to the high-caste people.

The position of the Poleyas varies from festival to festival. In some festivals the exclusion aspect seems to be stressed to the neglect of other aspects, whereas in certain others, along with the exclusion-aspect, the solidarity-aspect and the compensation-aspect are all stressed, but with the first mentioned predominating over the others.

VIII

The village is a social unit of considerable strength, and this is 621
in spite of the fact that caste-ties are always tending to stretch beyond the village (and even *nāḍ*). A village is a multi-caste association and the unity of the village always demands that caste-ties

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are checked sufficiently to prevent their overflowing the village, and that unity with other castes occupying different positions in the hierarchy is stressed. This was easier in the past because the hierarchy was tacitly accepted by the people, and low castes like Mēdas and Poleyas did not object to participating with the other castes in the village at a lower level, or even being completely excluded on certain ritual occasions. Again the widespread prevalence of feuds between villages and between *nāḍs* tended to emphasize the unity of the village and check the segmentary action of caste.

At the *tappaḍaka* ritual, the members of the village or *nāḍ* celebrating the festival of the local village-deity undertake to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions while the festival lasts. The villagers may not kill an animal or break an egg or coconut for the table; and toddy may not be tapped within the village. Villagers who want to consume these articles have to import them from outside. The festival-priests, who are more important than ordinary villagers, may not consume even imported meat and toddy. They have to observe strict vegetarianism and teetotalism. They are also required to observe strict continence and avoid touching laymen.

In the Kētrappa festival, women in their periods are required to leave the village and return to it only after the festival is over. Such a woman is in a condition of pollution; and her presence in the village is regarded as inconsistent with the ritual status of the village. People in a condition of birth- or death-pollution are also not allowed to participate in the festival.

No marriage may be performed during the festival. If a person dies in the village he has to be buried quietly, without the customary firing of guns and band.

These restrictions serve to show that the village (or *nāḍ*) is the concerned entity in the festival. The restrictions increase as concern increases—the festival-priests have to observe more restrictions than the laymen. The village (or *nāḍ*) observing the festival is marked off from other villages by these restrictions. Every villager knows that failure by any one of them to observe the restrictions might result in some misfortune to the entire village. The unity of the village is projected to the 'mystical' plane and is supported by ritual sanctions.

A brief account of a part of the ritual of enumeration of restric-

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tions at the harvest festival is necessary here. The headman of the most important temple in the village begans by asking whether everyone (every adult male, that is to say) is present.

The village-headman replies,[1] 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Village-headman: 'Has the *okka* which has committed the wrong, the one who stays outside (Poleyas), the one who heats and beats (Airis or smiths), the one who lifts and beats (Maḍivāḷas or washermen), without a single absentee, is everyone assembled here?'

Temple-headman: 'Yes, according to old usage.'

Temple-headman: 'He who knew how to sing, but refused to sing or dance at the festival, or when the villagers went singing and dancing to his house, he did not open the closed door, or he did not remove the bell-metal dining-dish leaned against the wall, or he did not light the sacred wall-lamp, or he did not mix with another, or he abused another villager during the festival, or he beat another villager all over the body, such a man shall pay a fine of forty-eight *paṇas* for violating the injunctions of god.' Saying this the temple-headman extends his palm towards the village-headman who strikes it as witness to the statement.

The above rite makes it clear that the members of every caste in the village, including the Poleyas, attended the meeting of the village-assembly, and that everyone in the village had to observe certain rules and restrictions during the festival. The villagers had to keep their houses clean, with the doors open to receive a party of singers and dancers, with the sacred wall-lamp lit, they had to join in the singing and dancing, and finally they had to refrain from quarrelling, whatever the provocation. Failure to observe these rules was punished with a heavy fine.

At the festival of a village-deity *tappaḍaka* ritual is performed in the beginning and the restrictions enumerated to the members of the village (or *nāḍ*), whereas in the harvest festival *tappaḍaka* is an occasion for meting out punishment to those guilty of

[1] I have given above a translation of the formulas as they occur in *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 239–40.

In Kaḍiyetnāḍ the temple-headman, or a temple official, opens the proceedings, whereas near Mercara the village-headman does it. The person who has to reply again varies from region to region: it may be the village- or temple-headman, or some elder.

The date of the ritual of the enumeration of restrictions also varies from region to region.

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796 misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded
688 as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

796 At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr*
[535] *kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

[224] The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

[527] The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

[621] Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

634 Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a
628 mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

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their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

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796 During the harvest festival a party of villagers go from house to
533 house, and at each house they visit they sing the 'house song',
622 which gives an account of the ancestors of that house. After the
[574] song is sung, the singers are treated to refreshments and given gifts of money.

The singers are required to visit the village-headman's house first. Similarly, the people who put on fancy dress during the harvest festival have to visit the village-headman's house first.

For a week before the beginning of the harvest festival all the adult males in the village gather together at the village-headman's house every evening before proceeding to the green to practise the dances and play some games. The guests are treated to a light
[574] repast, after which the headman asks someone to take up a *duḍi* (small drum) and sing. The person who is asked to sing may not
[681] refuse, and refusal is punishable by fine. Even the temple-headman is not exempt from this rule.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the villagers frequently move about in processions during the last few days of the festival. At the head of these processions walks the *nāḍ*-headman's wife carrying
[778] a dish-lamp. A dish-lamp has ritual value, and it is essential on every ritual occasion, and it is the privilege of the *nāḍ*-headman's wife to carry it at the festival of Kundat Bhadrakāli.

178 The political and economic forces set in motion in the last 120
622 years have been responsible for certain structural inconsistencies
596 coming to the surface during festivals. It was not always the headman's *okka* which benefited from the new economic and educational opportunities. The *okkas* which benefited from the latter could ignore with impunity the headman's position and authority. Frequently the headman accepted the changed situation, and this not only failed to solve the conflict for supremacy between him and the newly rich *okkas* but instead accentuated it. The latter, having secured wealth and official positions, tried to secure headmanship too. Disputes became frequent.

[556] The breakdown of the traditional economy meant that frequently the headman could not fulfil the duties of hospitality periodically required of him; and when the headman was unable to perform his duties, he found it difficult to insist on others
178 performing their duties towards him. People began to gravitate to
622 the new centres of power, the officials and rich men.

627 Formerly, people used to take their disputes to their headman

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on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a 178
festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact 622
which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by 627
the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together 634
occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong [533]
contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest 796
festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting 634
of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are [787]
decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍinālknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and 779
other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the 184
barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste. 171

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VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in [438] January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which [794] every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

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to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

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181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes. 539

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for. [796]

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land. 538 177

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

It is the sib, moreover, that

614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:daga near Mercara at the padra:|inamme (ceremony of Bhadrakāḷi) in the month mi:nia:ṭɯ, a dance called kodia:ṭɯ, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a kodi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the kodi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the
[243] staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: putĕri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after childbirth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony
796 (called kallupara kaypē 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvē of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvē of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe naḍo:mu:illavē nu:bendu: aggēnaruvēnu: ma:lu kēṭi nindira:.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvōs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.

'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:lu ba:ke bandalli apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira adrusṭa kōṭad(u) a:yitu: patu ka:la baddu ba:vēku ruṇa illata:naṇguṇḍu inda:kaṇe niṇgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(u) ōṇṇitiñjē co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññina poṇṇu kōṭate:ṇgi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:|u maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:|u ba:ke bapaka aññu:ru bira: nura poṭilu a:yira bira:nura ma:luna sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga terakiaṇḍu banda:ṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miñjuna:na bayyak(u) ōḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apōyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: ku:na:|u maria:di annane.

'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:kaipaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:tu. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apōyyē: nd(u) ōṇṇuvē kuññira va:|u ba:ke bandalli co:mavvōṇgu co:duk(u) irumbu cuṇḍeku modalu onduṭoṭu nu:ro:|a—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu sammanda koḍupaka —[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu co:mavvōṇg(u) iñjē sammandatuna kovvañji niṇga tandē pannandaci ponn(u) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kōṭate:ṇgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; so. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Co:mavvē came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyā. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvē of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvē of husband's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.

'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvē.

Aruvē of woman's sib: ba:tu.

'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

APPENDIX II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

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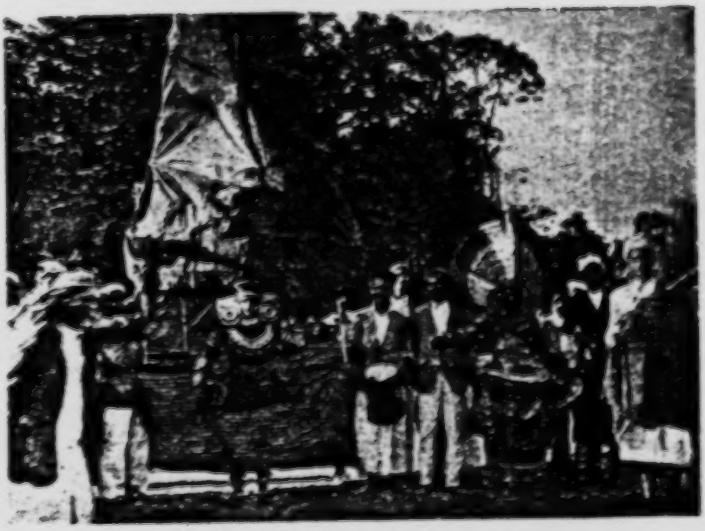
A Coorg Temple (Kaymada)



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A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

[facing p.51]

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pig especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud voices, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

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825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations. 7.

Pilgrimage

825 [782]

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjutre at the foot of Lakshmana-tirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivarutri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares. 788

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years. 771 776 796 [791] [787]

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kushikoos* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner. 796 776 787 [782]

Festivals: (1) Huttari

243 The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be
746 derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon
527 at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice
[415] carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the
[534] house, the people shouting, "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It
[535] lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad
[533] or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous
[526] sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

527 The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and
[721] dales, forests and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

[411] On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are
[782] placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the
[526] festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the
[533] animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs,

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and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment. 52 533

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs. 796 [177] [787] [782]

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs. 346

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Tree Worship

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Hattari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

[P C4]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiri. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 795 844 846 787 855 553

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

grims from Malayálam, Tulu and Mysore repair to the sacred place by thousands. Distinguished amongst these are the Brahmini-widows—those sad figures, clothed with reddish brown garments, one end of which covers the shorn head. A bundle under one arm they trudge along, supported by a stick; perhaps they come by their own impulse, perhaps in the name and for the benefit of some sick relation. The nearer the pilgrims approach the end of their journey, the more frequent and the more numerous are the festive caravans of men, women and children in holiday-costume, who now rest in picturesque groups on the shady banks of streams, now proceed in gay defiles over the grassy hills. With the last ascent of a small elevation near the foot of the Tala-Kávéri-hill the view of the upper basin of the Kávéri valley, which is rather wide and flanked by steep hills, suddenly bursts upon us. The Bhágamandala temple with its copper roof is conspicuous in the middle of the valley and close to the Kávéri. A few rows of houses near it are changed into a busy mart. Thousands of people move to and fro, and the humming noise of the multitude sounds like the distant surf of the ocean. Hundreds are engaged in bathing in the sacred stream before they enter the temple, which forms a large square with an open centre like a Coorg house. Along the road pedlars are squatted behind their paltry wares which are spread under a flimsy awning. Mendicant Sanyásis with hollow sounding conch and brass gong in hand push, blowing and ringing, through the crowd. Hourly the multitude increases; new arrivals descend from all the neighbouring mountain pathways into the valley. Hundreds of people have already proceeded to reach the Kávéri source, in order to build for themselves and their expected friends sheltering booths against the cold damp night air. A pathway leads over paddy-fields through steep jungle and over rocky mountain ridges to the sacred spot. As they ascend, they shout "Náráyana, Oh!

796 484 788 796 788 [346] [443] [487]

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796 Náráyana* and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans.
788 Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-
[791] kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during
[133] the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone ter-
[346] races scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-púJáris.

[787] At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for
796 purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for
788 a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000
178 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Kávéri, but the interest in
793 the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brah-
245 mins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Kávéri shrine were stolen!

The Kávéri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

796 [352] [252]

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•796 [264]

hood.) On the return of the man from the field, the whole family sit down in the kitchen and eat the cakes prepared by the mistress and the other females after their morning entrance into the cooking and dining-room. When the cakes are consumed, the ceremony of the Kávéri-day is over. In houses, where some one knows how to read, he takes the Góvina-pada book and recites *the Song of the Cow*, the rest of the family listening. The day is kept as a holiday; nobody is expected to work. But there is no further ceremony.

796 539

The substance of the lay of the cow is as follows:—One great herd of cattle was grazing in the forest, when a royal tiger appeared and in a few moments by three or four leaps threw himself into the midst of the poor, peaceful animals. The whole herd, affrighted, ran off in wild despair in all directions. One cow only stood still, and was seized by the savage beast. The cow, however, made bold to speak to her destroyer, and said: "You will kill and devour me. Do it. But give me a few moments' leave to go after my poor calf, to let it drink for the last time, and to commit it to the care of kind friends, before I die." The tiger, astonished and moved by the speech of his victim, causes the cow to swear, that, after performing her last duty, she will return and deliver herself to her hungry master. She swears and goes to seek her calf. Having found it, she gives it to drink, and then commits it to the care of her friends, entreating them to allow it to share their milk with their own calves, not to kick, when it comes from behind to drink, nor to turn their horns against it, when it comes in front. Having sworn, she would rather die, than break her word, she returns to the tiger, and begs his pardon for having detained him so long and increased his hunger. But the tiger in the presence of such truth and goodness, is seized with remorse. His heinous sins rise to his mind in dreadful array. The slayer of a thousand cows sinks under the burden of his wickedness.

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"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

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796 And it appears, that the people can do very well without them.

796 361 Six days before the chief festival of tasting the new rice, all the males from six to sixty years, assemble on one of the Mandus of the Gráma, after sunset. Mandu is the name of the open public place in which business is transacted or festive games carried on. Grámas have generally three Mandus, one called the Punchâyati-mandu for business; a second, Dévara-mandu, on which dances are performed in the name of Bhagavati during the after-Huttari-days; a third, Uru-mandu (i. e. the Mandu of the village) on which the Huttari performances take place.

796 The time of these national games and dances is from sunset till after ten o'clock. The whole male population of the Gráma, except little boys and old men, past sixty, has religiously to attend. The assembly gathers gradually between six and seven o'clock. When the assembly is full, a space is marked out for the performances of the party. At a little [563] distance a band of musicians, two Holeya horn-blowers and [534] two Méda-drummers, sit near a fire, which they have kindled for warming themselves and their instruments. The horns are large and of brass. The drums are a Pare (large drum) and a Kudike-pare (pot-drum of a smaller size).

Three Coorg-men step into the centre of the open space and call aloud three names: Ayappa! Mahâdéva! Bhagavati! The men stand in a triangle, their faces towards the centre, [796] their backs towards the company. Ayappa is the Coorg forest-god; Mahâdéva, the Shiva of the Hindus, and Bhagavati, his wife.

796 526 The Chandukutti (ball-and-peg-play) now follows. The whole assembly takes part in it, the moon shedding a bright silver-light on the scene. A peg is driven into the centre of the chosen ground. A piece of rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. The people who make this preparation, seize some

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one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824]
before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahá- [782]
déva and Bhagavati. Dances follow, accompanied by the [535]
beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [526]
another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

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796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

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an armful of rice in the neighbourhood and distributes two or three stalks to every one present. Some stalks are put into the milk-vessel. No one must touch the sheaf-cutter. All return to the threshing floor shouting as they walk on: "Poly, poly, Déva!" (increase, O God!) A bundle of leaves is adorned with a stalk of rice, and fastened to the post in the centre of the threshing floor. The company proceeds to the door of the house, where the mistress meets them, washes the feet of the sheaf-cutter, and presents to him, and after him to all the rest, a brass-vessel, filled with milk, honey and sugar, from which each takes a draught. They move into the kitchen. The Huttari mat is spread, the brass dish, the rice sheaf, and the basket with leaf scrolls, each with a stalk of rice, are placed on it. The young man distributes the bundles to the members of the family, who disperse to bind them to every thing in house and garden, doors, stools, roof, trees, etc. In the mean time he sits down to knead the Huttari dough of rice meal, plantains, milk and honey, seven new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanut, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds, and seven corns of sesamum are added. Every one receives a little of this dough upon an Ashvatha leaf, and eats it. The ceremony is over, and the sheaf-cutter mixes with the company. Supper follows, consisting of sugared rice and sweet potatoes, into which a handful of new rice is thrown, and of a substantial common repast of rice and curry. The Huttari chants follow now at every house during the night. 796 [262]

But the Coorgs have not yet done altogether, with their pleasant festival. Four after-Huttari-days are added to the holy week. On the eighth day the Urukólu, the village-stick-dance, collects the whole community. The women of two or three houses repair together to the Urumandu, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting ancient songs or impromptu verses. When [534] [533]

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796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Vòddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, barda, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

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c. **The Bhagavati-feast.**

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized.

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge.

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796 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by
793 Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be insti-
787 tuted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must
793 pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans em-
794 ployed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six
793 days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs púja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions
[786] of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu
[787] Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pújári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

796 On the evening of the sixth day things take a more ex-
786 cited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized
[793] with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

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open space before the temple, many of them possessed by 796 ●
devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannanga- 786
lamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a [787]
lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation 796
of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers 782
of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoa-nuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the fore-noon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. [535]
Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit
round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock [788]
the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole
assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of [787]
Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his [793]
hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

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796 piece given to him into a copper vessel, held by the Tantri.
[782] With the setting sun the business of the day is concluded.

The morning of the eighth day is devoted to the delivery of votive presents, as on the preceding day. At ten o'clock
[535] dances are performed by the young men, as on the seventh day. This continues till two o'clock, when all the good shots
796 assemble for shooting at a mark. A cocoanut is hung up in
526 some tree between two plantain-bunch-tops as a mark. He who hits the nut, is rewarded with a present of three annas and the honor of the name of a good marksman. Then one of the Takkas, or the Coorg-dancer before Bhagavati, distributes a number of cocoanuts (of which there is an abundance, as every family must bring one or two) to the young men. One seizes a nut between his hands, others try to take it out of his grasp. In a few moments the whole ground is filled
796 with parties struggling for cocoanuts. He who succeeds in forcing the nut out of the hands of the original possessor,
[788] carries it away as his prize. At three o'clock the idol-procession takes place again, after which all the men go with the idol to the river or the tank, to bathe the goddess and themselves.

Ninth day. From each house one person appears at the temple, bearing the yearly money-contribution, which is deli-
[794] vered to the Takkas. The collection being made, the salaries of the temple-officers and servants of the temple are paid.
[574] Then the Brahmans give a good, undefiled dinner of pure vegetable dishes, to their Coorg supporters, first, of course, eating themselves, and leaving the rest to their friends. This temple dinner is the last act in the Bhagavati festival.

527 **d. The Keilmúrta festival.**

The Keilmúrta festival is a very different affair, altogether
[787] a Coorg business. Early in the month of Leo (July—August) the Takka of the gráma calls some respectable men to

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests
does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems
are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggory, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-táluq in Ippanivölavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Piliáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

1198 [312] On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled [325] Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

796 For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village 788 Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole [532] nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

788 The *Pálúr játre* in Kuyingherinád in honor of Pálúrappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in [778] the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri. 539 177 [796]

2. POPULAR TRADITION. 173

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Palamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister. [177] 173 539

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálúr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree. 173 539 [796]

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon. 173 631

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS. 174

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India

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has been sacrificed. Similarly in Bellur in Tavaligeri- 782
Murnad of Kiggatnad taluq, once a year, by turns from [796]
each house, a man was sacrificed by cutting off his head at the temple; but when the turn came to a certain home, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple, and said to the pūjārī 'Kalak Adu,' which has a double meaning, *viz.* Kalak, next year, Adu, we will give, or Adu, a goat, and thenceforth only scapegoats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon; the blood is sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas, dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths, and their faces covered with metal or bark masks, perform their demoniacal dances. In Mercara taluq in Ippanivolavade, and in Kadikeri in Halerinad, the villagers sacrifice a Kona or male buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Mēda (a wandering tribe, who are basket and mat makers), who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree, and the flesh eaten by the Mēdas. In connexion 535
with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple, the *kombata* or horn dance, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *pili-ata* or peacock's feather dance, the performers being ornamented with peacock's feathers, and the *chauri-ata* or yak-tail dance, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yak-tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

"In some cases where a particular curse, which can 782
only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, is 754
said by the Kaniya[1] to rest upon a house, stable, or field, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kaniya sends for some

[1] The Kaniyas are religious mendicants, said to be descendants of a Malayali Brāhman and a low-caste woman.

[P. 51]

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg. 771 776 177 [797]

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*. 769 [346] [782] [787]

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and females even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink, and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessed. These gifts are called *Karana Barung*. 769 782 787

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

712 8 feet thick and outside from 15 to 20 feet high with parapets 2 feet thick and 5 feet high. The fortress is an irregular hexagon and nearly conforms to the shape of the hill top, leaving enough space for a ditch all round and on the north side for a glacis. At its 6 corners there are bastions and the whole is built of strong masonry. The entrance on the east is intricate and circuitous and guarded by 3 successive gates, which close in the space, that is now occupied by public buildings the Jail, the Taluq-Subadar's, the Assistant Superintendent's and the Superintendent's Courts with the local Treasury. On the left side of the third gate there is a shrine erected against the wall, dedicated to Ganapati, the lord of hosts, whose image is daily worshipped by a Brahmin and who gets the first offerings, flowers and cocoanuts by Hindu devotees, because all who wish to prosper should begin their undertaking in Ganésha's name, and in former days it was not so dangerless for a Coorg to present himself before the Rája, as it is now before the British Superintendent! The fantastic superstructure has been added about 20 years ago by a devoted ministry who had been engaged in the building of the Fraserpet-Bridge, and who must have made large profits, to spend his money so lavishingly. Within the fort itself, there is in the centre the palace, to the left and in front of it the English Church, to the right the Quarter-guard and armoury and behind the palace the powder magazine. The English Church stands near the place which was formerly occupied by a temple dedicated to Vírabhadra and which was demolished in 1855 to make room for the Church. The latter was built by the Rev. A. Fennell in 1856-57 by private subscriptions, the Church Building Society and Government assistance and consecrated in April 1858 by Bishop Dealtry. It is a remarkably neat structure in plain Gothic style, having a tower surmounted with a low spire. From its position and elevation it is a conspicuous object from whatever side Mercara

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

is viewed. Its interior is light and chaste, the fittings,—chiefly the handiwork of the Rev. Mr. Fennell—in remarkably good taste and the whole much set off by ground glass windows, with apex and borders of coloured glass, that at the east end being of larger size, of a more elaborate design and extremely elegant. The interior contains also an ornamental monument in white marble by Westmacott to the memory of the late Major Frank Vardon and a circular tablet in memory of Mrs. Barclay, the wife of Dr. Chr. Barclay.

The *Fort at Kushálanagara* (Fraserpet) built by Tippu Sultan was taken by the Coorgs in June 1789 under Dodda-Virájender, who sacked and burnt the place. When in 1846-1848 the fine bridge over the Kávéri was constructed, the ruins of the Fort supplied excellent building material.

The *Fortress at Arméri* in Beppunád was razed to the ground in August 1789.

Bhágamandala Fort, where Tippu seized some 5,000 Coorgs with their families whom he sent into Mysore in 1785 and forcibly made Mussulmans, was invested by Dodda-Virájender in 1790 and taken after 5 days' siege. The Rája himself fired the first cannon from the hill of Mumbáratu. During the bombardment 3 copper tiles of the Dévastána were destroyed by a cannon shot, but Dodda-Virájender replaced them by 4 tiles made of silver.

The *Pápáre Fort*, (Pálu-páre) on the Kire river, a tributary of the Lakshmanatírtha, in Hatgatnád in Kiggatnád taluq, in which there are also the ruins of a temple, is said to have been built by *Kolli-Ninga* and *Benne-Krishna* of the Bedaru or hunter-tribe. It was destroyed by Tippu Sultan's armies and its ruins are extensive.

8. THE COORG LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE.

The prevalent and official language in Coorg is Canarese, but this small mountain clan, the Coorgs, with their former

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

871 tion tables and, when the scholars had further advanced, the reading and writing of petitions (Arjis). Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men in the Kacheris felt quite happy in their complete ignorance, being cunning enough to look after their own interests. What more could be required? Their only care was to keep every thing in statu quo and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past.

871 In 1855, encouraged by Sir Mark Cubbon, Dr. Moegling, 177 the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, established an English School at Mercara, the charge of which was placed into the 797 hands of the Rev. G. Richter in May 1856 and in February 1857 the Supreme Government sanctioned a liberal grant for its support. Maintaining its missionary character, the Coorg Headmen, one of whom felt in particular its christianizing influence upon his sons, at first opposed the school with all their might, but the Head-sheristadar, Nanchappa, having been reconciled to the new order of things, the School began to flourish and gain the favour of the people. Unfortunately for Coorg and the School, the Devân Nanchappa, who was a high spirited and influential leader of his people and would have done much for the advance of education, suddenly died by a fall from his horse.

871 On the departure of Dr. Moegling to Germany in De- 177 cember 1860, Mr. Richter was nominated by Government Principal of the School and with the year 1861 a new period commences in the educational affairs of Coorg.

The educational scheme, proposed by the Principal and heartily approved of by the Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Commissioner and the Supreme Government, has ever since been gradually carried out and comprises, when fully established, the following features:—an unlimited number of Vernacular district-schools, five Anglo-vernacular schools

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

658 648 573 In the extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General of India in Council in the Home Department, under date 15th January 1863 after a summary of the preceding correspondence: "The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the grant of a sum of money not exceeding Rs. 11,000 for the purpose indicated." "His Excellency in Council also notices with approbation the exertions of Mr. Richter, the Head Master of the School in question, who is stated to have won the 'entire confidence' of the people, and to have been the means of giving the first impulse to the present movement."

Rejoiced at the good news, the Coorgs enabled Mr. Richter to set at once to work. A building committee was formed consisting of the late Superintendent, Major Martin, and the three Head-Coorg-Officials, and having received the needful instructions at Head-quarters in Bangalore, the Principal planned and executed within the next five years under the most trying difficulties the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548—11—7, towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,721—15—5, the Europeans in Coorg Rs. 471, the sale of the old school-house produced Rs. 6,500 and the balance was liberally paid by the Government.

The boys' boarding-house is now being fitted up for occupation in the beginning of 1871 and the girls' boarding-house will shortly be ready too. It is being built by Colovanda Cariappah, the first Coorg pupil of the English School of 1856, and now Subadár of Mercara-taluq and always with his friend, Chepudira Soobiah, the staunchest and most liberal supporter of the cause of education amongst his people.

571 597 The Basel Missionary Society, in whose connection Mr. Richter hitherto stood, observed with uneasiness the extraordinary educational movement in Coorg and were apprehensive of being thereby involved in responsibilities which they considered foreign to their missionary operations; they

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

came, therefore, to the resolution of dissolving in the most friendly manner, his connection with them, and Mr. Richter, since October 1863, fully entered the Government service in the Coorg Commission and the Society withdrew from any further interference and obligation in educational matters in Coorg.

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The new Central School was opened in May 1869 and contains now 176 pupils of whom 12 are girls. Besides 93 Coorgs, there are 14 Christians, 28 Mussulmans, 3 Parsees and the rest other Hindus.

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The course of instruction, here adopted, aims at a practical education, yet keeping in view the standard of the Matriculation test for the highest class. Divided into six classes, of which the Hindustani and Canarese classes are at the bottom, elementary instruction is first imparted by means of the Vernaculars, which in the higher classes gradually give way to English instruction and Canarese is studied only as a language. The girls, of whom seven are Coorgs, form only for needlework under Mrs. Richter's instruction a separate class, their other lessons they learn with the boys. In the lower and middle classes history is taught in Canarese and consequently the boys are well grounded in an intelligent knowledge of the subject. In geography a thorough knowledge of Coorg in Canarese prepares the pupils for a better understanding of India, Asia, and the Map of the World. Geometrical linear drawing with definitions lays the foundation for Euclid of which the First Book is taught in Canarese in the middle class, whilst the first class absolves the Third Book with deductions and mensuration of plain figures and of solids. Arithmetic leads up to decimals, the compound rule of three and evolutions; Algebra includes simple equations. The study of English comprises: Grammar, composition and analysis of prose and poetical selections; in the same way Canarese is studied in the two upper classes.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

872 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are
797 the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were
162 in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg
795 Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a
643 tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame
175 the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-
[798] Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

avocation that bespeaks the estimation in which they are held. Christianity has impressed no very awful sense of religion on its rude followers, who are subject to all the degradation, attaching to a profession of it in eastern countries; but a small share of the morality it inculcates is observable, and its votaries seem still to retain most of their ancient superstitions; indeed, if either the condition or character of these followers of it be taken as a criterion, the most sanguine could scarcely hope much good to result from a more general conversion to its divine doctrines." 563 795

A church and native congregation, chiefly of Tamil-Christians, the servants of Europeans, and pensioned sepoys, especially Sappers and Miners, have been established at Mercara and Fraserpet at which places periodically a European or Native Priest resides.

2. THE ENGLISH CHAPLANCY IN MERCARA.

Mercara containing a greater number of Europeans than Mangalore and offering a more salubrious residence, the chaplain of the latter station removed to the former in 1854[1] and Mercara was ever since under the spiritual care of a clergyman of the Church of England. His congregation, comprising civilians, military officers and planters, numbers over hundred souls. Through subordinate agency native Christians, especially Tamulians, have likewise been benefitted by the successive Chaplains and the heathens around have at least an opportunity of witnessing in a chaste church (vide p. 192.) the pure and simple worship of a Protestant congregation; and should all who profess and call themselves Christians be led in the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life, what amount[2] of good might thus be effected even by those who cannot speak to the natives in their tongue! There would certainly be less cause for taunting the Christian missionary with want of success! 797

[1] The first resident Chaplain at Mercara, the Rev. Mr. Prosnett,

[1] [Errata: This should read "in 1852". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 — Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "what an amount". See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p 499 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

797 was appointed here in 1852. The Rev. Mr. Fennell B. A. succeeded him early in 1853, and the Rev. M. O. Deane B. A. took charge in December 1866, and was followed by Rev. J. Wynch M. A. in December 1868, who left in December 1869, when the chaplancy was vacated till December 1870 and then filled by the Rev. C. H. Deane M. A.

3. THE PROTESTANT MISSION OF THE BASEL SOCIETY.

797 648 When the account of the reduction of Coorg arrived in England, considerable interest was awakened in behalf of the inhabitants of the new Province, whom British arms had delivered from cruel bondage, and whose brave and frank character seemed to establish a peculiar claim upon the sympathies of the friends of Indian missions.

General Fraser on the 10th June 1834 in a letter to Mr. McNaughton, the Secretary to the Government of India remarks:—

"There is not probably a spot of ground in all India of this limited extent capable of so much improvement as Coorg. The people appear to have little or no attachment to the debasing superstition of the country and their minds seem to me to be more open than those of any other Indians, I have seen, to be prepared for receiving the light of the Christian religion, while their intellect may be expected rapidly to expand under the influence of that education, they are themselves soliciting." The noble-hearted General offered his share of the prize-money as an endowment of a Protestant Mission and the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Societies were inclined to extend their operations to Coorg, but both Societies subsequently found, that they could not spare men for a new Mission at a distance from their older stations, and thus a good opportunity was lost. General Fraser subsequently established a school at Fraserpet which he endowed [871]

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with a sum of Rs. 300, the interest of which goes towards the teacher's pay. The school is now under Government management and incorporated with the Anglo-Vernacular School. 797 648 [871]

In the year 1834 the Basel Missionary Society commenced operations on the western coast, in the neighbourhood of Coorg, and extended their stations to the north and south. Mercara and Vírájpet were now and then visited; but no proposal was made to the Committee to occupy Coorg. Thus the country remained nearly twenty years under British rule without the establishment of a Mission, until Dr. Moegling in 1852 was in an unforeseen and singular manner led to commence the long delayed work.

Being on the point of returning to Germany to recruit his shattered health, he was visited by a Coorg man, disguised as a Sanyási, who applied for instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was an intelligent and astute Coorg and the story of his life highly interesting. Having been baptized on the 6th January 1853, Stephanas Someyah of Almanda in Beppunád, returned unexpected and unnoticed to his house. His wife received him with great joy and declared that she would live and die with him. On the following day Stephanas took formal possession of his house, and Dr. Moegling, who had accompanied him, resolved on standing by the family and becoming security to the creditors, who speedily assembled for the liquidation of the debts of the convert. Two days afterwards his neighbours and relatives drove him and his family out of their house at night and forced them to take refuge with the missionary at Vírájpet. The Superintendent enquired into the case and the Chief Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, to whom the matter was referred gave the following decision:— 797 578

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To

THE SUPERINTENDENT

of Coorg.

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Sir,

The Commissioner, having had under consideration your various communications regarding the reception on his return to Coorg of one, Somiah who has left his caste, I have the honor, by his advice to convey to you his instructions as to the manner in which this and similar cases should be dealt with.

In the first place it seems to be admitted on all hands, that but for the fact of his having left his caste, Somiah, as the rightful head by inheritance of his branch of his family, had nothing to do but to return to Coorg and take quiet possession of his house and lands. There would have been no aggrieved party in this case, and it requires to be shown, that there is an aggrieved party in the case as it really happened.

If it be true, as stated in the papers under notice, and the Commissioner sees no reason to doubt that it is so, that several instances exist of individuals having become outcasts from their own religion and even converts to Mahomedanism and yet been allowed to remain in quiet possession of their estates; it is clear that degradation from caste for misconduct or on voluntary change of faith is not of itself regarded in Coorg as involving the deprivation of hereditary or self-acquired property. It is therefore evident in the present instance, that neither on national nor on caste grounds could there have been an aggrieved party, unless perhaps in the event of his wife and children and the other inmates of the house which he came to occupy, having felt themselves polluted by his neighbourhood. So far, however, is this from being the case, that it appears, that one and all of them preferred being turned out in his company in the middle of the night, to remaining under shelter of the roof without him; and it is moreover subsequently reported, that the wife and children lost no time in following his example and making a public renunciation of the faith in which they had been brought up.

Under these circumstances the Commissioner must regard the act of those people who violently ejected him from the house, of which he had been in quiet possession for nearly three days, as a gross and flagrant insult to the Government, only to be excused by their ignorance and their having been led away to a certain extent by the evil example of their Subedár Appachoo. Of the conduct of Appachoo himself, there can be but one opinion, but the Commissioner is not unwilling to overlook for once the error of an old and able

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servant of the Government and trusts, that Appachoo will justify his good opinion of him by the cheerful alacrity with which he will replace Somish in possession of the house and lands of which he was so illegally and violently deprived.

797 578

You will be good enough, carefully to explain the whole of the foregoing to all the parties concerned and at the same time inform them, that the civil courts are open to them, should they still consider that there are any legal grounds for depriving this convert of his inheritance."

&c. &c. &c.

The Coorg-family returned to their home in June; Dr. Moegling remained in their neighbourhood during the monsoon. With the beginning of the cold season he made preparations for building a little church and a dwelling-house on a piece of ground given by Stephanas to the Mission and the work of preaching at the principal market-places was commenced. Having taken all these steps without the Society's sanction, the founder of the Mission had to bear all the burden of its support and arrangement as well as the evangelistic labour for six long years. Strong in faith, however, he cheerfully and regardless of his prostrate health, devoted himself to his Master's work who did not forsake him in his daily wants. The publication of the "Coorg Memoirs" and the periodical reports of his work in the "Madras Christian Herald" greatly helped to interest the South-Indian public in his Mission.

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A new Mission seldom thrives well under regulations unadapted to its peculiar circumstances and requirements and Dr. Moegling had the courage to trust, that he might be able unembarrassed to labour on, and his experience was, that he could gratefully and rejoicingly say, that no man should be discouraged by mere want of money from doing his duty! Whilst standing alone with his Mission, he still continued in connexion with the Basel Committee in everything except financial support and obedience to the rules of their conference as applied to the older stations.

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797 Meanwhile two more Coorg families joined him and Dr. Moegling, notwithstanding repeated attacks of jungle fever, remained at his post and continued to labour assiduously, preaching on market-days at Vírájpet and Mercara, visiting the scenes of the Coorg annual festivals and engaging in literary labours for the Government and the Bible Society. He was treated with great kindness and encouragement by the English Officials and by the other residents in Mercara. In 1856 he married the widow of a brother-missionary, who was herself practised in all the branches of mission work including translation into Canarese, and she proved to him in all his various labours a true and worthy helpmate.

[564] In the same year a number of families, comprising 130 souls, of the Holeyas or agricultural slave-caste (vide p. 112), who had assisted in building the Almanda church, applied for instruction. They were received and located in Ammatnád on a waste farm, which was taken from Government for the purpose, where they might maintain themselves by its cultivation under the direction of Stephanas. The farm was held by Dr. Moegling's spiritual son, the Rev. A. Kaundinya, one of the first Brahmin converts of Mangalore, who cheerfully undertook the risk and responsibility. The new settlement was named Anandapur (city of joy) and a simple residence and chapel were erected. In 1858, the departure one by one of the tried friends who had known the work from its beginning, and the altered circumstances of India after the Mutiny, induced Dr. Moegling to seek substantial connexion with the Church Missionary Society and he went to England and offered himself and the Mission to their acceptance. He was very kindly received by the Committee, but, after full deliberation, they considered it better, that he should make another effort to continue attached to Basel and, meantime, they gave a liberal grant of 500 £ to his work. Encouraged with this help, he returned to Coorg in January 1859 after

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having effected a new connexion of the station with the Basel Society and so it still continues. Dr. Moegling in 1860 had to part with his excellent wife, who was ordered to Europe in broken health, and at the end of the same year he had himself to follow in thoroughly shattered health and reached Württemberg just in time to nurse her in her last illness. His own state of health did not allow him to return to India.

The work has been carried on by his successors: Revs. Kittel, Stokes, Kaufmann, Kaundinya and Schnepf with varying success and under great trials and disappointments. The Christians built for themselves new houses, the proprietor of the farm erected by his manager, Mr. Hahn, a substantial dwelling and a new church towards which the Government contributed Rs. 1,000; he also opened out a small coffee plantation to give additional and permanent employment to the colony, but though very hopeful at first, the devastation by the Borer was here so complete, that the whole plantation was destroyed.

Unfortunately the locality of Anandapur being in a bamboo district and only partially and newly cleared, has not proved a healthy one; the native as well as the European residents were frequently prostrated by fever, the Missionaries Kittel, Stokes and Schnepf and Mr. and Mrs. Hahn had to leave the station on account of ill-health from severe attacks of fever and both the late pastor Mr. Kaufmann and his wife fell victims in 1869 to the Coorg fever, contracted at Anandapur.

According to the last census of the Coorg mission in 1869-70 there are 50 communicants and 7 non-communicants, 42 children, 12 catechumeni, and the parochial school is attended by 23 children.

Considering the abject and degraded position of most of these Christians before their conversion, the social, intellectual and religious standing of this colony cannot be expected to be very high; but, in spite of much weakness and grievous

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797 shortcomings, evidences are not wanting of visible and genuine christian and spiritual life.

Of the nine Christians from amongst the Coorgs, and of Stephanas in particular, not much good can be said, in fact several of them disgraced by their conduct the christian name among their own people and proved to them a stumbling block. Stephanas, being insincere and of a divided heart, as it seems, from the very beginning, was at last found out in his secret course of wickedness and had to be excommunicated. He is suspected, to have afterwards in a fit of revenge set fire to the Almanda chapel and dwelling-house in 1867 both of which were utterly demolished, and then disappeared from the country without any trace of his whereabouts. Perhaps he has again become a Sanyásil His son, now in the Mangalore Theological Seminary, will perhaps strive, to redeem his father's discreditable Christian career. Stephanas' two married daughters at Mangalore lead a becoming christian life. Their mother died, her last years being beclouded by insanity.

Thus far General Fraser's hopeful view of the Coorgs' preparedness for embracing the Christian religion, when the opportunity was offered to them, has not been realised. To what causes this failure may be ascribed, it is difficult to say. The unpalatable defeat of some of the Coorg headmen in Stephana's affair, the loss of the 130 Holeyas of Beppunád who joined the Missionary, the Coorgs' jealousy of the moral and social improvement of their former slaves, their fancied apprehension of their own degradation to an equal footing with them on becoming Christians, the inconsistent life of some of the Coorg converts, the natural propensity of the Coorgs to, and success in material prosperity of late years and the concomitant selfindulgence, their more frequent intercourse with Europeans, the increasing influence of Brahmins upon the superstitious Coorgs—these and other circumstances

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may have led to such a result. Perhaps General Fraser formed his opinion, before he had sufficiently made himself acquainted with the Coorg character, though he was a very shrewd observer, or perhaps the providential time has not yet come for such a decisive step by the whole Coorg-clan and his opinion may still be an unfulfilled prophesy; but however this may be, we believe, that Dr. Moegling's labors in Coorg have not been in vain. The good seed, sown by his evangelistic and educational efforts, has struck ground and others will with joyful hearts reap the fruit of his prayers and tears and at the harvest time will cherish, with grateful recognition of his merits, the memory of Dr. Moegling, the accomplished, devoted and faithful founder of the Coorg Mission!

In connexion with the "Mercantile Association" of the Basel Mission, there is at Mercara a mercantile establishment under a European married agent, which, while serving the secular interests of the Mission, gives useful employment to a number of native converts and teaches them also in this path of life to honor their calling as Christians.

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872 797 Of *private institutions*, aided by Government, there are the German Mission School at Anandapur and the Roman Catholic Boys' and Girls' schools at Vírájpet. Regarding *private unaided schools*, it is difficult to obtain reliable information as to their number and attendance. They are generally of a temporary and very insignificant character.

871 162 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siege of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

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Neuter form "puḷu," the worm. 193

Nom. puḷu, *Obj.* puḷuna, *Gen.* puḷuḍa, *Dat.* puḷukkā, *Instr.* puḷuvinji, *Loc.* puḷuvalā.*

Adjectives precede the nouns which they qualify. As in Canarese their number is not very great, but many are formed from nouns by affixing the irregular participles ānō having become, and uḷḷō being, possessing: e. g. chāl beauty, chālānō beautiful; paṇa money, paṇauḷḷō rich. The relative participles also are frequently used as adjectives: e. g. pāḍuvō pakki, the singing bird; bandō guru, the priest who came. For expressing the comparative and superlative the adjective remains unchanged, but the notion of degree is produced by a peculiar construction of the sentence viz. the comparative by a construction like this: than your book his book useful, i. e. his book is more useful than yours; the superlative: among all books his book useful, i. e. his book is most useful.

The numerical Adjective, this criterion of the origin of a [197] language, is, as may be expected, in the Drávida languages very much alike, but entirely different from other tongues. The neutral numerals in Kodagu from 1-12 are: ondā, danḍā, mūndā, nālā, anji, ārā, yēḷā, yeṭṭā, oyimbadā, pattā, pannendā, paneranḍā; from 13 to 19 the units are added to the crude form of pattā, viz. paḍu-mūndā, etc. 20 is iruvadu, to which after changing the d into tt, the units are added for 21-29.

In all compound numbers for danḍā, 2, ranḍā is substi- 802 • 193 [192] tuted, which resembles the Canarese yeraḍu. 30 is muppadā, 40 nāpadā, 50 aimbadā, 60 aruvadā, 70 eḷuvadā, 80 embadā, 90 tonūrā, 100 nūrā; 101 nāyittondā etc.; 200 innūrā, 300 munnūrā, etc., 800 eṭṭunūrā, 900 ombeinūrā, 1,000 āyira, which is borrowed from Sanscrit.

For the formation of ordinals the affix ne is added to the

* If the crude noun is long, or consists of several syllables, the final a disappears in the Instr. and Loc. e. g. nāḍā, *Instr.* nāḍinji, *Loc.* nāḍālā.

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802 193 crude form of the cardinals; e. g. ondane, dandane, mūndane, etc. the first, second, third, etc.

Only the numbers one and two have three genders, all the rest are neuter.

obbō	one man.	ibbō	two men.
obba	„ woman.	ibba	„ women.
ondū	„ thing.	dandū	„ things.

As in Canarese doubling a number renders it a distributive; e. g. ondondū, dandandū, etc. every one, two, etc.

Of fractions, which even in Canarese form but a limited system, the Coorg stock is still smaller and refers only to concrete terms viz: ¼ ārē, ½ kālū, ¾ mukkālū, which help to divide the Maṇa of 40 seers and the Beṭṭi of 80 seers of capacity-measure and the Rupee.

803 871 The Coorgs have no idea of abstract reckoning and fractional arithmetic is a most difficult subject for native teachers.

193 The *pronouns* in Kodagu greatly resemble those in Canarese.

The personal pronouns are declined in the following manner:—

First person: nā = I.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	nā or nānū,	I.	enga, nanga,	we.
Obj.	enna,	me.	engla, nangala,	us.
Gen.	ennada, éja,	of me.	engada, nangada,	of us.
Dat.	enakū, nangū,	to me.	engakū, nangakū,	to us.

Second person: nī = thou.

Nom.	nīnū,	thou.	ninga,	you.
Obj.	ninna,	thee.	ningala,	you.
Gen.	ninada, nīja,	of thee.	ningada,	of you.
Dat.	ninakū, ningū,	to thee.	ningakū,	to you.

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crude form of the cardinals; e. g. ondana, danḍana, mindana, etc. the first, second, third, etc.

Only the numbers one and two have three genders, all the rest are neuter.

obbō	one man.	ibbō	two men.
obba	„ woman.	ibba	„ women.
ondū	„ thing.	danḍū	„ things.

As in Canarese doubling a number renders it a distributive; e. g. ondondū, danḍanḍū, etc. every one, two, etc.

Of fractions, which even in Canarese form but a limited system, the Coorg stock is still smaller and refers only to concrete terms viz: ¼ ārē, ½ kālū, ¾ mukkālū, which help to divide the Maṇa of 40 seers and the Beṭṭi of 80 seers of capacity-measure and the Rupee.

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Nom.	nā or nānū,	I.	ange, nange,	we.
Obj.	enna,	me.	engla, nangala,	us.
Gen.	ennaḍa, ēḍa,	of me.	engaḍa, nangaḍa,	of us.
Dat.	enakū, nangū,	to me.	engakū, nangakū,	to us.

Second person: nī = thou.

Nom.	nīnū,	thou.	ninge,	you.
Obj.	ninna,	thee.	ningala,	you.
Gen.	ninnaḍa, nīḍa,	of thee.	ningaḍa,	of you.
Dat.	ninnakū, ningū,	to thee.	ningakū,	to you.

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becomes a member of the groom's *okka*. *Sammanda* ritual effects the transference of the bride to the groom's *okka* and makes clear the legal implications of marriage to everyone concerned.

The *sammanda* ritual is performed at the entrance to the kitchen of the bride's ancestral house. The bride stands inside the kitchen while the groom stands outside, with the threshold in between them. The bride's family friend and two of her kinsmen stand on one side of the groom, while the latter's family friend, and two of his kinsmen stand on the other side. The other relatives and guests watch the proceedings from a distance. The family friends utter the traditional *sammanda* formulas.

I give below a free translation of the Koḍagi text, and I should like to stress the fact that there is some elasticity in the formulae uttered.

Bride's Family Friend: 'The people of both the *nāḍs*, men of the house, relatives and family friend, are they all standing in rows?'

Groom's Family Friend: 'They stand.'

Bride's Family Friend: 'To the girl Pārvati of Nuchchimanéyanḍa *okka* whom we are about to give in marriage to the youth Muttaṇṇa of the Malchira *okka*, will you give the girl *sammanda* (rights) in the property of the groom's *okka*? Will you give her rights in the Malchira *okka's* land which yields a thousand *bhaṭṭis*[1] of paddy, in the ten *kanḍas*[2] of pasture, in the cattle-stand, in the ten pairs of bullocks, in the house, in the garden, in the ten milch cows, in the bamboo receptacle used for milking, in the cattle-shed where the cattle are herded, in the paddy-flat,[3] in the ridges of the paddy-flat, in the manure-heap, in the land which has silted up, in the paddy-field encroached upon by neighbours, in the runaway servant, in the elephant on heat, in the axe which, swinging, they cut, in the knife which, lifting, they cut, in the paddy in the granary, in the two-seer measure used for measuring paddy, in the seer-measure used for measuring rice, in the bell metal dish leaning against the wall, in the wall-lamp, in the stock of salt, in the kitchen stove, in the buried treasure, in the stock of thread, in the piece of cloth used for extracting thread, in the piece of iron used for making

[1] The term '*āyira bhaṭṭi bhūmi*', or 'land which yields 1,000 *bhaṭṭis* of paddy is a conventional term and only means that the groom's *okka* is rich.

[2] A *kanḍa* is a plot of land of a certain size.

[3] Rice is cultivated usually in small ridged-up flats or plots. It is very necessary at various stages in its cultivation to stand water for days, if not weeks, in the flats.

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585 is considered in this chapter while the non-*mangala* part is considered in Chapter V.

There are, then, several *mangalas*, of which marriage is one, and 788 at each of these *mangalas*, *mūrta* is performed. *Mūrta* may be regarded as a typical ritual complex. The ritual complex of *mūrta* consists of several ritual acts, and it is proposed to discover the meaning of each of them by the application of the three rules formulated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. (1) 'When the same or similar custom is practised on different occasions it has the same or a similar meaning in all of them.'[1] (2) 'When different customs are practised on one and the same occasion there is a common element in the customs.'[2] (3) 'If two rites are found associated with one another on different occasions then there is something in common between the different occasions.'[3]

The central figure of a rite is referred to in this book as the subject. But the subject of *mūrta* is referred to as the 'subject of *mangala*' as *mūrta* is always a part of *mangala*. The term has been retained even where the rite in question is peculiar to marriage, as marriage is also a *mangala*, and the term 'subject' is applicable to the bride as well as the groom. It is only when a rite is performed by either the bride or groom exclusively that 'subject' is discarded in favour of either of the former, more specific terms.

II

796 The astrologer selects an auspicious day for the performance of [787] *mangala*, and an even more auspicious part of that day for the performance of *mūrta*, which is the most important part of *mangala*. [805] It is interesting to note that the Coorg term *mūrta* is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit *mūhurta*, which means a 'particular division of time, the thirtieth part of a day, a period of 48 minutes'.[4]

The house in which the *mangala* ritual takes place is cleaned, 796 and its walls are colour-washed, and a decorated booth (*pandal*) of 346 five pillars, one of which is a branch of a milk-exuding tree, is erected in front of the house. Poleyas and Medas beat tom-toms and play pipes in front of the house, and Coorg youths dance to the music.

[1] *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1933 (2nd edition), p. 235.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] *Taboo*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 36.
[4] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 825.

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periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' 796
is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as in- 777
clusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period.

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may 796
be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are 777
nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a 805
Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on.

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu 787
theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to [815]
Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes 805
from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*.

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the [77]
more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is [79]
Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India.

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but 796
also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in 778
his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he 783
has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain

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796 621 Every village in Coorg, and occasionally two or three villages together, celebrate either annually or once every few years the festival of a village-deity. These festivals have the same structure all over Coorg Proper, and a description of any one of these festivals gives one an idea of the religious life of the people. But this should not lead one to conclude that there are not any important differences between the festivals of different village-deities.

[805] The ritual life of a Coorg is regulated with reference to the very accurate solar calendar which prevails in the Tuḷu-Malayāḷam- and Tamil-speaking areas.[1] The festival of a village-deity starts on a certain day in a particular solar month, and goes on for seven or nine or eleven or fifteen or twenty-one days according to local custom. Local custom again decides the length of the interval between two festivals: it may be a year or two years or more.

The festival of a village-deity usually begins with the *tappaḍaka* ceremony at which all[2] the assembled villagers take a vow to observe certain dietetic and other restrictions till the evening of the *nammé* or 'festival day' which occurs towards the end. At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival, the tenth day is the 'festival day' and the dietetic restrictions are broken on the tenth night. The eighth day of the festival is the *paṭṇi* or 'fast day', and on this day villagers have to subsist on pancakes and the sweet liquid dish, *pāyasa*.

There is a lull in the ritual after the administering of the vows till the 'fast day'. It does not, however, mean total absence of ritual: some routine ritual acts such as the beating of drums and dancing before the temple of the deity are performed. Also preparations are made for the later important days: the roads and the approaches to the temple are cleared of weeds.

The eighth and tenth days are important days, as mentioned earlier. On the twelfth day there is a dinner for all the men in the village (excluding the Brahmin priests), and the 'village goat' (*ūraḍu*) and the two village fowls (*ūru kōḷi*), sacrificed to Bhadrakāḷi on the tenth night, are cooked and eaten at this dinner.

[1] The people in Kannaḍa and Telugu countries regulate their ritual life mainly with reference to the lunar calendar. But the upper castes need to refer to the solar calendar also for some of their festivals and ritual.

[783] [2] Poleyas are usually excluded from participation in these ceremonies. They are either totally excluded from the festival or, where they are allowed to participate, they do so at a different level from the rest. The Mēdas are never excluded from the festival, but are allowed to participate at a different level from the high-caste people on the one hand and the Poleyas on the other. Custom, in this respect, varies from village to village.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

periods of time have ritual value while others do not. 'Ritual value' is synonymous with the term 'sacred' in its widest sense, as inclusive of good-sacredness as well as bad-sacredness, auspiciousness as well as inauspiciousness. Certain periods of time are auspicious while others are inauspicious. One occasionally finds in Coorg homes a sheet of cardboard nailed to the wall which mentions the inauspicious periods in each day of the week. Important work is not begun during an inauspicious period. 796 777

Adult Coorgs are usually able to read the *panchānga* which may be described as the ritual calendar of the Hindus. *Panchāngas* are nowadays printed and sold in towns, and it is customary for a Coorg house to have a *panchānga*. It is frequently referred to as it gives the auspicious and inauspicious periods in each day, the days on which one may have one's face shaved, the days on which one may travel in a particular direction, when an eclipse will occur, and so on. 796 777 805

Hindu astrology is based on the idea of *karma* and touches Hindu theological beliefs at every point; and, strange as it may seem to Westerners, astrology involves a knowledge of astronomy. Events like an eclipse, and the day and period of time when the sun passes from one zodiacal sign to another are significant for ritual purposes, and they are all mentioned in the *panchānga*. 787 [815] 805

Astrology may be regarded as a Sanskritizing agent, and the more a tribe, local group, or caste resorts to astrology the more does its beliefs become Sanskritized. Sanskritic Hinduism is Hinduism which transcends provincial barriers and is common to the whole of India. [777] [779]

IV

Mangala has not only to be performed on an auspicious day, but also in an auspicious place: a Coorg likes to have it performed in his ancestral house which he regards as sacred and for which he has a strong attachment. Only certain high castes like the Brahmins, Okkaligas, and Gauḍas may enter all parts of the ancestral house. Mēdas and Poleyas, on the other hand, have to stop at the paved yard in front of the house. Castes like the smiths (Airis), washermen (Maḍivāḷa), and Baṇṇas may come to all parts of the house except the kitchen, central hall, and south-western room. If, however, they have to come in to perform their duties on certain 796 778 783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

589 widows and divorcées have a slightly higher status than widows, but this does not entitle them to be classed as *garatis*.

589 The Coorg widow's dress consists of a white cotton *sari*, a white
292 cotton blouse, and a white cotton scarf. *None* of these clothes may
[264] have a coloured border. The corpse of a widow, too, is dressed in clothes without a coloured border. The corpse of a married woman, on the other hand, is dressed in a coloured *sari* with a coloured, or silver, or gold, border.

[171] The distinction between a widow and married woman is absolutely fundamental in every part of south India. Married women have a great number of privileges, whereas widows have a great number of ritual disabilities. A married woman is auspicious, she is everywhere welcome, whereas a widow is inauspicious, and she is unwelcome everywhere. This deep cleavage expresses itself in the matter of dress also.

IX

782 After being dressed in ritual robes, the subject of *mangala*
778 salutes the various lamps in the house before sitting down for
354 *mūrta*. On either side of him is a dish-lamp placed on a tripod stool. The dish-lamp is indispensable on every ritual occasion.

Every day, early in the morning and again just before nightfall, the housewife sweeps the house and sprinkles it with a purifying solution of cow-dung. She then lights the wall-lamp and salutes it. While saluting it she prays to the ancestors of the *okka*, to Mother Kāvēri and Shiva. Every member of the *okka* salutes the wall-lamp after getting up in the morning, and again at night.

• [821] The ending of night as well as of day is marked by sweeping and purifying the house, and by lighting and saluting the wall-lamp. The period between the ending of the day and the beginning of night is regarded as a critical time, and children are not given food or allowed to sleep at that time. This is a common south Indian custom.

[787] It is regarded as a bad omen if the lamp goes out while a Coorg is having his dinner. The sudden extinction of the lamp indicates the approach of disaster. The diner gets up from his meal, cleans the dish and washes his hands. He sits down to dinner again a few minutes later. This makes it a different meal altogether and not the one that was interrupted.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

A Coorg never says that a lamp has gone out. He says instead, 784
'the lamp is brighter' (*bolicha dumb pōchi*). This kind of euphemism 354
is employed on other occasions also: the Kodagi word for a tiger is '*nari*' which means a jackal in every other Dravidian language.

Again, no Coorg says that 'a cobra has bitten So-and-so'. He says instead, 'a creeper has bitten So-and-so'. Finally, after nightfall no one mentions the barber. If they have to refer to him they say instead, 'the scraper of heads'. Amongst the Hindus in Mysore the barber is referred to after nightfall as 'one whose name may not be mentioned'. A barber is inauspicious, and contact with him is [305]
defiling. He is also associated with inauspicious occasions such as death, as mourners have to be shaved. Women specially dread the barber, as until recently among the highest castes widows were required to have their heads shaved entirely.

In every one of the cases we have mentioned circumlocution is employed to avoid reference to an unpleasant object or event. The bite of a snake is always unpleasant and frequently fatal; a barber suggests death and widowhood; and it is much better to think of a tiger as a jackal. The euphemistic reference to the extinction of a [596]
lamp has a similar purpose: a lamp is the symbol of the solidarity and strength of the *okka*, and its sudden extinction refers to the decay and extinction of the *okka*. It also refers to the withdrawal of [782]
the protective power of the ancestors and the deities who are invoked while saluting a lamp.

Among the Hindus of the eastern plains it is obligatory to light a 788
lamp in the house as soon as it is dark. A house without a lamp 354
suggests that everyone is dead in the house, or that they are too poor to light one.

The ritual attitude prevalent towards the domestic lamp is easily [171]
extended to fire generally, and to the sun. These again provide [821]
points of contact with Sanskritic or All-India Hinduism.

The kitchen stove is a convenient focus for the general ritual 372
attitude existing towards fire. The kitchen stove, like the domestic 596
lamp, stands for the unity, strength, and protective power of the [764]
okka and this fact finds ritual expression. When a member of the *okka* is dead and it is decided to cremate his body, the funeral pyre is fired with a torch lighted from embers from the kitchen stove. The torch is made with twigs collected from the domestic burial-ground.

The belief in the protective power of *teli ntr* is again the result of 372
783

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins. 526

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share. 224

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green. [555]

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle. [776] [782]

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare, 181 539 821

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon
539 was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help
821 the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

181 The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent pheno-
701 menon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

785 The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the 243
completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left
throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good 461
sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men 526
engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 batties of land. 243
Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their
strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, [291]
plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate
persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the
same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race.
The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch
of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of
oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted. [574]
a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about 243
six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is [789]
now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to
fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then
attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears [343]
of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every
hundred batties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild
animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and
December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is
celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off
the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground
and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves,
carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or [821]
February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing
floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and
buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for [242]
seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to 249
that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000
feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at
an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its
growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February
or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the
young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the
third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered.
A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

4: Richter M. G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-bâne* in Kuyingherinád.

821 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

[Errata: This should read "cobra di capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493. — Analyst]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Red colour seems to have greater ritual value than white, and 822
silk greater ritual value than cotton. For instance, at a wedding, 585
the ceiling of the sacred central hall is covered with white cloths, 778
except for the part just above the bridal seat which is covered with red cloths. All the bride's clothes are of red silk, and according to the ancient marriage song the groom wore a red silk gown and red silk turban.

When a man (or woman) dies his relatives have to carry gifts 764
of white cotton cloths to him. But the dead man's sisters' children, 822
or dead woman's brothers' children, have to carry gifts of red silk 778
cloths. Those who bring gifts of red silk cloths are considered to be closer relatives than those who bring white cotton cloths. It is those who bring red silk cloths who take part, along with the dead man's eldest son and widow, in the important pot-breaking rite (*koḍa kukkuva*) which ritually severs the dead man's connexion with his living relatives.

The ritual preference of silk to cotton is widespread all over 778
peninsular India among Brahmins, and it is very likely that Coorgs 171
borrowed the use of red silk from the Brahmins of the west coast. The use of red silk in ritual is not very clearly defined—at least it is not as clearly defined as the use of the white gown.

The turban is worn on very important auspicious occasions like 291
a wedding. On less formal occasions a Coorg ties a scarf round his 576
head. Both men and women tie a scarf round their heads out of 764
doors. But no form of head-dress, turban, scarf, or cap, is worn inside the house. When a kinswoman comes into the house the hostess removes her scarf. Failure to do so would be an insult, as it would amount to treating the kinswoman as a stranger. Absence of head-dress indicates the intimacy that prevails among the members of a household. It is presumably for this reason that everyone, including the senior mourners, has to remove his scarf and sandals before the corpse. Such removal shows that the dead man and mourners are members of one household. They are kindred, [602] and kinship is intimacy. When two people are able to appear before each other without scarves they are intimate, they are members of the same household. It is an expression of the solidarity prevalent between the two.

There is a great social and ritual elaboration of the distinction 589
between a married woman and a widow. A married woman or *garati* is one whose first and only husband is alive. Remarried

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house
778 is purified after their departure.

783 The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better
[841] preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which
841 a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

761 The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and
783 the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the
778 others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the
788 central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and
[823] the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a
[354] common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular
778 house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-
769 propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

It is not only places which have ritual value, but also points of the compass. East is a sacred direction because the sun rises there, and Hindus in all parts of India regard the sun as a deity.

The ancestral house faces east and so does the ancestor-shrine. The lip of the sacred wall-lamp in the central hall faces east. The subject of a *mangala* ceremony sits facing east.

On getting up from his bed in the morning a Coorg salutes the wall-lamp and the sun. The cultivation of rice is accompanied by ritual at every stage, and on all these ritual occasions the subject of the rites begins by saluting the sun.

South is an inauspicious or bad-sacred direction. A corpse is buried or cremated with its head towards south. In Sanskritic Hinduism, south is the abode of Yama, the god of death.

Coorgs, like Hindus in other parts of India, regard east as a good-sacred direction and south as a bad-sacred direction. East is associated with Chūriya (sun-god), and south with Yama. Both these deities have an All-India spread. Coorgs worship these two deities along with other Hindus all over India. The possession of common values binds people together and Coorgs form a single community with Hindus all over India when they worship the same deities.

VI

Mūrta is the crucial part of *mangala*, and the rites performed prior to *mūrta* prepare the subject for it. The subject is shaved by the barber, given a bath by three married women, and dressed in ritual robes and ornaments before sitting down to *mūrta*. Shaving, the first of several preparatory rites, will be briefly considered here.

It is necessary to repeat here that shaving is done by barbers who form a caste. Contact with the barber defiles a member of a higher caste, and consequently shaving is invariably followed by a purificatory bath.

The subject of *mangala* wears a white cotton *kupya* while he is being shaved by the barber. The *kupya* is like a dressing-gown, and it is either black or white. The white gown is of cotton, has long sleeves, and covers the neck up to the throat. This is the traditional ritual dress of Coorgs. The black gown is a Westernized version of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5
Yerava AW62
Kurumba AW56

C 137 delicate light green foliage of linear lanceolate leaves a most graceful feathery appearance. When in blossom the bamboo is leafless and the extremities are covered with flowers like one large compound panicle. The seed is in size and ap-
C [262] [735] [823] pearance like oats or small paddy. It is eaten by the poorer classes, but considered unwholesome. The birds and rats, however, revel in the feast of plenty. The water into which bamboo seed has largely fallen is said to be particularly noxious.

Y K 313 The cutting of bamboo, is a difficult task that is rarely well done by any other than those expert jungle people, the Yerawas and Kurumbas. For the purpose of cutting a single reed they manage to climb over the lower thorny mass to where the reeds branch out freely about 10 or 15 feet above
Y 313 the ground and cut them at that height. To level the whole clump, the Yerawa has to cut the stem of each bamboo below and above his head, removing each piece from the thorny embrace of the rest; he thus boldly advances into the clump, and the further he progresses in his work the greater is the danger of the whole clump suddenly giving way at the slightest breeze and crushing the unfortunate intruder.

C 137 There are several kinds of bamboo, the one described is, however, the most common. The reeds of another kind are much smaller and solid and are known by the name of Male-bamboos.

C 137 313 One of the handsomest trees in the eastern jungles is the *Blackwood* or Dalbergia latifolia with a stem of 2 or 3 feet in diameter and 60 to 80 feet in height. It is one of the most valuable timber trees in India and little, if at all, inferior to the South American Rosewood, which it closely resembles in many particulars. Near neighbours of Blackwood are *Matti* and *Hony*. The *Matti* or Terminalia coriacea is remarkable for its excellent timber, and is easily recognised by its thick ash-coloured bark, cracked into small tablets like the scales

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

788 783 here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure alarming. According to [177] Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the cal- [823] dron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

788 793 After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine 798 with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin 177 with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játré is based upon 788 a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with 798 his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother 177 Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the 539 bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 473 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. 538
The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much 173
about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, 177
and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Purána seeks to glorify the holy river. Its [823] divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean- 539
churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair 177
among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudre (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudre was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purána fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudre for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

While white rice is used in auspicious ritual, rice yellowed with turmeric is used in inauspicious ritual. At the very important funeral rite of 'breaking the pot', each of the mourners sprinkles a little rice, yellowed with turmeric, on the corpse before saluting it.

The ritual sprinkling of rice on objects and persons usually accompanies salutation. In *mūrta*, the sprinkling of rice occurs with salutation and with the giving of milk and money presents. All these rites affirm a bond which exists between the subject and all those who perform them to him. These are members of his kin-group, caste-group, and village. They constitute his community. These rites of solidarity which affirm the existence of a bond between the subject and the community serve also to stress the importance of the particular *mangala* the subject is undergoing.

It is entirely proper that rice and not any other grain or article should be used in the most common solidarity rite in Coorg. Even today rice has a very important place in the social and economic life of Coorgs, and formerly, before the introduction of coffee and oranges into Coorg, it was the most valuable crop.[1]

XI

The ritual of giving milk to the subject follows the sprinkling of rice on him. This, like the other ritual acts mentioned earlier, is performed at every *mangala* including marriage. While the structure of every *mangala* is, broadly speaking, the same, there are minor differences between one *mangala* and another. The ritual giving of milk at marriage makes the meaning of ritual milk-giving particularly clear.

On the first day of marriage *mūrta* is performed separately for the bride and groom *in their respective homes*. The bride's relatives and the high-caste members of her village perform *mūrta* to her *in her house*, and the groom's relatives and members of his village perform *mūrta* to him *in his house*.

On the second day, the groom's relatives go in state to the bride's house, and the groom's relatives perform *mūrta* to the bride. For this purpose *they carry some of their own rice and milk with them*.

The bride's relatives perform *mūrta* to the groom and, finally,

[1] Among the Brahmins of south India the assembled priests and relatives bless the bridal pair by sprinkling on them rice yellowed with turmeric.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

764 of 'reversal' operates in some instances while 'identity' operates
784 in some others? If the principle of 'reversal' had been consistently carried out in the above instance, the mourners should have gone round an even number of times.

White rice grains are used in auspicious ritual, whereas rice grains yellowed with turmeric powder are used in inauspicious ritual. This is not the same as 'reversal' though akin to it. It is called 'confinement' here: certain ritual acts are confined to mourning and they may not be performed on auspicious occasions.

A mango or *pavili* tree which is growing in the burial-ground, and green, is cut down for the funeral pyre. The *entire tree* has to be used for cremating the corpse. If a branch or twig remains over, a chicken is killed and cremated with it. It is inauspicious not to use up the entire tree. Similarly, if a grave which is being dug has to be abandoned and another has to be started, a chicken is buried in the former. Otherwise there will be another death in the house in the near future.

[824] The leaves of the *bainé* palm (*caryota urens*) are associated with death: on the day before *māda* a *pandal* is put up before the mourning-house and the roof of the *pandal* is covered with *bainé* leaves. The corpse is fanned with a fan of *bainé* leaves. Again, when a man without relatives wants to have his obsequies performed during his lifetime alone, a *pandal* of *bainé* leaves is put up before his house.

While *bainé* leaves are used exclusively in funeral ritual, toddy is used on all kinds of ritual occasions. Systematization has not been carried to the extent of confining *all* products of the *bainé* palm to funeral ritual.

Rice yellowed with turmeric is sprinkled all along the way from the mourning-house to the place where the corpse is buried. Usually a man sprinkles the rice with his hands as he accompanies the funeral procession to the burial-ground. Sometimes, however, the rice is put into a bag and loaded on a pack-bullock. Two tiny holes are bored in this bag and the bullock is driven behind the corpse to the burial-ground. The bullock may not be used for any other purpose subsequently.

On the day before *māda*, first-grade mourners offer to the spirit of the dead person rice mixed with curd, plantain, and *ghī*. A quantity of this mixture is carried by him to the 'sacrificial post' in front of the mourning-house and placed on the plank on top of

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

824
771
291
782

Tree Worship

243
796

Huttari Festival

[Facing p. 64]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

interspersed with such trees, as are peculiar to these localities. 137
The flora of Coorg is almost identical with that of Southern India. It is of course beyond the scope of this Gazetteer and equally beyond the knowledge of the compiler, to attempt anything like a full description of the Coorg flora; we can only glance at its distinguishing features and enumerate a few species, that are of practical value, reserving those which fall under the care of the agri-horticulturist for a special consideration.

The first collection of Coorg plants appears to have been 114
made by Captains Munroe and Gough, who probably placed 137
their collections at the disposal of the famous botanist Dr. Wight. Mr. Metz, a German missionary on the Nilagiris, also collected a good many plants about Mercara, which were afterwards distributed in Germany by Hohenacker and named by Miguel. In Major Heber Drury's book on "Useful Plants" and Dr. Bidie's "Timber Trees of India" (1862) much information is given about the principal timber trees in Coorg.

Looking upon Coorg with the eye of the forester, rather 137
than that of the general botanist, the most superficial survey will not fail to discover invaluable treasures of timber trees and their produce, scattered all over the province. Small as the country is, there are nevertheless distinct tracts with trees peculiar to them. The two prominent zones are by the Coorgs called Male-kádu or Hill-forests and Kanive-kádu or Hillock-jungles (Kanive, a ridge between paddy-fields, hillock). Botanically they may perhaps be determined as evergreen and deciduous forests, the former clothing the Ghats, the latter the eastern hill-tracts.

All along the slopes of the Ghats the Poon spar—"Calophyllum augustifolium"—rules as king of the forest. When 396
full grown, it is often upwards of 100 feet in height, its wood 824
is clean, tough and elastic and there is perhaps no other tree so well suited in every respect for making ship's spars and masts.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 The fact is, that, as the jackal eats only the ripest berries, the beans are naturally of a good quality.

The mungoose or Ichneumon Múngos (Viverra mungo *Can.* kíra)—is frequently found on the bánes, where it is seen running from one copse to another. Its elongated, slender body with pearly, ash-grey fur and thick long tail, its pointed head and bright eyes and its rapid movements give it a pretty appearance, and, but for its wanton depredations amongst the poultry, it might become a useful pet, as [824] it destroys rats and snakes. The natives say that after its struggle with a poisonous snake, it takes recourse to the Nágadále (Ruta, Rue) the leaves of which act as an antidote.

Black bears (*Can.* karadi) are found in Marenád on the Pushpagiri, Kóte-betta and Kálur-betta, where there are colonies of beehives, for Master Bruin is very fond of honey. [262] His flesh is not eaten, but pieces of his skin are attached to [789] the necks of horses and cows, to keep off the evil eye.

[231] On the wooded banks of the Hatti and Shóran-hole and elsewhere there are small colonies of a species of otter-hound, which the natives call Nírunái or water-dog (Lutra Nair Cuv.) The animal is deep reddish brown on the back, lightest on the sides and below, lives in artificial burrows and subsists on fish, which it catches with great skill. It is eaten by the Yerawas.

Mice and *rats* there are more of in Coorg, than the farmer and house-owner would wish. The musk-rat betrays itself by its piercing shriek, but has a safeguard in its strong smell against its pursuing enemies. Great havoc has been done on some coffee plantations by the bamboo-rat (Golunda Ellioti) which is gregarious and for want of jungle-food often attacks in great numbers the coffee shrub, selecting the tender and succulent shoots and, to get at them, cutting off the primaries near the stem. Most wary of traps of any kind, this destructive animal is difficult to deal with. The field-rat (*Can.*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

valley, having a rivulet running through them are called "Beilu-gadde," and those terraced up along the sides and chiefly depending on the rainfall are named "Maki-gadde." 243

The rice cultivated throughout Coorg and in general use is the large grained "Dodda-batta", which is also exported. A finer and more agreeable kind is the small rice "Sanna-batta" and a red variety the Késari; for parched rice they use the "Kalame". [439]

Except in a few valleys in North-Coorg, there is annually but one rice crop, but its return is so rich, that the ryots may well be satisfied and allow their wretched cattle rest and their fields to lie fallow or to "sun themselves," as the natives say, for the remainder of the year. Whilst in the low country and also in some parts of North-Coorg the average return of one crop is from 10 to 25 fold, that in most parts of Coorg proper is from 40 to 60 fold, and in seasons of extraordinary fertility even from 80 to 100 fold, which exceeds by far the famous fertility of Egypt! 243 433

The agricultural implements are few and of the rudest kind. The plough, constructed by the ryot himself, consists of a Sampige-wood ploughshare, with an iron point, a handle of Pali-wood and a pole of palm wood for the yoke, and is so light, that the farmer carries it to the field on his shoulders. Its value hardly exceeds one rupee. The Tawe which answers to our English harrow is generally a simple board to which a split bamboo is fastened to connect it with the yoke. The driver standing on the board adds to the efficiency of the operation, be it for pulverizing dry ground, as in the Múdu-shime or eastern district, or smoothing and levelling the wet fields. A strong sickle and a mamoti or hoe complete the stock of farming utensils. To cultivate 100 butties of land, which is equivalent to an area yielding 100 butties at 80 seers by measure of paddy, or rice in the husk, a farmer requires either a pair of bullocks, or a pair of buffaloes, one 407 [824] [412] 243 492

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

lion mouthed shape, marked with purple-violet stripes in the 249
centre. The numerous angular black seeds are closely packed in oval trivalvular capsules of a yellowish white colour and, if bruised, have a pungent aromatic taste. On this account [263]
and for their cordial, stimulant properties they are much in use as an agreeable spice and as a cough and vomiting allay- [757]
ing medicine.

The capsules ripen in September or October, when the [782]
crop is gathered and being the first, is dedicated to the deity and called Déva-cottu (God's gift). A full harvest, however, is collected only in the fourth year and the plants may continue to yield a good crop for seven successive years, when on their decline they are reinvigorated by the felling of another tree on the top of them. According to the number of fruit-bearing racemes on one stem, which amount from one to four, the crop is estimated as a quarter, half, three quarters and a full crop. The perennial stem of the full grown plant is erect, jointed and from 6 to 9 feet high and enveloped in the sheaths of the 1 to 2 feet long lanceolate leaves.

The yearly gathering of the cardamoms is attended with much hardship, especially when the gardens are not in Umalea, i. e. hills near the úru or village, but far away in the Gademales. The high and sharp edged hill-grass is in October infested by innumerable leeches and poisonous snakes.

The cardamom gatherers, consisting of a party of Coorgs [648]
with their coolies of the Páleya, Kudiya, Yerava and Kuraba caste, (the Holeyas are not permitted to set their foot on those grounds) first set up a camp near the garden. A hut thatched with the long hill-grass is erected. At night a fire is kindled and the men sleep around it. Early in the morning they are at their work. One party clears the ground of weeds, the other cuts the fruit branches. Each man gathers a good load [415]
into his leafy basket formed of the Netti-mara and returns [824]
To the hut before sunset.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

245 round the stalk, it forms a large bunch numbering from 200
[262] to 300 plantains. The fruit when divested of its skin may be
[251] eaten raw, roasted or baked, or when sliced and dried in the sun, reduced to a kind of flour which is considered very nourishing.

The fruit is supposed to have been the forbidden fruit of Paradise, hence the botanical name of the plant. There is a great variety of plantains, which differ in size, colour and the flavour of their fruit, but all the Coorg plantains seem to be particularly rich in saccharine matter and very nutritious.

[824] The plant is highly esteemed by the natives as the emblem of plenty and fertility and is as such in constant requisition at their marriage and other festivals for ornamenting the en-
[526] trance of houses and temples. Stumps of large trunks occupy also a conspicuous place in their games and amusements, for it is considered a feat of strength to cut one through at a blow with the famous Coorg knife.

248 The *Musa textilis* or "*Manilla Hemp*" Plantain has been
130 introduced by Captain Cole, and I have successfully naturalized it in Mercara. Numbers of shoots have already been distributed for extensive cultivation for the sake of its valuable fibre for cloth and paper-manufacture. The fruit is like the common large plantain, but so full of seeds that it can hardly be eaten.

Along with this plant also *the Rheea or Assam Nettle* (Boehmeria nivea) was introduced, and having successfully reared it in Mercara, I distributed a quantity of roots and cuttings amongst the planters all over Coorg, who find it thriving very well in their sheltered ravines without any further care, but do not yet see how to make the cultivation profitable, owing to the difficulty and expense in preparing the fibre. The plant is indigenous to south-eastern Asia and is known in China as Ma or Chuma and in Assam as Rheea. It is a herbaceous plant, with large, perennial, spreading and

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

3. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE COORGS.

342 **a. The Coorg house.**

361 The Coorg houses are generally situated close to their
[241] paddy-fields on a sheltering slope of Báne land, surrounded by clumps of plantain trees, sago and betel-nut palms and
[231] other fruit-bearing trees. A coffee garden and a small plot for the growth of native vegetables are seldom absent, and, where the locality is favourable, a little tank well stocked with
361 fish is not uncommon. The position, the style of building
712 and the approaches of old Coorg houses strongly remind one
[342] of small fortifications, and tradition points back to a time of
[173] general feuds, when chief fought with chief, clan with clan.
[726] In the deep cadangas or ditches with high banks, we still see memorials of that warlike state of affairs. These war-ditches intersect the mountainous districts in every direction, and resisted not only many a furious attack of contending parties, but also the force of the annual monsoon.

351 A deeply cut passage, paved with rough stones and over-
342 grown with shady trees, and the sloping side walls decked with a variety of luxuriant ferns, leads you in angular lines to the doorway, passing under an out-house. Over a paved courtyard, on three sides enclosed by stables, store-rooms and servants' quarters, you come to the front of the main building, which is a square of one story and raised about 3 feet above
342 the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos, and
[824] thatched with rice-straw. Considering that there is an open square hall in the centre of the house, called nadumane there remain the four sides only for habitable quarters. The front side however is reserved for an open verandah—the reception hall. Near to the right end the principal door leads to the inner rooms, which are all dark, opening only by a small door into the inner square, which is lit by the sky-light formed

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

one, who must hold this rope. A piece of wood, generally 796
of a creeper called Odi, is cut into seven parts, which are 526
called Chandu, i. e. balls. The man holding the rope puts six of these balls in a circle round the peg at a distance of the rope's length, the seventh is deposited close by the peg. The whole company now endeavours to pick off the balls without being touched by their guardian. The player in the centre, always keeping the rope's end in one hand, turns round and round, and tries to touch some one of the aggressors. If he succeed, the person touched must take his place and the play recommences. When six balls are abstracted, the seventh must be moved to the distance of one foot from the peg. When this also is lost, the man has to run through the whole crowd and escape, without being caught, to the Musicians' place. If he reach this asylum in safety, the play is won and finished. If he be caught on his way, he is brought [824] before the Nettle-man, an officer of the play-court, who has been waiting all the time, a long Angare-stick—a large fierce nettle—in his hand, for the victim. His hands and feet are 796
well touched and the play ends. Now the assembly perform 536
different kinds of plays and dances, representing the wars which in ancient times appear to have been waged between people of different districts. A man is wounded; a physician is called, who prescribes for him. Another wounded man dies, and Holeyas are called to invite his friends to the funeral. A scene of demoniacal possession is acted. The 796
funeral is performed. Now stories are told of incredibilities. [538]
"I saw the other day a little hare attacking a tiger and breaking its neck." Reply: "Did you? I saw a buffaloe flying over the mountains," etc. Three men invoke again Ayappa, Mahádéva and Bhagavati. [782] Dances follow, accompanied by the [535] beating of sticks keeping time with the music of the band outside. Feats of gymnastic strength and agility follow, and [526] another invocation of the three deities concludes the per- [782]
formance.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 formance. The Huttari takes place on the full moon. Early
[824] in the morning before dawn, a quantity of Ashvatha (ficus religiosa), Kumbali and Keku (wild trees) leaves, some hundred of each for great houses, together with a piece of a creeper, called Inyoli, and some fibrous bark called Achchi, are collected and deposited in a shady place for the use of the evening.
[356] During the day, the house is cleansed, brass vessels are scoured, and every thing wears the appearance of a great holiday. Beggars come and are dismissed with presents.
[563] The Méda brings the Huttari basket, the potter the little Huttari pot, the blacksmith a new sickle, the carpenter a new spoon, the Holeya a new mat. Each carries off his Huttari
[787] portion of rice and plantains. The astrologer follows, to communicate the exact time of the full moon, and claims his share of the Huttari bounty. The cattle are washed and scrubbed, for once; the menial servants have an extra allowance of rice; breakfast and dinner are served to the family.
[515] At sunset the whole house prepares for a hot bath. The precedence is given to the person whom the astrologer has chosen in the morning for the ceremony of cutting the first sheaves. On his return from bathing, he repairs to the threshing floor, spreads the Huttari mat, and, while the rest are engaged in their ablutions, cuts the Inyoli creeper into small pieces, rolls each piece into an Ashvatha, a Kumbali and a Keku leaf, in the fashion of a native cherroot, and ties up the little bundle with a bit of Achchi fibre. All the bundles are placed in the Huttari basket. Now the women take a large dish, strew it with rice, and place a lighted lamp in it. This done, the whole household march towards the fields; the dish with the lamp is carried in front; the sheaf-cutter follows with basket and sickle in one hand, and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. Arrived at the chosen spot, the young man binds one of the leaf scrolls from his basket to a bush of rice, and pours milk into it. He cuts

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached,
796 and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful
782 addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed.
[793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged.
769 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and
796 Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These
782 are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at
373 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four
824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggery, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a
782 retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 On the day of *Sivarátri* a religious ceremony takes place
[796] in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Lingaites. On

796 The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*)
769 with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is
787 performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the
[534] time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by
[782] the Coorg ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls
[782] decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Some-
[785] times sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud tones, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

776 Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to
782 secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice or pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

77
825 Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations.

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmana-tirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years.

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

224 554 588 C. Cariappah, the Subadar of the taluq, having shot a tiger. Under a screen, on a wedding chair, his face towards the carcass sat the hero of the day, clothed in Coorg warrior costume and covered with flower wreaths and gold ornaments. Behind him stood his armour-bearers, in front the sacred house lamp on a heap of rice, poured into a brass dish. First each [431] member of his house, men, women and children, then all his [514] friends, one by one, stepped up to the bridegroom; strewed a handful of rice from the brass dish over his head, gave him from a brass vessel a sip of milk to drink and in making obeisance, dropped a silver coin into his lap. This money is given with a view to defray the impending expenditure on a sumptuous dinner, given to the whole company. A Coorg dance round the tiger concludes the tamásh and the night wears away with singing and feasting.

*136 Government has now fixed a reward of Rupees five for [654] the destruction of a tiger and Rupees three for that of a cheeta; but the unmutilated skin with the clows[1] has to be delivered to the Sirkar. The height of the tiger varies from 3 to 4 and his length from 6 to 7 feet to which 3 feet may be added for the length of the tail. His weight is from 250 to 400 lbs.

[301] Sometimes one sees children with the ornament of 2 tiger's [789] claws, joined together by silver or gold and suspended round the neck. This charm is supposed to keep off the evil eye. [825] The age of a tiger is said to be ascertained by the number of lobes of his liver, one lobe being added every year!

The cheeta (*Can.* kiruba) or panther is more common than the tiger. It is a very destructive beast to smaller domestic animals. In his depredations he is a coward, chiefly attacking his prey by night and fleeing man, if unmolested. [554] Upon the destruction of a cheeta by a Coorg, the same festivities, as on the tiger hunt, take place, but there is less honour to the sportsman. The skin of the cheeta is spotted with

[1] [Errata: this should read "claws". See Corrigenda sheet, Cat. 116, P. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

classes are fond of its flesh and the poor animal is pursued on all sides by man and beast. It is caught in nets and traps. Rabbits thrive very well and are frequently kept in houses. 136* [262] [224]

There is one kind of porcupine (*Can.* mullu-handi i. e. thorny pig) which like the mungoose lives on shrubby Báne land, and is hunted for its flesh by smoking it out of its holes or by shooting it. The quills are thrown away; for the natives believe, that, if kept in the house, their presence will occasion quarrels amongst the inmates. In the Ghats one may occasionally observe the destructive operations amongst the outhills of the Badgereit or scaly ant-eater (Manis pendadactyla, *Can.* chippina-bekku i. e. scaly cat). Its flesh is eaten and its scales are used as the supports of fiddle and harp strings. [262] [825] [262] [237]

Homebred horses there are none in Coorg, except those wretched Tats, which are kept by Mussulman residents for carrying loads; but "Young Coorg" is fond of smart Pegu ponies or the powerful Kandahar horses. The damp monsoon climate is, however, not conducive to the health of well bred horses, especially new arrivals from a drier country. The Pegu pony is best suited both to the climate and hilly country. The washerman's donkey and the hybrid goat stand the climate equally well, but sheep do not thrive, except in the eastern districts. The long continued rains and the droughts during March and April which are incidental in these months, are unfavourable to the breeding of horned cattle; but, with proper housing and with an economical saving of the decaying grass, that is annually swept away by the jungle fires, and that should be stored up as hay for stall feeding, the Coorg cattle might be greatly improved. Little care, if any, seems to be bestowed upon the selection of bulls for breeding purposes; beasts of every description and age run promiscuously in the herd, and as there is no check by separating inferior bulls or emasculating them, the progeny must deteriorate. In the Kanawe districts, cattle of the finest des- 231

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 frequently seen. His plumage is very handsome, glossy white the head, neck and breast, and beautifully brown the back, wings and tail. In Hindoo mythology it is Vishnu's vehicle and therefore held in high veneration by the natives. He is a useful bird as he devours noxious reptiles, but sometimes he also carries away an unguarded chicken. The *Pariah kite* (Milvus Govinda) is very common and easily recognised by its greyish, brown speckled plumage and short shrill screech whilst soaring over its domain in small circles. He is the scavenger of animal refuse thrown from the cookroom, but preys chiefly on reptiles, which he carries off with a swoop, and devours flying. The sparrow hawk (Accipiter nisus), the Kestrel-falcon (Tinnunculus alandarius), the Sultan and the perigrine falcon (Falco peregrinator and peregrinus) are not unfrequently seen from the hill tops, soaring over the forests in pursuit of their winged prey. The Rajahs used the larger kind of falcon, the Kembakki (red bird) for hunting. The swiftness and majestic flight of the falcon is proverbial with the Coorg bards, who sing of the departed hero: "Like the falcon in the sky, thou wast roaming here on earth." In the eagle-fight we have already been introduced to the *Great Owl* (Bubo maximus; *Can.* guma); but there is also a smaller kind, which on house tops in nightly solitude often disturbs and frightens with its moaning cry: "Waugh O! Waugh O!" the sleeping inmates, by whom the owl is greatly dreaded. My [825] keeping one as a pet some years ago was regarded by the Coorgs with grave apprehension and, afterwards, when I was laid up with jungle fever, the cause was ascribed to the presence of the ominous bird.

The *Insessores* or Perchers are largely represented in each of the five tribes. Amongst the Fissirostres there is the gregarious *Bee-eater* (merops) of both a larger and a smaller green variety. They prey upon insects like the swallows, of which there are also several species found in Coorg. The *Goat-*

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

*136 serve to lead the curious upon the right track. The Cobra di capella or Hood Snake (Naia tripudians; *Kg.* Nalla pámbu = good snake, in the sense of Eumenides?) is more frequent in the bamboo than in the málo district, and often takes possession of an out-hill for its habitation, but also deserted huts and the thick thatch of out-houses are its favourite haunts. It is kept and worshipped in demon temples and sometimes in rooms to guard treasure. In a specimen 5 feet long just examined, the hood which is formed by the expanded skin of the neck, when the snake is excited, measured 7 inches in length and 4½ in breadth. It is whitish in front and black on the lower part of the back, shading off into brown and white towards the flattened head; in the middle of the hood there is a peculiar mark resembling a pair of spectacles with the bridge downward, the frame being white and the space of the imaginary glasses black. Before an attack the cobra half raises its coiled body into a graceful curve, dilates its hood and swaying to and fro, its bifid tongue quivering all the while, it keeps its victim spell bound with its fiendish brilliant eyes, till it darts forward and hissing inflicts its deadly wound. In spite of the most strenuous exertions of science, combined with benevolence, no infallible remedy has yet been discovered against the bite of the cobra, and all the boasted native charms have proved worthless, though snake charmers have by their knowledge of the habits of the cobra and by the influence of the melancholy strain of their rude flageolet acquired a great power over the reptile.

[825] [778] [752] [825]

The number of the poison fangs of this and all other venomous snakes, is but two, one in front of each side of the upper jaw, and they lie flat along the roof of the serpent's mouth, whilst at rest. The fangs are curved inside and as sharp as the finest needle, yet they are hollow and their root is in direct communication with the venom lacts behind them. In biting the same muscle that raises the fangs compresses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the venom ducts and by the force of the actual bite a drop of the venom is injected through the channel of the fangs into the tiny wound and in a few minutes the whole system of the victim is poisoned and inevitable death ensues. Varieties of the cobra with hood and mark are the Pillandi-murga and the kád-murga, the former is greyish white and 1 to 1½ foot long, the latter is dark brown; their bite is less poisonous. The Kare-náda (black snake) with white marks about the throat, is 8 or 10 feet long and very rapid in its movements. It is found in dense forests and is sometimes washed down by the mountain torrents. Its bite causes death within half an hour. The late Rajah is said to have ascertained the power of the venom by experimenting upon sheep and buffaloes. The bite of the Patte-kolaka produces festering sores over the body; the Coorgs string the bones of this snake together and wear them as a charm against sores or swelling of the glands. There are three kinds of Cardamom-snakes: the green, the black and the grey Mandoli or Kummepámbu or Kurudu-mandoli which during the day are in a state of torpor, but active at night. On this account the natives term them "blind snakes"; they are often trodden upon by the cardamom cultivators, but a certain charm is said to render the poison innocuous. The kádu-bale and kére-bale muri or the jungle and tank Bracelet-snakes have white rings round their dark body, which become visible when the snakes are irritated. They are from 4 to 6 feet in length. The Pachi-balli-murga is dangerous to cattle whilst grazing.

136* [789] [825] [789]

Amongst the innocuous snakes the largest is the Perampámbu (big snake) or Rock-snake, a kind of Boa constrictor, which grows to a length of 12 to 15 feet and has in thickness the girth of a man's thigh. It even devours spotted deer and, after the monsoon, is often shot by Coorgs in the cardamom jungles. Next in size is the Black-tank or Rat-snake

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

243 492 [772] [825] plough and two labourers. On Monday he does not plough with bullocks, but buffaloes only, considering Monday as the day of the bullock's creation.

243 Whatever of cattle manure and dry leaves has been collected during the year is in the dry season carried by the women to the fields in large baskets and deposited in little heaps which are there burnt and the ashes are subsequently strewn over the ground. With the first showers in April and [354] May the ploughing commences. On a propitious day before sunrise the house-lamp—Táli-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp)—which plays a conspicuous roll on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the housepeople assemble and invoke their ancestors and Kávéri Amma for a blessing; the young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and then drive a pair of bullocks into the paddy-fields, where they [782] turn the heads of the beasts towards the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nád, and lifting up his hands in adoration to the rising sun invokes a blessing. The oxen are yoked and three furrows ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the turned earth they take a clod home to the store-house or granary praying Shiva to grant them a hundred-fold increase. This recognition of the source of material wellbeing, is followed by personal industry that should command success.

From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued till all the fields are turned over 2 or 3 times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels cleaned and the little banks between the fields repaired, to regulate the water.

By the end of May one part of the fields which commands a permanent water supply and which has been well manured, is prepared for a nursery by repeated ploughing and harrowing, whilst the whole field is submerged. For every hundred butties of land from 2 to 2½ butties of grain are required for

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

preparations ended, the body is carried into the middle apart- 764
ment (nadumane) of the house and laid upon a funeral bed,
near to which a lighted lamp is placed. Instead of oil, those [354]
who can afford it, burn on this occasion clarified cow's butter [239]
in half a cocoanut placed on a handful of rice in a copper-
dish. The whole company gathers round him and breaks out [177]
into loud wailing, beating the breast, tearing the hair, much
in the usual Hindu style. Guns are also fired in honor of
the dead. Towards evening the corpse is brought into the
yard, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives,
and a piece of money deposited in a copper-dish, containing
a little cocoamilk, saffron, rice and well-water. Now the
body is carried to the burial or burning ground. Each funeral
guest approaches, dips his finger into the copper dish, moistens
the lips of the corpse with a drop or two, and lays a piece of
money into the plate. This collection goes to defray the [431]
expenses of the funeral. After all present have thus taken
their last leave of the departed, the body is deprived of the
ornaments, and laid in the grave or upon the pile, the con-
tents of the funeral-lamp-dish are thrown upon it, and now
the covering of the grave, or the burning of the pile, con-
cludes the ceremony. Before this last scene, however, some 765
relatives must be set apart for funeral observances until the
Dhiti, the great ceremonial day, which is sometimes celebrat-
ed on the 28th day after the death of a person, i. e. at the
end of the lunar month in which the decease has occurred,
sometimes later, as late as six months, when peculiar honor
is intended to be done to the departed. In the interval the [785]
relatives, who offer themselves for this service, have to per-
form a lesser course of fasting. They forego the early and
the second meal, at six and nine o'clock. At noon they bathe, [262]
prepare their own food, eat part of it themselves (it consists [825]
of rice and a little pickled vegetables), and give the rest to
the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Dhiti,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháriés, collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury. 769

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád táluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád. [787]

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called *Kuttadamma*. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kuttadamma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the forest. The PúJári is a young man, the only person left of the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest. 776 782 [778] [793] [793]

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly performed, the *Kádévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue. [825]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

778 Besides the many groves set apart in each Nád for some object of worship, but chiefly for *Ayappa-dévaru*, there are some extensive forests, called *Dévara-kádu*, which are untrodden by human foot and superstitiously reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors. These forests are: the *Iggudappa-dévara-kádu* in Pádinalknád, the *Chómamale* in Katiednád and the *Iruli-báne* in Kuyingherinád.

821 Another annual sacrifice every house has to offer to a
776 peculiar divinity called *Gulika*. This is an invisible constel-
782 lation or star, belonging both to the order of planets and to that of the zodiacal stars (it is, as the people say, a son of
[791] Shani or Saturn). No mortal eye sees it. The astrologer only knows the Gulika and its power, especially over the sick. A stone is placed for the Gulika at the foot of some tree possessed of a milky juice. There the Coorg offers every year fowls, cocoanuts and a little brandy in a dish of plantain-
[761] leaves to his tutelary numem. In cases of frequent deaths in a family, a second Gulika, called *Mrityu-Gulika* (death-gulika) is worshipped.

778 Another object of solemn ceremonies are the *Nátas*, the
825 spots on which cobra capellas have finished their course of terrestrial life. According to Coorg lore, the cobra capella[1] lives a thousand years! When it has passed the meridian of its long life, its body begins to shrink and to brighten, till it shines like silver, and measures three feet or less at the age of six or seven hundred years. Still later, the reptile shines like gold, and is only one foot in length. At last it shrinks to the size of a finger. Then it will some day fly up high into the air, die and sink down upon the ground, where it disappears altogether. No man sees it, but, of course, the
[791] Kanya knows the important secret, which he will communi-
[753] cate for a consideration to the proprietor of the land. Should any human being, unawares, set foot upon the hallowed spot, incurable disease of the skin will break out upon his person,

[1] [Errata: This should read "cobra di Capella." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493, -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the poor wretch will rot away by degrees. To prevent such disasters, the Náta place is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the month of Scorpio (November—December) a lamp is lighted every evening to the Náta, and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

c. Astrology and Sorcery.

The ministers of Coorg superstition, the Kanyas, Panikas, Maleyas and Bannas make a handsome livelihood. The Kanyas find much work for the conjuring confraternity, dependent, in a great measure, upon their friendly patronage. The Kanya (astrologer) has complete mastery over the minds and, to a great extent, over the pockets of the credulous Coorgs. For a consideration in the shape of a purse of rupees, he writes the horoscope of the individuals who apply to him. Such is his cleverness, that he requires only to know the name of a person, in order to calculate the year, month, day and hour of his nativity. He is also the oracle of the Coorgs in cases of sorcery and witchcraft. It is believed by the Coorgs, that misfortunes, such as diseases of men or cattle, and deaths in the family or the herd, rarely come upon them in the natural order of things. The knowledge of an all-ruling Providence seems to have no place in their minds. Every severe affliction or great loss is ascribed to magic art or "an enemy hath done this." To find out the author of the mischief, and to induce or force him to keep the peace, is the only method that suggests itself to such people for obtaining deliverance from trouble. Application is made to some famous Kanya, who consults his books and caudies (little shells used for dice), and discovers the secret enemy's place, house, stature, age, etc. The man is called before a Panchâyat, and the case is discussed in the Parpatigára's Cutchéri. If things are not settled before this tribunal, the parties go to the Subadar, and frequently the quarrel is carried before the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the north side, a little below the temple, there is a small tank with perennial water, which is considered holy, but 100 years ago it is said to have been defiled by a Chándála woman bathing in it, when the spring ceased to flow for some time.

On the south-east ridge a cave is shown which, according to Brahminical discovery, offered an asylum to the exiled Pándus! After their departure the cave was occupied by a tiger, which with due respect for the játre quits his abode 7 days before the feast and afterwards returns.

On the precipitous side of the rock there are nests of vultures and several hundreds of beehives.

For seven days before the Tulásankramana in the village Mugutagéri at the foot of the hill, the ryots assemble one from each house at the Mandu and sing Coorg chants in praise of Isvara. On the night of the 7th the inhabitants of the whole nád come together, disguising themselves in masks of 18 various descriptions, they then go to the Ambala and dance and sing to the sound of the tomtom. The day following a light hollow frame, representing a horse, made of cane-work, is decked out so as to hide the lower part of the man's body who carries it, making it appear as if he rode the horse. The multitude then ascend the hill in procession, headed by the horse and a band of musicians, dance round the temple and bring their offerings of water, fruit and money.

The *Pálár játre* in Kuyingherinád in honor of Pálárappa, brother of Iggudappa, is a similar affair, which takes place in the month of April. The temple was rebuilt only a few years ago at a considerable expense and chiefly by the exertions of a Coorg official whose zeal and devotion one could wish had been employed in a better cause, especially in the education of his ignorant and superstitious nád people!

Amongst the játres beyond this country those visited by the Coorgs are four: *Subramanya* on the northern frontier of Coorg, which, in December, attracts a great number of people,

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

783 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnīr* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and 827 objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle. 827 Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in 539 search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown 827 far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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with a condition of ritual purity. It is obvious that in the above 783
instances physical dirt has been identified with ritual impurity. 827
Purification consists in taking a bath and wearing pure clothes. Dirt, then, is seen as ritual impurity, and cleanliness as ritual purity. It is necessary, however, to stress that they are ritual and not natural states.

Birth and death both result in ritual impurity for the entire 783
household for several days. This ritual impurity will not disappear even if the impure person has a dozen baths a day. But, once the prescribed period is over, the individual attains his normal ritual status after a bath. It is necessary to stress that ritual purity is fundamentally different from cleanliness, though they overlap frequently. A simple association of ritual purity with cleanliness, and ritual impurity with dirtiness, would be a neat arrangement, but it would falsify the facts. One comes across ritually pure robes which are very dirty, and snow-white clothes which are ritually impure.

A corpse is ritually impure and contact with it results in pollu- [764]
tion. The crow, which is a scavenger bird, and is everywhere [769]
associated with death, is also impure. The spirits of dead ancestors assume the forms of crows on certain ritual occasions when they are propitiated. The conclusion of funeral rites is marked everywhere by the offer of balls of rice to the dead man's spirit. These balls are kept either on the roof of the house or on the ground at some distance from the house. If the crows fall to these balls soon, it is believed that the dead man is satisfied. Delay in the arrival of the crows indicates that the dead man is dissatisfied.

If the crows perch on a roof and caw, the death of someone [787]
under that roof is presaged. A man who sees two crows mating [761]
will die soon after unless he sends a false message announcing his death to his kinsmen. Nowadays it is not unusual for a person who [784]
has seen two crows mating to send a telegram announcing his death to his kinsmen.[1] The mating of crows means their increase, and the man who sees it is likely to die. The way he can counteract this is by announcing his death as soon as he has seen the crows mate. The ends of justice are met by such an announcement.

If a crow's droppings fall on a person, he or she will have to dip in a tank or river a thousand times. This is extremely inconvenient,

[1] Needless to say, this causes the unfortunate kinsfolk a considerable amount of worry and suffering.

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of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common an- 596
cestor. The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769
with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776
that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596
the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭédāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [828]
such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanḍa *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888]
competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
[844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

During the festival of Kētrappa at Bengōr the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, 621 but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with 796 pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from 776 a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the 622 headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where [364] dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are [363] kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village [485] tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. 622 From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of 829 conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or 622 *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the 623 headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a pro- [539] verb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens [367] in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvara mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure [344] (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than 623 681

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 hereditary in certain *okkas*. The eldest member of the senior
622 agnatic branch succeeded to the office in question.

596 Every high-caste *okka* has to send at least one man and one
621 woman to a wedding, festival, or a common village task like repairing a road, or weeding a temple compound; and all the adult males in an *okka* are required to attend a village dance or hunt. A defaulting *okka* is fined.

596 The members of an *okka* have to live together from birth till
829 death. They are bound together by numerous strong ties, and they co-operate in performing common tasks. After death, they become ancestors who continue to show an interest in their *okka* and demand propitiation from their descendants. The *okka* is something very much more than the group of living members in it at any given moment. It is a continuum through time, and the body of living members at any particular moment form only points on it. Coorgs themselves clearly state that the *okka* has a longer life than its members. They are also aware that an individual lives, in a social sense, as long as his *okka*. There is a great desire for the continuance of the *okka*, and there is no greater calamity than its extinction. When an *okka* is threatened with extinction certain traditional devices are resorted to to perpetuate it.

596 The ancestral house and estate are sacred, and even today a
[342] Coorg likes to have a wedding or funeral performed in the ancestral house. The unity and solidarity of an *okka* find expression in ritual. Its strength is projected to the 'mystical' plane.

An individual is normally identified with his *okka*, but such identification of the individual with his *okka* is in extra-*okka* contexts, and it does not at all mean that the *okka* in question is undivided from within. Normally the elementary families inside an *okka* are potential groups of fission. The principles of segregation of the sexes and the unity of the members of a generation which run right through Coorg society are also at work inside the *okka*, uniting some members against the others. There are also tensions between individuals, especially among the women members.

596 Every Coorg *okka* is bound by the ties of friendship (*aruvāmé*) to
572 another neighbouring Coorg *okka*. This is a traditional relationship between two neighbouring Coorg *okkas*, and it involves certain ritual and social duties. It is frequently mutual, and affinal relations between the two friendly *okkas* are common.

596 Formerly every Coorg *okka* had one or more Poleya or other low-

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634 When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that
[788] *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

[773] Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

634 Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual impor-
164 tance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

782 In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

[594] There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head.
622 Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of
[631] the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of
● 829 officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are,
[634] however, the headmen of *stné* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their minds with leadership and precedence. In their folksongs, not only a group of men, but also a herd of cattle and a bunch of flowers have their leaders. And there the usual epithet by which a headman is referred to is *mūpayanda*, which means 'having precedence'. The sense of precedence is ubiquitous: formerly, when caravans from every *nāḍ* went to Malabar every summer, the senior headman's pack-bullocks marched ahead of the pack-bullocks of the others.

Ideas about precedence are expressed on ritual occasions. For instance, most festivals of Coorgs include the sport of shooting at a target (*kuri*): a coconut and, on either side of it, a plantain spathe are tied to the high branch of a tree, and the competitors have to shoot at the coconut from a distance. The headman of the village has the right to shoot first at the target. Again, at the village dance held during the harvest festival, the village-headman, or an expert dancer selected by him, leads the dance. The temple-headman comes next after the village-headman.

At the *nāḍ* dance, which is held a day or two after the village dance, precedence is very important. The dancers of each village forming part of the *nāḍ* gather together at their headman's house, whence they proceed to the *nāḍ* green with band. When the senior *nāḍ*-headman arrives with his men everyone present has to stand up. A mat is spread for him, and others may sit down only after him. If *nāḍ*-headmen from other *nāḍs* come to the dance, they sit to the left of the host *nāḍ*-headman, observing a strict order of seniority between them. Every dancer is provided with a pair of sticks. The host *nāḍ*-headman leads the dance, with the guest *nāḍ*-headmen occupying positions immediately next to him. The temple-headman comes after the guest *nāḍ*-headmen, and the various village-headmen who are gathered there take up positions after the temple-headman.

The guests are received with band when they arrive, and after the dancing and sports are over, they are given refreshments which nowadays consist of coffee, soft drinks, fruits, and betel leaves and areca-nut. Each guest *nāḍ*-headman pays a *paṇa* to the hosts before leaving. The hosts accompany each guest a little distance, the host's band proceeding ahead of the party. When all the guests have left, the villagers conduct their own *nāḍ*-headman in state to his house. They dine in his house, after which they disperse.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

l: Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired 796
freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. 783
Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he [784]
kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse [834]
during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival 793
than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually 796
one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in 783
the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

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[515] wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older
[602] than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were
[515] anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls
[602] from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office
[292] except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger
[301] rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth
[292] into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been
[342] covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the
[778] ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house
[178] in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of
[533] scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

[614] When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front
[782] of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[607] [1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as maciṇi and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as maciṇi and mammā, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between
[605] these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are
[834] observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
872 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
728 *living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up* seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé* [837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

593 Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
596 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social, economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
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The goods which the bride, now widowed, brought into her 593
conjugal house are then removed to the veranda. The widow's 596
family friend selects two or three pieces of cloth from the widow's 587
possessions and puts them into a box. He carries the box into the central hall and says, 'Since our girl ate here we should like to leave this box here'. The elders of the late husband's *okka* are theoretically free to accept or reject this gift. But in practice a definite sentiment seems to exist against its acceptance.[1]

VII

Coorg marriages are very stable, and divorce is not at all 586
common. In fact, an exceptionally able and well-informed elder could not recall more than seven cases of divorce in the last fifty years. The most frequent ground for divorce seems to be adultery on the wife's part. Incompatibility between the husband and wife, impotence of the husband, cruelty, and lack of thrift on the wife's part are also grounds for divorce, though these seem to have been very rare. A wife was expected to obey the husband in most [593]
matters, and she worked under the supervision of the mistress of the house in matters of domestic economy, and consequently incompatibility and lack of thrift became significant only in rare cases.

Where a Coorg woman committed adultery with a member of an 837
Untouchable caste she was summarily thrown out of caste. 688
Adultery with a Coorg man was not as serious a matter, but still far from trivial. In the latter case, her husband was certain to turn her out of his house and her natal *okka* would be not at all friendly to her. If, however, her parents were alive, they would offer her shelter even though they strongly disapproved of what she had done.

The attitude of the public towards a divorcée is different from 587
that towards a widow. Widowhood is a misfortune, decreed by [777]
God or the result of *karma*, whereas divorce reveals a serious flaw 589
in the divorcée's character. This is natural enough if the woman has been divorced for adultery, or lack of thrift, or incompatibility. It is a woman's duty to adjust herself to her husband and his *okka*,

[1] Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that where the widow has children by her first marriage and it is decided to allow these children to remain in their late father's *okka*, all the widow's goods are not removed to her natal *okka*. A good part is left in the late husband's *okka* because of the children. She takes to her second husband's house only a small part of her original trousseau.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

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The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangalą*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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occasions like a marriage or an ancestor-propitiation, then the house is purified after their departure.

The sacredness or ritual purity of the ancestral house was better preserved by the fact that a woman was not allowed to stay within it during her periods. Such a woman is in a defiled condition and defilement is contagious. It also cuts off the person affected by it from normal participation in social life.

Every ancestral house has an outhouse called *ālé poré* in which a woman stayed for three days during her periods. She attained normal ritual status only on the fourth day after taking a bath. During her periods she had to avoid going near people and objects in a condition of normal ritual status.

The death of even an unrelated adult in the house defiles it and the members of the particular household. After the corpse is removed, both the house and the members of the household have to be purified.

Certain parts of the ancestral house are more sacred than the others. The central hall is very sacred. In the western wall of the central hall is a niche in which burns an earthen or metal lamp. The container is filled with oil, and there is a cotton wick, one end of which comes through the lamp's lip while the rest trails in the oil held by the container. The wick is lit just beyond the lip, and the lamp burns with the lip facing east, the sacred direction. This lamp is called *nellakki boḷuk* (central-hall lamp). It is lit every morning and evening by a woman of the house who salutes it after lighting it. It will be referred to as wall-lamp throughout this book.

A bell-metal lamp, hung from the ceiling of the central hall, is a common sight in Coorg houses. It is called *tūg boḷuk* or hanging lamp, and it is saluted on all ritual occasions. Shri K. J. Chengappa considers the wall-lamp to be the more ancient and more sacred of the two lamps.

The south-western room (*kanni kōmbaré kōṇé*) and the kitchen (*umbaḷa mané*) are very sacred parts of the ancestral house. The south-western direction is a sacred direction, and the south-western pillar (*kanni kamba*) in the central court of a quadrangular house receives ritual respect. On certain occasions like an ancestor-propitiation, a lamp is lit in the south-western room. The kitchen is sacred as food is cooked there: food ought to be cooked in a pure place and care is taken to see that impure persons and objects do not get into the kitchen. Sometimes the periodical offerings of food

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tindu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé*+*ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannada country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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Unlike birth and death, menses do not affect the entire *okka*. They only affect the particular woman, but the important point to note is that she is required to avoid touching other members of the *okka* and abstain from going near the sacred places on the ancestral estate. The safety and well-being of the *okka* will be jeopardized if she does not observe these restrictions.

It was seen that the concepts of ritual purity and impurity are very intimately related to permanent features of the social structure like caste and *okka*, and later on it will be seen that they are also related to the village, but these concepts also occur in certain non-structural contexts. A man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to an ancestor or deity. He attains this ritual purity by the performance of a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes. He comes into contact with an ancestor or deity when he is praying or making a sacrifice, and such contact requires that he should be in a condition of ritual purity. This principle is carried even into ritual mourning: mourners making an offering of food to the spirit of the departed person are in a condition of extreme ritual purity while they do it, though their general ritual condition till the conclusion of mourning is *tiké*, an extreme form of pollution.

II

Bodily emissions and waste matter are ritually impure. Sexual intercourse resulting in the production of certain fluids from the bodies of both the partners is prohibited while a person is in a ritually pure condition: the festival-priests at the festival of Kētrappa have to observe continence during the twenty-one days of the biennial festival. In order to ensure that they do observe this rule they are required to sleep in the outer veranda which women do not normally enter.

A person who is in a ritually pure condition may not answer a call of nature. He becomes impure if he does so. Spittle is also ritually impure. This is so all over India, especially among the upper castes. A person may not touch his tongue or teeth with his fingers, and should he do so, he has to wash his hands. Elders come down heavily on a child who puts his finger into his mouth. A person is required specially to avoid putting his finger into his mouth while cooking or serving food.

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Formerly every Coorg okka had one or more Pakeya or other low-caste families attached to it as slaves. This was again an hereditary relationship, and between families and not between individuals.

II

In Coorg the agnatically related males form a corporate body enjoying the bulk of the rights in the *okka*. Men, thanks to patri-locality, are assured of continuous residence in the *okka* to which they belong, whereas the women have to leave their natal *okka* on marriage and become members of their conjugal *okka*. The men have a sense of belonging to the *okka* which is absent in all but the oldest women. A girl has to leave her natal *okka* on marriage, and this break in residential continuity is an important factor having legal and other consequences. It takes a long time[1] for her to be accepted into her conjugal *okka*: only when her children are grown up does she have the assured sense of belonging to her conjugal *okka*.

Sons are the comfort and hope of parents. They are the pillars of the *okka*. They are the means by which the *okka* continues to exist, and the continuity of the *okka* is a matter of the most profound concern to the members. Daughters are destined to leave their natal *okkas* and the children that are born to them enrich and perpetuate a different *okka*.

A woman is not a member of an *okka* in the sense a man is, and the legal rights she enjoys are always inferior to a man's. There are compensations, however. A man enjoys his legal rights in one *okka*, whereas a woman enjoys hers in two, her natal and conjugal *okkas*. A girl is maintained in her natal *okka* till her marriage, or throughout her life if she decides to be a spinster. She has the right to return to her natal *okka* if, for example, her husband is impotent, or suffers from an incurable illness, or if her mother-in-law does not treat her properly. She has a right to return to her natal *okka* if she is divorced, assuming of course that she had not been divorced for a serious offence such as adultery with an Untouchable. Should she be guilty of such an offence she is thrown out of caste irrevocably and this means that she loses her rights in both her natal and her conjugal *okkas*.

At marriage her relatives give her gifts of jewellery, clothes, and vessels. These remain her property, and in the event of her divorce she brings them back to her natal *okka*.

[1] Cross-cousin marriage makes it easier for the girl to be absorbed into her conjugal *okka*.

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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596 *makka parijé* alliance, belong to their father's *okka*. Thus the *makka*
● 872 *parijé* husband remains a member of his *natal* okka with a wife
428 living with him, and in addition to this he undertakes to raise up seed for another *okka* which has no male heirs, but has instead only an unmarried girl. He only occasionally visits his *makka parijé*
[837] wife. *Makka parijé* has the sanction of custom behind it and it has to be distinguished clearly from extra-marital alliances which are disapproved.

586 7. Children normally and usually belong to their father's *okka*.
768 Consequently the children of a divorcée, or a widow who wants to
587 marry someone not belonging to her late husband's *okka*, do not follow their mother but continue to remain in their natal home. In certain exceptional circumstances, however, the children of a widow or divorcée are allowed to become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The unanimous consent of the children's natal *okka* as well as that of their mother's natal *okka* is required in order to effect the transfer. If such consent is forthcoming from both sides the children's rights in their natal *okka* are ritually severed, after which they are given *sammanda* in their mother's natal *okka*. The marriage of the widow or divorcée subsequent to the children being given *sammanda* in her natal *okka* does not affect their legal status. They do not follow the mother into her new husband's *okka*. This would again require the unanimous consent of the members of the mother's natal *okka* and her new husband's *okka*.

Rights of membership in an *okka* are an extremely important
593 matter affecting all the members in a variety of ways, social,
596 economic, legal, and ritual. Both the loss as well as the acquisition of a member make a profound difference in the day-to-day interrelations of members. The granting of membership and the loss of membership both become subject to *sammanda* ritual. *Sammanda* dramatically brings home to the parties concerned the implications of granting or withdrawing membership. As *sammanda* is a public occasion, the parties concerned in it will not be able to go back on it at a future date. The ritual that surrounds the giving or withdrawal of *sammanda* rights brings ritual sanctions into operation.

IV

596 The most frequent form of marriage is 'the marriage of a virgin'
593 (*kanni mangala*), in which the bride leaves her natal *okka* and
585

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to which people without sons go. Widowhood is the result of sins committed in a previous incarnation. Formerly, a widow's head was shaved, and she was not allowed to remarry. A married woman is regarded as an auspicious person, and articles associated with her, like flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, glass bangles, and the marriage badge (*tāli*), are regarded as sacred and worshipped on certain occasions. A widow is more or less completely excluded from ritual.

It is necessary to note that the Coorg attitude to the widow is similar to the Brahmin's, though the differentiation between married woman and widow is not as thoroughgoing as among the Brahmin. But the similarity does make possible greater Sanskritization subsequently.

A married woman is a preferred type of person among Coorgs. Motherhood is a preferred condition and formerly the mother of ten children was entitled to have *mangala* performed in her honour.

Other types of preferred persons are the strong man who is also skilled in athletic sports, dancing, and fighting, and the magician who is usually also a doctor. Frequently several preferred traits were combined in the same man, making him doubly or trebly preferred. The preference expresses itself in custom and ritual.

It might be said that the general orientation of Coorg culture is martial. Frequently, customs and rites which appear to be taken over from neighbouring cultures are given a martial twist in Coorg. Competitive games like shooting at a coconut, and fighting for the possession of a coconut, and a collective hunt are introduced into every festival.

The harvest festival and the 'festival of arms' are both very significant in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the most important rites of the harvest festival are the cutting of sheaves, the eating of new rice grains, and the expression of a wish for plenty, but around these central rites are organized dancing and singing, competitive games, and a collective hunt. The incidental elements of the festival take up ten or eleven days while the main elements do not take up more than a day.

The completion of transplantation marks the end of a very arduous period in the cultivation of rice. Thereafter both the men and the oxen are relatively free till the beginning of harvesting. The 'festival of arms' comes at the end of the field season, and at this festival a Coorg resumes his contact with his weapons which

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the 788
present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. 778
Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered 177
Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one 539
hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kundu* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift! 788 [793] [177] [782]

On the *Hottur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth. 778 788 [842]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanḍa mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*. 881 841 843

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professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 796 844 846 787 852 553

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764 On the day after the cremation of a corpse, the dead man's son
272 goes to the burial-ground, and on the spot where the dead man was buried he pours successively a vessel of water and a vessel of milk.

Milk is a very valued commodity, and the ritual giving of milk
[431] indicates that solidarity is, or ought to be, prevalent between the giver and the recipient. It is also a symbol of pleasure, luxury, and
[828] happiness, and consequently mourners abstain from it while they
[765] offer it to the spirit of the departed person. The mourners also abstain from other valued objects like curd, honey, mushrooms, meat, and betel leaves and areca-nut, which are again offered to the dead person's spirit.

A kinsman who drank milk during the mourning-period would be guilty of impiety towards the dead person. In the neighbouring Kannaḍa country it is considered a very bitter abuse to tell a person, 'I will drink milk when you die.'

[302] The use of milk is extended from solidarity rites to other rites which have either no reference to solidarity at all or at best only a very indirect one. While ordinarily water is used in shaving a man, milk is used while shaving a bridegroom. The dish containing the milk and the shavings is later emptied at the foot of a milk-exuding
• [844] tree like the jack tree (*artocarpus integrifolia*). The placenta is similarly buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. One of the five pillars of a marriage *pandal* has to be a branch of a milk-exuding tree. After a corpse has been cremated the bones are consigned either to a river or buried at the foot of a milk-exuding tree. At
[765] mourning, leaf-cups made from the leaves of the jack tree are used to offer food to the spirit of the departed person.

XII

585 Everyone who performs *mūrta* to the subject should give a
431 money-gift, and the three married women are expected to give a gold coin (*pombaṇa*) each. At a wedding the mother of the bride (or groom), and the groom while performing *mūrta* to the bride, have to give a purse containing several coins, one of which should be a gold coin.

A money-gift has to be given not only at *mangala* but on other occasions as well: relatives who come to pay their last respects to the dead man perform a series of solidarity rites at the end of which they give a money-gift. Again, an infant has to be given a money-

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783 is specially so where the structural distance between the two castes is very great. In Malabar and Coorg the ban on contact between different castes has been elaborately systematized. People belonging to two different castes have to maintain a certain minimum distance between them, and failure to do so results in the member of the higher caste being polluted. *Tindu polé* means the pollution that results from the failure to maintain the requisite distance between two people belonging to different castes.

A man is in a condition of ritual impurity in relation to a member of a higher caste while he is in a condition of ritual purity towards a member of a lower caste. The concepts of ritual purity and impurity systematize and maintain the structural distance between different castes. Caste hierarchy, on the other hand, makes these concepts relative, except with reference to castes at either extreme. The Brahmin is in a condition of purity in relation to all other castes, while the Untouchable is in a condition of ritual impurity to them. One of the most important Untouchable castes are the Poleyas (*polé+ya*). Holeyas are an important Untouchable caste of the Kannada country, and Pulayans of Malabar. The names of each of these contain the local term for pollution.

761 Events like birth and death result in polluting the *okka* in which
844 the event has occurred, and certain other relatives. The pollution resulting from birth is milder than the pollution consequent on death. But in both cases pollution affects only the concerned kindred, and it is the means by which concern is defined and made known to everyone.

841 A woman is in a condition of *polé* for three days during her periods, and she becomes pure only on the fourth day after a bath in the morning. Formerly, the women of an *okka* had to live in an outhouse, at a little distance from the main building, during their periods. They had to maintain a certain distance from other members of the *okka*, and from other people in a condition of normal ritual status. They were specially required to keep away from the ancestor-shrine and from the cobra-platform. The cobra-deity was specially sensitive to defilement, and it was believed that if a woman approached the cobra-platform during her periods, the wrath of the deity would descend on the *okka* of which she was a member.

Coorg women do not nowadays observe any restrictions during their periods. This is surprising as elsewhere in south India these restrictions are still in force.

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from 586
their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically 768
reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an 848
unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. 596
It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being 627
genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity. [539]

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time. [344]

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

596 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kûl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

[174 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

● 844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
174 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Talo-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

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An unwashed state is an impure state, and taking a bath and changing into clean clothes alter the ritual status of the subject. While this is generally true we must, however, guard ourselves against completely identifying physical purity or cleanliness with ritual purity. It is not every bath that changes the ritual status of the subject.

A ritual bath alters the subject's ritual status. It adds to his ritual purity and makes him fit to pray, or to be possessed by a deity. But sometimes the emphasis is on the bath terminating a condition of ritual impurity. That is to say, instead of a bath adding purity to normal ritual status, it might only be putting an end to ritual impurity, which is a condition inferior to normal ritual status. For instance, a mother is ritually impure for fifty-nine days after the birth of her child. On the twelfth day, however, she attains partial purity after a bath and this enables her to enter the central hall and kitchen but not the south-western room. The child is ritually given a name on the twelfth day.

But complete purity is only attained on the sixtieth day when a ceremony called *aruvud* (literally, the sixtieth) is performed. The mother has a bath, changes her clothes, marks her forehead with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes,[1] and then performs certain rites.

The important point to note here is that on both the twelfth and the sixtieth days a bath marks the termination of ritual impurity. It is also preliminary to the performance of certain rites.

That a ritual bath is different from an ordinary bath is made clear from the fact that the confined mother has an elaborate massage and bath every day, beginning with the day the baby is born. The massage and bath last several hours, but their object is therapeutic and not ritual. It is only on the twelfth and sixtieth days that a bath alters the ritual condition of the mother.[2] All baths clean the body, but only some purify as well as clean.

Greater ritual purity or merit ensues from a cold-water bath than from a hot-water bath. If the subject takes a cold-water bath while wearing his ritual robes, even greater ritual merit is acquired. Thus

[1] All over south India devotees of the god Shiva mark their foreheads every morning with three horizontal stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes.

[2] Orthodox Brahmins frequently keep a cloth which they dip in water and squeeze dry and tie round their waists while performing certain rites. This cloth is frequently not very clean, whereas a snow-white *dhoti* brought by the washerman is ritually impure.

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765 mourners are required to perform certain rites while their clothes
783 are wet and dripping.

On the twelfth or sixteenth day of the death of a person the ceremony of *māda* is performed and this puts an end to ritual mourning for all except the first-grade mourners. Until the performance of *māda*, the mourners offer food every day to the spirit of the dead person. When making these offerings they are required frequently to take a plunge in a well or pond with their clothes on. But this is not a pleasant thing to do, and especially so in the wet and cold seasons, and consequently, after the first plunge for the day, the mourners content themselves by washing their hands and feet, and wetting a corner of their waist-cloths. This is regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of ritual purity. Such a traditionally sanctioned mechanism makes ritual simpler and less inconvenient to the persons concerned.

The widower (or widow) and eldest son go, after the mourning period is over, to Bhāgamaṇḍla where the rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet. After a shave, they bathe in the confluence of the two rivers, and then offer balls of rice-flour to the dead person's spirit. This is followed by a visit to the temple of Bhagaṇḍēshwara
[778] where the mourners offer worship. Subsequently they go to the source of the River Kāvēri, bathe in the larger spring, worship the smaller spring, and then return home.

783 Two ideas can be distinguished in the above ritual acts: (1) a ritual bath alters the ritual status of the subject; and (2) bathing in a sacred river is not only purifying in a ritual sense, but also
184 removes the sins of the bather. This latter idea is shared by Hindus all over India, and when a Coorg bathes in the Kāvēri he participates in a ritual idiom that spreads all over India. The Kāvēri is a sacred river for Hindus in every part of south India, and it is even called the '*dakshiṇa ganga*' or the Southern Ganges. Bathing in the Ganges, or in any other sacred river, rids a person of the sins he
[782] has committed both in this and in a previous existence. It confers on him spiritual merit (*puṇya*).

[779] Sanskritic Hinduism has incorporated into itself the idea that bathing changes the ritual status of the bather, and has elaborated it in such a manner that pious Hindus believe in the sin-cleansing and merit-conferring powers of sacred rivers.

846 On the seventh or twelfth day after the birth of a child in a Coorg house, the washerman comes with a vessel full of water in which

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couḷu or salt-impregnated earth[1] has been dissolved. With the aid of a few mango leaves he sprinkles the solution all over the house and this act rids the house of its impurity and restores it to normal ritual status. Nowadays, however, Coorgs increasingly call on a Brahmin to purify the house on the twelfth day.

It is probable the washerman was employed as purifier because of his occupation. But such a duty is not consistent with the position he normally occupies in the caste hierarchy. For instance, he is prohibited from entering the more sacred parts of an ancestral house, like the kitchen and central hall, as he defiles them by his presence. If, however, he has to enter them in the exercise of his duties—at marriage he covers the ceiling of the central hall with clean white sheets—they are purified subsequently. But no such inconsistency exists in the case of the Brahmin, and the increasing tendency to employ him is part of the general process of Sanskritization of Coorg customs.

VIII

After having been given a bath by three married women, the groom is helped into his ritual robes and ornaments by the best man. He has to wear a white cotton gown for the *mūrta*, and this is worn in such a way that the right side comes over the left side. A red silk sash secures the gown at the waist. The ornamental Coorg knife, *piché katti*, is tucked into the sash in front, and the broad Coorg sword, *oḍi katti*, hangs from its clasp at the groom's back. The clasp is fixed to a chain which is tied round the groom's waist. The groom also wears a number of ornaments.

The groom wears the Coorg turban (*pāni manḍé tuṇi*) which is flat at the top and also covers the back of the head. He may not wear any sandals, however, as leather defiles. He carries in his hand a staff (*gejjé tanḍ*) with small bells tied to it near the top.

The bride wears a uniform of red silk: a red silk *sari*, a red silk full-sleeved Coorg blouse (*kaḷa kupya*), and a red silk scarf which is tied round her head. She wears bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, and also ornaments on her ankles, feet, and toes.

The best man and matron of honour hold a white cloth umbrella over the groom and bride respectively.[2]

[1] The washerman uses *couḷu* for washing clothes.

[2] Round about Mercara the bride and groom both wear a red silk veil during *mūrta*. In the southernmost part of Coorg, however, the veil is not worn by

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All-India worship of Agni and Sūrya.[1] Coorgs are drawn into an 776
All-India ritual idiom which is mainly Sanskritic in character. 372
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X

The sprinkling of rice on a person or thing is a common ritual 783
act in Coorg, and it is one of the several acts which together form 846
the ritual of *mūrta*. An instance of the ritual sprinkling of rice will be considered now with a view to discovering its meaning.

Birth results in pollution for the mother, the new-born infant, and the *okka* of which the mother is a member. While the other members of the polluted *okka* attain normal ritual status on the twelfth day of birth, the mother herself remains polluted till the sixtieth day. On that day, after a bath which ends her long period of pollution, she performs a certain ritual which signifies her resumption of her normal, pre-pollution duties.

One of her normal duties is the bringing of water from the [312]
domestic well into the kitchen, and the resumption of this particular duty is dramatized in '*Ganga pūja*' (worship of Ganga or Ganges). The confined woman has a bath, after which she changes into ritually pure garments. She then goes to the domestic well accompanied by two married women. First of all she salutes the sun by throwing some rice grains into the air, and this is followed by putting small quantities of rice thrice into the well. She then drops a few betel leaves, with the smooth side on top, into the well, and also empties the milk of a slit coconut into it. Finally, the confined woman and, after her, her two companions draw water from the well in vessels and carry the latter into the kitchen.

During the later stages of pregnancy, and for two months after the birth of the child, the confined woman has been freed from all domestic duties. The resumption of her domestic duties on the sixtieth day of the birth of the child is dramatized in the ritual of '*Ganga pūja*'. Her relationship with the domestic well has been broken for some time and the resumption of this relationship is not without a certain amount of 'awkwardness', as in the case of [778]
two human beings. The worship of the domestic well, the solidarity rites performed towards it, the offering of betel leaves and a coconut all make the process of resumption of contact smoother.

[1] It may be argued, however, that the attribution of sacredness to the domestic lamp and stove is derived from the worship of Agni and Sūrya, and not vice versa.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of the silent and effective transformation of an original Coorg custom into a similar, though not identical, Sanskritic custom.

A girl ought to get married and become a mother, and a mother is honoured among Coorgs. The bond between a mother and child is the most intimate of bonds and this fact expresses itself in ritual. While other relatives, including the infant's father, become free from birth-pollution on the twelfth day, the mother becomes free from pollution only on the sixtieth day. The stronger the bond prevalent the longer is the period of pollution, and this is so in birth as well as death.

When an infant whose milk teeth have not appeared dies, it is buried without ceremony, and a half of a coconut shell containing milk from the mother's breast is kept over the grave. Only the mother is required to take a bath and change into pure clothes.

The special importance of the maternal bond is recognized at marriage also: the mother is the first person to perform *mūrta* to the bride or groom, provided she is not a widow. The mother has to give her money-gift enclosed in a purse, and this is tied to the frontal breast-knot of the bride's *sari*.

It is not only in ritual that the strength of the mother–child bond is acknowledged: a number of proverbs testify to its strength. One compares the motherless child to a crop in drought. Another tells us that the father becomes a firebrand after the mother is dead. In proverbs the mother is the tender figure and she contrasts with the father who is comparatively lacking in affection and fickle. He can be trusted only as long as the mother is alive, and once the mother dies, his affection for his children decreases. He is likely to take up another wife who will be the focus of his interest and attention.

The dependence of children on their mother later gives way to great regard and respect for her, and this fact complicates the husband–wife relationship. A man does not like his wife's criticizing his mother, and even if he discovers that his mother does not treat his wife properly he would be loath to intervene.

The bond prevalent between a mother and her daughter is always a very deep one, and has a great poignancy because the daughter, on marriage, has to leave her natal home for her conjugal home. The mother is aware that her sons have all the rights, privileges, and power in the ancestral house, whereas her daughters have to leave their natal home and spend their lives among people who will, to say the least, be critical of her in the first few years.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The entire rice-field (*varga*) is cut up into a number of small 243
rectangular plots ridged up on all the four sides. Each plot (*tēva*) 788
is referred to by a distinct name, and one of these plots is regarded as the main plot and it has the same name as the entire rice-field. The traditional association between an *okka* and its ancestral [596]
estate is symbolized in the custom of burying the umbilical cord of the eldest son of the head of the *okka* in the main plot of the [846]
ancestral estate. The eldest son is the one who is going to become the head of the *okka* in course of time, and as head of the *okka* he will have to look after the ancestral rice-field. The main plot stands for the entire rice-field, and it is entirely proper that the umbilical cord of the future head of the *okka* should be buried in the main plot. It may be recalled, in this connexion, that during the periodical ancestor-propitiation, the Baṇṇa oracle, possessed by an ancestor, may demand to be shown round the rice-field in order to see for himself whether it is looked after properly. Thus a Coorg continues [769]
to take an interest in the affairs of his *okka* even after his death, which means that he continues to care for the rice-field on which the prosperity and happiness of the *okka* and thus, indirectly, of the total society depends.

Every stage of the cultivation of the rice crop is marked by ritual. The main plot of the ancestral rice-field is ritually ploughed on the first of Aries, the beginning of the new year according to the solar calendar. Either the head of the *okka*, or a younger [787]
member who is considered to be specially suitable by the astro- [777]
loger, ritually ploughs the main plot during an auspicious period of time. Regular ploughing of the rice-fields commences only after the ritual ploughing on New Year's Day.

Paddy is sown in the nurseries at an auspicious period of time. When the plants are 10–12 inches high, they are transferred to the various plots in the rice-fields. The plucking of the young plants and their transplantation are both begun during auspicious periods. The transplantation of the young plants is a highly complicated task requiring the co-ordination of the work of a number of people. It is especially so if the estate is a big one.

The Kāvēri festival includes a rite called *bottu* (lit., fear) and this is intended to protect the growing crop, the woods on the estate, and the domestic well.

One of the most important calendar festivals of Coorgs is the *putri* (lit., new rice) when the paddy sheaves are ritually cut.

[74 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after 846 birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Havika Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :— 582 583 787 584 585

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 796 844 845 789 856 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

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596 was both inalienable and impartible. But when partition did actu-
428 ally take place, it was done with the consent of all the members.

Nowadays, occasionally, a Coorg widow who is marrying her dead husband's younger brother is given rights anew in the *okka* of her new husband. This novel custom proceeds from the idea referred to above, that the bride is only given rights in her husband's share [594] of his *okka's* property. It indicates, however, the growing importance of the elementary family among Coorgs.

[587] When, however, the widow wants to marry someone who is not a member of her dead husband's *okka*, her connexion with the latter is first of all ritually broken. She then reverts to her natal *okka*, and at her new marriage her connexion with her natal *okka* is ritually severed, and rights are granted to her in her (new) husband's *okka*.

That is to say, a woman is compensated for the lack of the same quality of rights which a man has in his natal *okka* by the fact that she always enjoys a double membership: she never completely ceases to be a member of her natal *okka*, and at the same time she [586] is a member of her husband's *okka*. She can go back to it under certain circumstances like widowhood or divorce.

Membership of the *okka* is extremely important, and lack of membership in some *okka* or other is tantamount to social extinction. Elders consequently try hard to see that the children of [848] extra-marital alliances get berthed somewhere. It is right and proper that the father of the children should secure them membership of his *okka*, but if for some reason or other he cannot be persuaded to do so, the children are made members of their mother's *okka*.

X

596 The wife of the headman of the *okka* is the mistress of the house-
606 hold. She is called '*manépaṇikārti*' (house-work-woman). Ideally, all the women in the *okka* have to work under her guidance. The relationship between the various women in the joint family is frequently one of conflict. There is first of all the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which is celebrated in Coorg and other South Indian folklore as one of conflict. In a society where the sexes are segregated even inside the household and where elders are very highly respected, the mother-in-law,

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conjugal *okka* and reverts to her natal *okka*. Such reversion is 593
automatic and not conditional upon the unanimous consent of the 596
members of her natal *okka*. But if a woman has been divorced for 586
a grave offence, her natal *okka* might decide to have nothing to do with her.

4. Children of unsanctioned unions are referred to as *mai kaṇat* 848
makka and they do not enjoy membership of their father's *okka* as 596
legitimate children do. In fact, they are not members of any *okka*. 593
Usually, however, elders bring pressure on the lover's kindred to the grant of membership for the children in the lover's *okka*. But if this is impossible, the children are made members of their mother's natal *okka*.

If the children of an unsanctioned union and their mother are given membership in the lover's *okka* while both the woman and her lover are still alive it is called *bendu* (relative) *parijé*. If, however, the father dies before the children and their mother have been given *sammanda* in his *okka*, then the elders try to see that *sammanda* is given at least before the corpse is disposed of. Such a belated granting of membership is called *kuṭṭa* (funeral pyre) *parijé*. This enables the widow to take part in the funeral rites.

5. A boy from outside is adopted when there are no agnatic 596
descendants in an *okka*. *Sammanda* is performed, giving the boy in 597
question membership of the heirless *okka*. 428

6. Adoption is not, however, necessary if there is an unmarried 596
girl (or even the widow of a dead member) in the *okka* without an 591
heir. The girl is then married according to the custom of *okka parijé* 428
by which the children of the marriage become members of their mother's natal *okka*. The man himself ceases to be a member of his natal *okka* and becomes instead a member of his wife's natal *okka*.

The institution of *makka* (children) *parijé* is resorted to when it is 842
impossible to find a man willing to leave his natal *okka* and become 428
a member of the heirless *okka*. *Makka parijé* is a sanctioned union 596
between the daughter of the heirless *okka* and a man who, while remaining a member of his natal *okka* and performing his duties by it, also agrees to raise up seed for the heirless *okka*. He usually stays in his natal home and visits his *makka parijé* 'wife' only occasionally. The children of this alliance are members of their mother's *okka*. It is usual for the *makka parijé* 'husband' to have a wife married to him in the normal way and living with him in his natal home. The children of the latter union, unlike the children of

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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●848 After the dinner is over, the girl is given *sammanda* in the man's
596 *okka*. When the members of the man's *okka* agree to give *sam-*
627 *manda* after the girl has given birth to a baby, both the mother and newly born child are admitted to membership.

Sometimes the agnatic relatives of the man might refuse to give *sammanda* to the woman and her children as long as both the man and woman are alive. But death of one of them might bring about a change in their attitude as the surviving spouse and children have important parts to play in the funeral ritual. If it is the woman who is dead, the giving of *sammanda* enables the corpse to be buried in the man's *okka's* burial-ground.

The members of the genitor's village who are present when *sammanda* is given should be collectively paid witness-money of a rupee.

The procedure which has been described above holds good whether the woman concerned is a spinster or a widow.

IX

526 A Coorg proverb says, 'When the cattle-shed was destined to
428 come to an end only bull calves were born, and when the *okka* was
585 destined to come to an end only girls were born'. As mentioned earlier, an *okka* is threatened with extinction if there are no male heirs. If, however, there is an unmarried girl in such an *okka* she is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way. In both these forms the children born of the union perpetuate the mother's natal *okka*.

In the *sammanda* ritual performed at an *okka parijé* marriage, the bride's family friend definitely asks the groom's family friend whether in view of the absence of heirs in the bride's *okka* the groom is prepared to stand as 'the trunk' of the bride's *okka*.

No *sammanda* ritual is, however, necessary at a *makka parijé* marriage as the groom does not become a member of the bride's *okka*. A rite is performed which makes clear the implications of the kind of union entered into: the bride's family friend says, 'Since there is no heir in Muthamma's natal *okka*, Ponnappa of such-and-such an *okka* has agreed to unite with Muthamma, and it is the

[844] dinner, barring salt and mustard. The salt and mustard are provided by the affines. The affines and members of the affines' village are invited to this dinner which is called *kûl beppa* (keeping food). After the dinner has been given, the girl's relatives take the girl to her natal home.

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596 586 Serial No.	Occasion	Subject of the rights	Where the subject had rights originally	Where now given	Remarks
	their mother's natal *okka*.				their mother's natal *okka*. Such transference requires the unanimous consent of the adult males of both the concerned *okkas*.
848 596 5.	Legitimization of a pre- or extra-marital *liaison*:				
	(*a*) *bendu parijé*, when both the parties are alive.	The woman concerned and her children.	The woman is a member of her natal *okka*, whereas her children do not have membership anywhere.	In the *okka* of the genitor.	
	(*b*) *kuṭṭa parijé*, when one of the parties to the *liaison* is dead.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The performance of *kuṭṭa parijé* enables the surviving partner to the *liaison* and the children to take part in the funeral rites for the dead person.
596 428 6.	(*a*) *Okka parijé*.	Son-in-law.	In his natal *okka*.	In his wife's natal *okka*.	(*a*) The consent of the son-in-law and of all the adult males in his *okka* is necessary to effect the transfer.
	(*b*) *makka parijé*.	do.	do.	do.	(*b*) The son-in-law retains his membership of his natal *okka* in *makka parijé*. The children of both *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* are members of their mother's natal *okka*.

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554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

881 *Polé kanḍa mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring
851 *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

614 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given
587 in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a
614 permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may
586 happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvēs of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission
[585] to her original sib. The aruvē of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case
[964] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried
● [251] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. ?

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7/1 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 - - Analyst] 7/1 [see p129]

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed. 101 793 [212] [173] [651]

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra. 621 [582]

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day. 843 553

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth.

844 783

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not 846 expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not 842 much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined 562 to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is 852 born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, 562 made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has [178] almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle 553 by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives 846 the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted 854 to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing [539] love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:—

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the groom performs *mūrta* to the bride. Later in the day the bride leaves her natal home and accompanies the groom to his home. Relatives of the groom who did not accompany him to the bride's house now perform *mūrta* to the bride.

When a marriage takes place, it is not only two persons who come together but two kin-groups. They come together through the acquisition of two common objects of interest. But before marriage the bride was only an object of common interest to her natal kin-group, and the groom to his natal kin-group.

When a marriage takes place, there is a change in the social personalities of the bride and groom. It gives them new rights and obligations. Some of this is symbolized in marriage ritual: for instance, the bride loses her rights in her natal *okka* and acquires them, instead, in her conjugal *okka*; she carries water from the groom's *okka's* well to his kitchen; and finally she carries manure to the groom's ancestral paddy-field.

Every *mangala* marks a change in the social personality of the subject: he moves from one position in the status system to another. On such an occasion the group concerned performs towards him a series of solidarity rites. The performance of these solidarity rites shows that the group concerned authorizes and approves of the change in the social personality of the subject. A casteman or relative who fails to attend the particular *mangala* is understood as not approving of it. Relations between him and those who attend become strained. He has effected a breach in the solidarity.

Like the sprinkling of rice, the giving of milk is a common ritual act in Coorg. At the naming ceremony of a child, the mother puts the infant into the cradle and says, 'Chengappa, get up to eat rice mixed with milk.' She smears the child's tongue with a little cream, using a gold coin to scoop the cream contained in a bowl.

A child is given solid food to eat six months after birth: and this food usually consists of cooked rice mixed with milk and sugar. On the second day after marriage, when the bride enters her conjugal home, her mother-in-law combs her hair and gives her rice mixed with milk to eat. The latter dish is considered a great delicacy.

Milk is used not only on good-sacred occasions but also on bad-sacred occasions. When an infant dies, a coconut-shell containing milk from its mother's breasts is placed over the grave; and if it is a few months old, rice mixed with milk is placed there instead.

342 door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, [352] and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are [778] tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the [353] roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of [312] rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built [343] with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

352 The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep [415] their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. [854] Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better [177] houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

619 The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups. Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

614 The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

854
539

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

764 [783] A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

763 On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva [624] of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

V

THE CULT OF THE *OKKA*

I

THE *okka* or the patrilineal and patrilocal joint family is the basic group among Coorgs. It is impossible to imagine a Coorg apart from the *okka* of which he is a member. It affects his life at every point and colours all his relations with the outside world. People who do not belong to an *okka* have no social existence at all, and the elders always bring pressure on the parties concerned to see that children born out of wedlock obtain membership in their father's or mother's *okka*. 596

Membership of an *okka* is acquired by birth, and the outside world always identifies a man with his *okka*. His association with his *okka* does not cease even after death, because he then becomes one of a body of apotheosized ancestors (*kāraṇava*) who are believed to look after the *okka* of which they were members when alive. The ancestors are worshipped, and offerings of food and drink (*bhāraṇi*) are occasionally made to them. [769]

Formerly the boys in an *okka*, all sons of agnatically related males, grazed the *okka's* cattle together, hunted birds, and played games. When they grew up all of them jointly looked after the ancestral estate under the guidance of the head of the *okka*. [857]

Membership of an *okka* determines to a very large extent the choice of a spouse. First of all, marital relations are forbidden between members of the same *okka*. Where agnation overflows the *okka*, the taboo extends to agnatic relatives who are not members of the *okka*. Again, children of sisters may not intermarry. 596 582

The ancestral, immovable property of an *okka* was formerly regarded as impartible. It usually descended from one generation of agnatically related males to another without being split up in the process. Partition did, however, occur when every adult member of the *okka* wanted it. But such cases were unusual—at least that is what one is told. Both the difficulty of partition and the preference for leviratic unions added to the strength of the *okka*. 596 428

Offices like the headmanship of a village or *nāḍ* or temple were 596 622

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

181 he had put away at the beginning of the rainy season. The break
796 in the continuity of the relationship between a man and, say, his
411 gun, creates some 'awkwardness' and so the weapons are worshipped before being used. Later, a collective hunt is held.

224 The Kaṇiya astrologer decides what periods of time are auspi-
778 cious for worshipping the weapons and for cutting branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree. He also decides when the village or *nāḍ* should
[787] have the collective hunt, in which direction the hunting party should go if they want the hunt to be successful, and, finally, the man who should lead the hunt.

226 The branches of the *poyyakaṇé* tree are used for making barriers which are erected in the rice-fields a few weeks after the end of transplantation, in order to catch the small fish which abound in the waterlogged fields during this part of the year. These fish are regarded as a great delicacy, and catching them is a favourite sport.
[538] An improvident man is described in a proverb as one who lives on fish caught in the fields and on rice borrowed from neighbours at a ruinous rate of interest.

411 The weapons are cleaned and kept either in the sacred central
782 hall or in the south-western room. They are marked with sandalwood paste. (Some Coorgs, like Brahmins on the western coast, mark their foreheads with sandalwood paste before worshipping a deity.) The weapons are worshipped with flowers, and a favourite flower used for worship on this occasion is the *tōku* which derives its name from the fact that it looks like a gun. Curried meat and cooked rice-flour are offered on plantain leaves to the weapons.

224 After dinner, the men put on their gowns, and assemble in the south-western room, or central hall. The head of the *okka* hands over to each his weapons and the latter salutes the former after receiving his weapons.[1] The headman says, as he stands over the weapons, 'Fight a tiger and boar by stepping aside the charging beast [i.e. avoid standing in the direct line of the charge], do not underrate your enemy, fight him face to face, stand by your friend, be obedient to the king, and do not forget God.'

The headman of the *okka* feeds the domestic dogs with cooked rice-flour. Then, just before the men of the *okka* leave the house for the village green he says, 'Let the horned deer and tusked boar cross my path.' Finally, he fires a shot in the direction of the jungle.

[857] [1] A boy who is old enough to hunt receives his first gun on this occasion.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[846] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[871] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
[765] that of an ordinary man. The mourning-period also varies according to age and social importance of the deceased.

[1] Amongst Coorgs, the corpses of elders and important people are cremated,
[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

587 and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow
589 to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

[581] But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

593 The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their
596 father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on
858 them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

586 In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead
768 to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[539] [1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *ketta poṇṇana bāvalu, butta poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and women, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement. 846 [783] [164]

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised. 852 [182] 553 551 854 847 842

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not 596 [591] [578] [858]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. • 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [177] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [57%]

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

776 considered sacred, and it is not permitted to cut it down. A woman
778 in her periods is not allowed to go near the platform as cobra-deities are considered to be specially sensitive to defilement. If this rule is not respected, she, and probably the *okka* of which she is a member, will suffer misfortune. The cobra is a sacred creature and he who kills it will suffer from a skin disease like leucoderma.

243 There is an attitude of ritual respect towards the ancestral rice-
778 field. This is specially noticeable when the crop is standing: a man may not wear sandals while walking through it, or hold an umbrella over his head, or whistle.

The rice-field is divided into a number of ridged-up plots and the central plot of the rice-field is regarded as particularly sacred.
[B46] Formerly it was the custom to bury the umbilical cord of the eldest son in the central plot. A man is supposed to have a special affinity to the place where his umbilical cord is buried. If a Coorg boy is found going to a particular place frequently, his elders twit him,
[B71] 'Is your umbilical cord buried there?' Nowadays the umbilical cord is buried in the yard of the palace of Mercara, or in a school-compound, because Coorgs want their sons to do well in examinations and become high government officials.

764 A part of the ancestral estate is used for burying or cremating the
778 dead members of the *okka*. The part where corpses are buried is called *kēkaḷa* while the adjoining part used for cremation is called *tūṭangaḷa*.[1] It is sacred, but in an undesirable way: the term 'bad-sacred' has been used to denote such a ritual condition. (Bad-sacredness includes within itself both 'defilement and 'inauspi-
[783] ciousness'.) A visit to the burial-ground defiles a person and a bath is necessary to restore him to normal ritual status.

764 The burial-ground for children may be near the house, whereas
775 that for adults must be as far away as possible. The ghosts of adults
[858] are harmful, while children's ghosts are comparatively harmless. An adult has a social personality, whereas a child does not have one. An adult occupies a social role or several social roles. The ghost of a headman or hero or a particularly evil man is more powerful than
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[564] while the corpses of children and unimportant people are buried. The Brahmins, however, cremate all dead persons except infants, and in many parts of south India castes which want to rise in status give up burial for cremation.

Physical and Mental Characters

142 [181] The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepedity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. 141 According to Holland, the Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, 144 a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas 141 belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below:

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avg.	167.1	151 2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

15 The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

19 Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

16 The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

[P. iii]

PREFACE.

THIS Manual aims at a truthful sketch of the past history and the present physical and political position of the interesting Province of Coorg which has for the last 36 years been under the sway of the British Government. 121

Great changes have taken place during this period. Coorg, though for a long time a jealously guarded *imperium in imperio*, had gradually to yield to the onward march of civilisation, in spite of the antagonism of its conservative Headmen. Good roads in every direction opened up this once impenetrable mountain-girt tract, and numbers of enterprising British settlers with capital and national energy have already stamped a new character upon the country. By three opposite lines the electric wire has linked Coorg with the grand net of the South-Indian telegraph and consequently with Europe and far distant America. Education is firmly and extensively established, and the administration of the country compares most favourably with that of any well-governed province in India. 177 [178] [491] [648] [206] [871]

By the kind permission of the Superintendent and the Chief-Commissioner of Coorg, I had access for the compilation of this Gazetteer to all the official records bearing on the subject. Amongst these I have found the "Rájéndranáme" and the "Memoir of the Coorg Survey" of great service. The former contains the history of the Coorg Rájahs from 1633 to 1808, composed under the eye of Dodda-Vírájender, the hero of Coorg history. The latter was written by Lieut. Connor of the Royal Engineers in 1817. Though drawn up under the most untoward circumstances, it exhibits a clear and comprehensive insight into the state of Coorg half a century since and reflects great credit upon the intelligence and ability of that Officer. 129 [114]

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

000 775 782 cribed to the curses and witchcrafts of enemies. The dead are supposed to trouble the living and to demand sacrifices and other atonements. Many of the Coorgs, though they may 182 despise their old superstitions and neglect their idols, come 771 to believe in nothing but money. The cruel despotism of 157 their Rajahs engendered dissimulation, falsehood and treachery, and lying and deception, bribery and conspiracy are now often enough practised to ruin an opponent and to advance 648 self-interest. The name of the Coorgs is still feared by their neighbours who look upon them as proud, irritable and revengeful men, and such popular estimations of the character of a neighbouring race are seldom without some foundation. 627 It still may happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to reek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.

● 871 The Coorgs have hitherto been an unlettered people. The Rajahs, themselves without education, did nothing for the instruction of their subjects. Even the English Government has for many years hardly attempted systematically to raise them in intelligence and character. Only lately most praiseworthy efforts have been made to satisfy the awakened popular desire for education in Coorg, and the provisions made have already borne good fruit in supplying Government with a body of well trained officials, though education is still in its first stage of development.

623 692 The public morality of the Coorgs is controlled by a council of elders called "Takka-mukyasteru", who are the moral censors and managers of social affairs, without however any magisterial power from Government. This institution dates from the Rajahs' time and is hereditary in certain families. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, attendance at public feasts and proper conduct during the same, drunkenness and adultery.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

802 193 crude form of the cardinals; e. g. ondane, dandane, mûndane, etc. the first, second, third, etc.

Only the numbers one and two have three genders, all the rest are neuter.

obbô	one man.	ibbô	two men.
obba	„ woman.	ibba	„ women.
ondû	„ thing.	dandû	„ things.

As in Canarese doubling a number renders it a distributive; e. g. ondondû, dandandû, etc. every one, two, etc.

Of fractions, which even in Canarese form but a limited system, the Coorg stock is still smaller and refers only to concrete terms viz: ¼ ärö, ½ hälä, ¾ makhälä, which help to divide the Maṇa of 40 seers and the Baṭṭi of 80 seers of capacity-measure and the Rupee.

803 871 193 The Coorgs have no idea of abstract reckoning and fractional arithmetic is a most difficult subject for native teachers.

The *pronouns* in Kodagu greatly resemble those in Canarese.

The personal pronouns are declined in the following manner:—

First person: nä = I.

	Singular.		*Plural.*	
Nom.	nä or nänä,	I.	enga, nanga,	we.
Obj.	enna,	me.	engla, nangala,	us.
Gen.	ennada, éda,	of me.	engada, nangada,	of us.
Dat.	ennakû, nangû,	to me.	engakû, nangakû,	to us.

Second person: nî = thou.

Nom.	nînû,	thou.	ninga,	you.
Obj.	ninna,	thee.	ningala,	you.
Gen.	ninada, nîda,	of thee.	ningada,	of you.
Dat.	ninnakû, ningû,	to thee.	ningakû,	to you.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[87] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourish-
ing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an
Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yedenálknád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its
three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802
Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest
is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as
the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families
reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the im-
poster Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native
coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti 2/1
Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called
Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa,
which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives.
In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many
waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the
"Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing
coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In
this locality a new market has been opened for the conveni-
ence of the numerous coolies and the place has been called
Cólepet in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole.
Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur,
the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congre-
632 gation (1857).
[131]1 The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Vírájenderpet*, a
1 [Errata: This should read "Periambád;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 479 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

exists amongst the ryots. The Kiggatnád rice-fields are extensive and fertile, the grass-lands parklike, the mountain streams numerous, and the forests and jungles rich in valuable timber and bamboos. The Marenád- and Brahmagiri-hills with their cascades of the Barapolle and Laksmanatírtha are picturesque and their shólas and dense forests give cover to a variety of game. Many of the undulating grass-hills (Báne), being almost bare of trees and free from stones, seem admirably suited for dry cultivation, besides there are large pieces of other waste land; but the population is rather scanty and hardly sufficient for the cultivation of their rice-fields, since the abolishment of slavery. There are both European and native coffee-plantations in the Marenád-hills; but the natives seem to derive the greater profit from them. This taluq is in great want of good roads. There is only the military highroad from Periapatna to Cannanore, which is joined at the Gonikopal bridge by a branch road leading to Ponnappet; a trace has been cut to the Taluq-Kacheri and on to Kúrchi to connect Coorg with Wynád, but the work has been stopped. From Marenád a steep ghat, called the Mépalé-ghat, leads into the Malabar country and is used by the Lumbánies and Koramárs, who once a year carry rice from and salt into Coorg. A footpath leads into Wynád over the Brahmagiris by way of Tiranelli.

The south-eastern corner of Kiggatnád is unhealthy and strangers can scarcely be induced to settle there, in spite of the nearness of Kuttadámma's famous sanctuary, which cannot render the place more salubrious; fever, spleen and dropsy are the local diseases.

The Taluq-Kacheri is in *Hudikéri*. The place is well selected, being central and in a healthy locality on the top of a beautiful grass hill, whence a fine view of the Brahmagiris and Marenád-hills is obtained. An English School has been lately established and is promising well.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Though fully alive to their

material interests, the town-people have little desire for or perhaps little faith in education after European fashion. They seem to be quite content with the knowledge of their bazaar-routine. Every Monday there is market, hence the name of the place. (Sómawára=Monday.) 632 [271] [443]

The place is greatly in want of a travellers' bangalow, for which a beautiful site could be obtained near the lodge of the road-overseer. The country about Sómawárpet is very picturesque, especially towards Shanthally, the Mukribetta with a flourishing coffee-plantation at its foot, and the rocks that enclose the Honammana tank. vide p. 15. On the summit of these rocks "Cairns" in excellent preservation have lately been found. [485] [133] [245] [172]

Yélusávirashíme-taluq occupies the northermost part of Coorg. It is a narrow strip of land, about 22 miles in length and 4 in width. Its total area comprises only 91 square miles; yet it contains in its three Hoblis, 168 villages and a population of 17,766 souls, of whom 17,623 are Hindus, 41 Mussulmans, and 98 Native Christians. There are no Coorgs in this taluq; the inhabitants are of the same class as the agricultural population in the adjoining taluq of Hassan. There is a striking contrast between the ryots of Yélusávirashíme and those of Central Coorg. Whilst the latter are well and warmly dressed, comfortably housed and abundantly fed, the former appear very poor and miserable, covered as they are only with a black coarse camlet. They are timid, credulous and submissive to the authority of the Patéls, who find them patient sheep for fleecing, but the Patéls with their connexions are noted as exceedingly litigious amongst themselves and rather troublesome to the Government in times past. The country was wrested from Mysore by the Coorg Rájah, Dodda-Vírappa, who died in 1736, and partakes of the natural features of the Manjarabad district. It is hilly, and some mountains, as the Málimbi and the Uru-uduvé (village-jungles) 635 [131] [162] [648] [133]

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There are 31 cloth- 383 —

merchants, 32 tobacco-sellers, 41 petty dealers, 8 jewel- 632
makers and 4 money-changers and bankers, which shows, [463]
that the community must be a thriving one. A school con- [871]
taining about 50 children is also maintained by the inhabi-
tants, but like those at Sómawárpet, they show little inclination to render assistance for the establishment of a Government English School, though they seem to be anxious to have one, if every thing is done for them.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

a. In the time of the Rájahs.

The Rájahs, having exercised sovereign power arbitrarily, 643
never established any court of judicature, nor framed any 692
code of judicial regulations. They published, however, a 671
Hukum-náma (code) for the administration of revenue, to which they added a few paragraphs, simply defining the degrees of punishment which the district officials might in their judicial capacity inflict upon offenders without reference to the Huzur (Huzur, presence, highest authority). By usage (mámúl) the following judicial system became established:—

The Gauda, the headman of the village, enquired into the 692
complaints preferred by the ryots residing in it, respecting civil cases or petty offences and settled them upon viva voce evidence either himself or through a Pancháyat (court of arbitration) according to circumstances. He was incompetent to adjudge cases of heinous crimes. The Gauda could try petty criminal offences, but had to commit the guilty person to the Kacheri of the Párapatiagár, who could award punishment not exceeding three days. Caste disputes were settled by the Kuláchára (guardian of the observances peculiar to caste), who had authority to punish to the amount of 12 fanams or Rs. 3 as. 8. The appeal from the Gauda or his

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

8. EDUCATION.

It speaks well for the Coorgs, that no sooner were they brought under the English rule, than they expressed an anxiety for the education of their children. It was, however, in those days a difficult task for Government, efficiently to satisfy their wants. In 1834 an English and a Canarese School were established in Mercara and Vírájpet and a Canarese School only in Kiggatnád at a monthly cost of Rs. 90 for the whole educational establishment. The result was in due proportion. The Vírájpet School collapsed in 1842 and the teacher's pay was appropriated for the maintenance of five Canarese Schools. For a number of years this state of affairs continued and the annual educational Report ran thus in stereotyped fashion:—"There are (25) boys learning English and (429) learning native languages, making a total of (454) showing an increase (or decrease) of (8) boys in the English and (17) in the native schools." This was the beginning, middle and end of the educational Reports, excellent in their way, short and businesslike, entailing no waste of time in writing or reading them! They said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English, there were some difficulties. The Schoolmaster could not, of course, be expected to know more, than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Kacheri who was better paid. After 20 years of English tuition, there was not one Coorg who could write an English letter or make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who had acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine through the medium of the English language.

The teaching of the native languages, Hindustani at Mercara, and Canarese in the districts, consisted in reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplica-

871 [177]
[875]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

871 tion tables and, when the scholars had further advanced, the reading and writing of petitions (Arjis). Education there was none, nor was it wanted. The great men in the Kacheris felt quite happy in their complete ignorance, being cunning enough to look after their own interests. What more could be required? Their only care was to keep every thing in statu quo and to oppose every thing like innovation. This, happily, is an account of the past.

871 In 1855, encouraged by Sir Mark Cubbon, Dr. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, established an English School at Mercara, the charge of which was placed into the hands of the Rev. G. Richter in May 1856 and in February 1857 the Supreme Government sanctioned a liberal grant for its support. Maintaining its missionary character, the Coorg Headmen, one of whom felt in particular its christianizing influence upon his sons, at first opposed the school with all their might, but the Head-sheristadar, Nanchappa, having been reconciled to the new order of things, the School began to flourish and gain the favour of the people. Unfortunately for Coorg and the School, the Devân Nanchappa, who was a high spirited and influential leader of his people and would have done much for the advance of education, suddenly died by a fall from his horse.

871 On the departure of Dr. Moegling to Germany in December 1860, Mr. Richter was nominated by Government Principal of the School and with the year 1861 a new period commences in the educational affairs of Coorg.

The educational scheme, proposed by the Principal and heartily approved of by the Director of Public Instruction, the Chief Commissioner and the Supreme Government, has ever since been gradually carried out and comprises, when fully established, the following features:—an unlimited number of Vernacular district-schools, five Anglo-vernacular schools

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

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The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

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Rejoiced at the good news, the Coorgs enabled Mr. Richter to set at once to work. A building committee was formed consisting of the late Superintendent, Major Martin, and the three Head-Coorg-Officials, and having received the needful instructions at Head-quarters in Bangalore, the Principal planned and executed within the next five years under the most trying difficulties the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548—11—7, towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,721—15—5, the Europeans in Coorg Rs. 471, the sale of the old school-house produced Rs. 6,500 and the balance was liberally paid by the Government.

The boys' boarding-house is now being fitted up for occupation in the beginning of 1871 and the girls' boarding-house will shortly be ready too. It is being built by Colovanda Cariappah, the first Coorg pupil of the English School of 1856, and now Subadár of Mercara-taluq and always with his friend, Chepudira Soobiah, the staunchest and most liberal supporter of the cause of education amongst his people.

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The new Central School was opened in May 1869 and contains now 176 pupils of whom 12 are girls. Besides 93 Coorgs, there are 14 Christians, 28 Mussulmans, 3 Parsees and the rest other Hindus. 873

The course of instruction, here adopted, aims at a practical education, yet keeping in view the standard of the Matriculation test for the highest class. Divided into six classes, of which the Hindustani and Canarese classes are at the bottom, elementary instruction is first imparted by means of the Vernaculars, which in the higher classes gradually give way to English instruction and Canarese is studied only as a language. The girls, of whom seven are Coorgs, form only for needlework under Mrs. Richter's instruction a separate class, their other lessons they learn with the boys. In the lower and middle classes history is taught in Canarese and consequently the boys are well grounded in an intelligent knowledge of the subject. In geography a thorough knowledge of Coorg in Canarese prepares the pupils for a better understanding of India, Asia, and the Map of the World. Geometrical linear drawing with definitions lays the foundation for Euclid of which the First Book is taught in Canarese in the middle class, whilst the first class absolves the Third Book with deductions and mensuration of plain figures and of solids. Arithmetic leads up to decimals, the compound rule of three and evolutions; Algebra includes simple equations. The study of English comprises: Grammar, composition and analysis of prose and poetical selections; in the same way Canarese is studied in the two upper classes.

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Bitianda Cariappah, Head-Wasili. 873
Kuttetira Egappa, Treasurer.
Korovanda Ponnappa.
Shamana.
Chaurira Appeya,
Timoppeya Appeya.
Bittandra Mutteya.
Appaneravana Acheya."

The Plantation not succeeding so well as was anticipated, though it is now in a hopeful condition, the Principal suggested another plan and in September last (1870) the Coorg Headmen passed and submitted to Government for sanction the following resolutions:— 871 651

1. "With the sanction of Government an *Educational Cess* should be levied on the ryots of Coorg in the shape of a plough-tax, the mode and extent of levying which is to be left with the Superintendent's approval and authorization, to the Headmen as on former occasions.

2. From the children of the ryots thus taxed, no schooling fees should be levied; the fees from other children in the *Anglo-vernacular Schools only* should be added to the local-cess-fund.

3. The money thus raised, which may amount to Rs. 3 or 4000, is not to supersede, but to supplement the ordinary educational Budget-grant and should be spent upon the *maintenance of the Mercara boarding-houses, the upkeep of the Vernacular and Anglo-vernacular school-houses and the extension of Vernacular education throughout Coorg.*

4. The management of the Cess-fund should be vested in the Principal of the Central School conjointly with the three principal Coorg Officials and the eight Subedárs."

Thus the Government system of education in Coorg may be said to be of a comprehensive and an expansive character, resting on the sure and proper basis of Government assistance and conjoint local exertions and claiming the interest of all classes of the Coorg population. The work is still in its infancy, but promises well for the future. 658

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871 .2 Of the 1,545 pupils at School in March 1870, 1,422 were in Government Schools and 1,082 children Coorgs. Assuming that the present population of Coorg is 120,000, of whom about 25,000 are Coorgs, the number of children under education in the Government and aided schools, gives a proportion of one child at school for every 78 people of the whole population or nearly 13 per thousand; and as 1,082 Coorg boys and girls attend these schools, of one Coorg child for every 23 people of that race or 43 per thousand, the proportion in the case of the latter being unusually large and satisfactory.

C. CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE UPON THE COORGS.

1. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SETTLEMENTS.

563 795 643 175 [798] Whatever the moral and political vices of the Coorg Rájahs may have been, in religious matters they showed a tolerant and liberal spirit, which at the time put to shame the intolerance of many Christian Governments. Dodda-Vírájender extended his protection to the poor fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tippu Sultan, when in 1792 Lord Cornwallis besieged Seringapatam. They were Konkanis from the western coast, had incurred Tippu's particular displeasure for their assistance in provisioning General Mathew's army and had come into his power after the fall of Bednore and the siége of Mangalore in 1783, when he settled

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797 was appointed here in 1852. The Rev. Mr. Fennell B. A. succeeded him early in 1853, and the Rev. M. O. Deane B. A. took charge in December 1866, and was followed by Rev. J. Wynch M. A. in December 1868, who left in December 1869, when the chaplancy was vacated till December 1870 and then filled by the Rev. C. H. Deane M. A.

3. THE PROTESTANT MISSION OF THE BASEL SOCIETY.

797 648 When the account of the reduction of Coorg arrived in England, considerable interest was awakened in behalf of the inhabitants of the new Province, whom British arms had delivered from cruel bondage, and whose brave and frank character seemed to establish a peculiar claim upon the sympathies of the friends of Indian missions.

General Fraser on the 10th June 1834 in a letter to Mr. McNaughton, the Secretary to the Government of India remarks:—

"There is not probably a spot of ground in all India of this limited extent capable of so much improvement as Coorg. The people appear to have little or no attachment to the debasing superstition of the country and their minds seem to me to be more open than those of any other Indians, I have seen, to be prepared for receiving the light of the Christian religion, while their intellect may be expected rapidly to expand under the influence of that education, they are themselves soliciting." The noble-hearted General offered his share of the prize-money as an endowment of a Protestant Mission and the Wesleyan and the London Missionary Societies were inclined to extend their operations to Coorg, but both Societies subsequently found, that they could not spare men for a new Mission at a distance from their older stations, and thus a good opportunity was lost. General Fraser subsequently established a school at Fraserpet which he endowed [871]

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with a sum of Rs. 300, the interest of which goes towards the teacher's pay. The school is now under Government management and incorporated with the Anglo-Vernacular School. 797 648 [871]

In the year 1834 the Basel Missionary Society commenced operations on the western coast, in the neighbourhood of Coorg, and extended their stations to the north and south. Mercara and Vírájpet were now and then visited; but no proposal was made to the Committee to occupy Coorg. Thus the country remained nearly twenty years under British rule without the establishment of a Mission, until Dr. Moegling in 1852 was in an unforeseen and singular manner led to commence the long delayed work.

Being on the point of returning to Germany to recruit his shattered health, he was visited by a Coorg man, disguised as a Sanyási, who applied for instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was an intelligent and astute Coorg and the story of his life highly interesting. Having been baptized on the 6th January 1853, Stephanas Someyah of Almanda in Beppunád, returned unexpected and unnoticed to his house. His wife received him with great joy and declared that she would live and die with him. On the following day Stephanas took formal possession of his house, and Dr. Moegling, who had accompanied him, resolved on standing by the family and becoming security to the creditors, who speedily assembled for the liquidation of the debts of the convert. Two days afterwards his neighbours and relatives drove him and his family out of their house at night and forced them to take refuge with the missionary at Vírájpet. The Superintendent enquired into the case and the Chief Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, to whom the matter was referred gave the following decision:— 797 578

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From the Headmen of Coorg

To

Capt. JOHN CAMPBELL,

Superintendent of Coorg.

Sir,

We, the undersigned Headmen of Coorg, being the representatives of our countrymen, beg most respectfully to lay before you what is now uppermost in our minds and what appears to us of the greatest importance for the welfare of our people. If our humble petition should meet with your favourable consideration and approval, we would further beg you, to convey our wishes to the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, J. Bowring Esq., with such recommendations and improvements as you may deem proper.

Though the noble[1] generosity of the late lamented Chief Commissioner, General Sir Mark Cubbon, K. C. B., the blessing of education has been extended to us six years ago, though we did not appreciate it then, as we do now. Our minds were darkened and full of prejudice as to its possible effect; but the influence of the established English School at Mercara, its steady progress and the temperate, judicious and devoted manner in which it has been carried on for the last six years, have disarmed all our fears and we earnestly desire, that all our children should be benefitted by the instruction there given. The great influx of Europeans settlers into our country makes the

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education of our children appear to our minds doubly necessary, since our own ignorance renders our intercourse with the Planters difficult and disadvantageous to us.

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The peculiar circumstance, however, that Mercara, though the capital of the province, contains but a few Coorg-houses, enables only a limited number of Coorg boys to attend the school. To remedy this disadvantage, we have resolved to collect a sum of money amongst ourselves sufficient to build and endow a boarding house for about 100 boys.

The Coorg officials and the Pensioners (vide p. 365) are ready to contribute half a month's pay, which together with the subscriptions of the Coorg farmers will amount to about Rs. 6,000. This is all we can do at present; but we earnestly desire, that also our daughters should receive some education and for them we would have to build a similar house.

The question now arises, where to build the houses. Certainly near the School. The present English School, however, is on a slope of the hill on which the Fort is built and within military limits, it is enclosed by two roads, the compound belonging to it very small and in the vicinity no suitable spot available. The school-house itself, which was originally the Rájahs' elephant's stable and had afterwards been turned into a travellers' Bangalow, has no suitable arrangements for schoolrooms and does not admit of an increased number of scholars. It was the generous gift of Sir Mark Cubbon for the school and has answered its purpose very well for the beginning, but now it is too small and larger premises are required.

We therfore most humbly beg, that Government may give us a helping hand to carry out our plans. We propose to have all the School buildings required within the same compound and under the eye of the resident Principal, and for this purpose no other spot in Mercara seems to us in every respect more suitable than the site of the old palace. It is central, spacious and healthy. The few remaining walls would yield some building material and the foundations might serve for the new school-house with the Principal's dwelling; the compound would afford an extensive playground and gymnasium and enough room for a garden, to be cultivated by our children. We beg that this piece of ground be granted to us for this purpose.

We estimate the cost of the school-house, the Principal's dwelling, the boarding house and out-houses, the gymnastic apparatus and the laying out of the garden at about Rs. 20,000; towards which we bind ourselves to collect Rs. 6,000; the sale of the present school-house may yield Rs. 3,000 and if Government would grant the rest, we should feel deeply grateful.

Mr. Richter, the Principal of the English School, who has conducted it for the last six years and won our entire confidence, has not only given the

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The Petition was forwarded by the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary to the Government of India, accompanied by the following letter:—

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Sir,

I have particular pleasure in submitting to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg together with a request, which may be deemed a national one, on the part of the Coorg people to be admitted to those benefits of education which others in more favoured positions have already received.

There is a genuineness of expression about this address, which I beg to send in original, that, I feel assured, will secure the hearty approval of the Government of India. It has probably rarely happened in India that a whole race has come forward in this manner, putting aside traditional prejudices, to meet half way the earnest wish of their Rulers, that they should educate themselves, and it is especially remarkable among mountaineers in this country, as the hill races are generally far below those of the plains in their acquisition of knowledge.

I have informed the Officiating Superintendent of Coorg, that I would lose no time in laying the address before His Excellency in Council, and that I feel convinced, that the Government will receive with peculiar pleasure the spontaneous expression of the good will borne by the Coorg race towards their Rulers.

In respect to the site solicited, there is no difficulty, and I have signified my assent to its being made over for the School in conformity with the existing practice in regard to building grants at Mercara.

With reference to the sum required to enable the people to carry out their wishes, I have no hesitation in soliciting that the sanction of Government may be accorded to the project being undertaken, so that the Coorgs may receive early intimation, that their earnest wish for their own enlightenment has been made known to and has been approved of by the Viceroy in Council, as the knowledge of the interest, taken in their welfare by the Head of Her Majesty's Government cannot but be an additional link to bind them to British rule. The detailed accounts required for the Budget can be estimated for in due course.

The Government of India may perhaps also be pleased to make known their approval of Mr. Richter's exertions.

I have etc. etc.

Bangalore 27th October, 1862.

(Signed) L. BOWRING,
Commissioner.

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The course of instruction, here adopted, aims at a practical education, yet keeping in view the standard of the Matriculation test for the highest class. Divided into six classes, of which the Hindustani and Canarese classes are at the bottom, elementary instruction is first imparted by means of the Vernaculars, which in the higher classes gradually give way to English instruction and Canarese is studied only as a language. The girls, of whom seven are Coorgs, form only for needlework under Mrs. Richter's instruction a separate class, their other lessons they learn with the boys. In the lower and middle classes history is taught in Canarese and consequently the boys are well grounded in an intelligent knowledge of the subject. In geography a thorough knowledge of Coorg in Canarese prepares the pupils for a better understanding of India, Asia, and the Map of the World. Geometrical linear drawing with definitions lays the foundation for Euclid of which the First Book is taught in Canarese in the middle class, whilst the first class absolves the Third Book with deductions and mensuration of plain figures and of solids. Arithmetic leads up to decimals, the compound rule of three and evolutions; Algebra includes simple equations. The study of English comprises: Grammar, composition and analysis of prose and poetical selections; in the same way Canarese is studied in the two upper classes.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873 At the request of Government, "Botany" has been added to the list of lessons of the first class. Singing is a general lesson for the musical boys and upwards of 60 Canarese and English songs are practised. The Gymnasium engages twice a week the whole School and the exercises are very popular. A library and some philosophical apparatus are aids for evening lectures for the further instruction of studious youths who left the School.

873 157 On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which generally distinguishes Brahmin youths. They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound common sense. In a competitive examination, the quick-witted Brahmin, though not half so well informed, will outstrip the Coorg lad; but give the latter time and he will maintain his place due to his real worth. Coorg 873 464 lads and others, trained in the Central School, are now found in every office of the various departments of Government in Coorg and some fill important posts; but it is to be regretted, that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them. Some time ago the openings in the offices were so many, that the young men could not resist the temptation of well paid employments under Government and relinquished their studies. For the same reason none of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the Matriculation examination, though, in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction, "if these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the Matriculation test of the Madras University." (vide his Report of 1869-70.)

873 658 Foreseeing the difficulty of permanently supporting the boarding-houses without the aid of public charity or Government assistance, the general speculation in coffee in Coorg

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873

suggested a source of revenue, which was thought both legitimate and profitable. Some of the most public spirited and liberal minded Coorgs took up the idea and the following is the agreement concerning the proposed Endowment-Plantation:

"We the undersigned, Headmen of Coorg, taking a lively interest in the intellectual enlightenment of the sons and daughters of our countrymen, have by the advice of the Rev. G. Richter agreed upon and resolved to carry out the following plan:—

1. Having obtained as a free gift from the Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, L. Bowring Esq., the two jungles Paramádu and Punchi in Yedenálknád,—a claim to which having been relinquished by the late Subadar, Colovanda Soobiah, in favour of the present undertaking—we bind ourselves by this document to raise at five per cent interest per annum from amongst ourselves and other Coorgs who are willing to join us, a sum of money sufficient for the purpose of opening a Coffee-plantation as an endowment for the Mercara Central School and its boarding-houses.

2. The subscribers choose amongst themselves six Coorgs as a committee, who together with the Principal of the Mercara Central School undertake the management of the whole business and who have power to fill up vacancies.

3. No part of the money thus lent can, before the execution of the plan, be withdrawn by any subscriber unless his subscription is refunded by a substitute. When the estate comes into bearing, from the proceeds of the year's crop a sum of money, sufficient for the working expenditure of the current year, is to be first deducted; of the remainder the interest of the subscribed money is to be paid to each subscriber and of the balance the capital is to be repaid in proportion to the amount of each share. The Plantation, however, remains mortgaged to the subscribers until their advances have been repaid.

4: Richter M; G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

873 4. After the loan has been repaid, the Plantation will be for ever the property of the Mercara Central School and held in trust for the same by the appointed committee, but *the annual net profits can only be applied to educational purposes.*

5. The *disposal* of the money accruing from the Plantation rests solely with the managing committee, but the propositions of expenditure are made by the Principal of the Central School as the representative of Government and his vote is decisive, whenever the division of committee-members is equally balanced. The Principal will also carry out the resolutions of the committee.

6. If after due notice, four of the committee-members, the Principal included, are present at a meeting, they may pass final resolutions.

7. What money is required for every three months' operations, may be called up from the subscribers through the Secretary after one month's notice. The Principal of the Central School may convene a meeting of the committee once every three months or whenever circumstances render it necessary.

Clause. As the present Principal of the Central School has taken so great an interest in the welfare of the Coorgs and we may expect him to do the same also in future, we cheerfully accord him his position in our committee, but in case of the present Principal retiring from his post, his successor will have no claim to the same privileges and can be admitted only with the consent of the committee.

Mercara, 17th October 1863.

Chepudira Soobiah, 2nd Assist. Supt.
Coloranda Cariappah, Subedár.
Madandu Appachoo, Head-Sheristadar.
Kongandu Appaya, Judicial Sheristadar.
Kotandu Appachoo, Mehtasir.

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Bittionda Cariappah, Head-Mandi. 873
Kuttetira Eyappa, Treasurer.
Korovanda Ponnappa.
Shamana.
Chaurira Appeya,
Timappeya Appeya.
Bittondra Mutteya.
Appaneravana Acheya."

The Plantation not succeeding so well as was anticipated, though it is now in a hopeful condition, the Principal suggested another plan and in September last (1870) the Coorg Headmen passed and submitted to Government for sanction the following resolutions:— 871 651

1. "With the sanction of Government an *Educational Cess* should be levied on the ryots of Coorg in the shape of a plough-tax, the mode and extent of levying which is to be left with the Superintendent's approval and authorisation, to the Headmen as on former occasions.

2. From the children of the ryots thus taxed, no schooling fees should be levied; the fees from other children in the *Anglo-vernacular Schools only* should be added to the local-cess-fund.

3. The money thus raised, which may amount to Rs. 3 or 4000, is not to supersede, but to supplement the ordinary educational Budget-grant and should be spent upon the *maintenance of the Mercara boarding-houses, the upkeep of the Vernacular and Anglo-vernacular school-houses and the extension of Vernacular education throughout Coorg.*

4. The management of the Cess-fund should be vested in the Principal of the Central School conjointly with the three principal Coorg Officials and the eight Subedárs."

Thus the Government system of education in Coorg may be said to be of a comprehensive and an expansive character, resting on the sure and proper basis of Government assistance and conjoint local exertions and claiming the interest of all classes of the Coorg population. The work is still in its infancy, but promises well for the future. 658

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

8. EDUCATION.

It speaks well for the Coorgs, that no sooner were they brought under the English rule, than they expressed an anxiety for the education of their children. It was, however, in those days a difficult task for Government, efficiently to satisfy their wants. In 1834 an English and a Canarese School were established in Mercara and Vírájpet and a Canarese School only in Kiggatnád at a monthly cost of Rs. 90 for the whole educational establishment. The result was in due proportion. The Vírájpet School collapsed in 1842 and the teacher's pay was appropriated for the maintenance of five Canarese Schools. For a number of years this state of affairs continued and the annual educational Report ran thus in stereotyped fashion:—"There are (25) boys learning English and (429) learning native languages, making a total of (454) showing an increase (or decrease) of (8) boys in the English and (17) in the native schools." This was the beginning, middle and end of the educational Reports, excellent in their way, short and businesslike, entailing no waste of time in writing or reading them! They said every thing that could be said, testifying to the number of names appearing on the different school-rolls. As for learning English, there were some difficulties. The Schoolmaster could not, of course, be expected to know more, than reading and writing English as well as the copyist in the Kacheri who was better paid. After 20 years of English tuition, there was not one Coorg who could write an English letter or make a tolerable translation from Canarese into English, no one who had acquired any kind of knowledge human or divine through the medium of the English language.

The teaching of the native languages, Hindustani at Mercara, and Canarese in the districts, consisted in reading and writing of the alphabets, getting by heart of multiplica-

871 [177] [875]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and the Mercara Central School with boarding establishments for Coorg boys and girls. 871 177

The number of *Vernacular district-schools* was raised to 25 and the teachers, nearly all of them Coorgs, were trained by the Principal four at a time for 3 or 4 months at the Central School, which served as a Normal School. After a successful examination the teachers' former pittance of Rs. 2½ per mensem was increased to a monthly salary of Rs. 7 with the prospect of Rs. 12 p. m. after five years' satisfactory service. The remodelled Schools were placed under the control of the Principal, who under the immediate orders of the Director of Public Instruction is also Inspector of the Coorg Schools. Once in 3 or 4 months all the teachers assemble in Mercara for a conference with the Principal to give an oral report in each other's presence on the state of their work and to receive further instruction in educational topics. 872 875

The school-houses are ordinary native buildings, erected by the ryots who also keep them in good repairs and therefore no school-fees are collected from the scholars. 346 872

The lessons, taught in the Canarese language, comprise: reading of manuscript papers and of the prescribed printed prose and poetical books, the latter being a collection of extracts from the best native authors; elementary arithmetic with the current weights and measures; copy-writing and dictation, composition; a short geography and history of Coorg and of India and the map of the world. 872

It is a most pleasing feature, that nearly one-tenth of the number of pupils is made up of Coorg-girls who in their lessons advance equally with the boys and who are not unfrequently quicker in their answers.

The total number of scholars in these 25 schools amounted on the 31st March 1870 to 1158 of whom 890 were Coorgs, including 92 girls. [162]

The *Anglo-vernacular Schools*, three of which have been

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III

THE RITUAL IDIOM OF COORGS

(1) THE RITUAL COMPLEX OF *MANGALA*

I

182 788 EVERY society has a body of ritual, and certain ritual acts forming part of the body of ritual repeat themselves constantly. Not only ritual acts, but also ritual complexes, which are wholes made up of several individual ritual acts, frequently repeat themselves. Several such ritual complexes and some individual ritual acts might be together knit into a still wider ritual whole which repeats itself occasionally.

576 Salutation is an individual ritual act. It might be of two kinds, either elaborate as that adopted by a young person towards an elder on a ritual occasion, or simple, like that prevailing between two equals. In the former case the younger person thrice touches the older man's feet with both hands, and after each touch he takes the hands to his forehead where he brings them together. In the simpler form of salutation which prevails between equals, each person folds the palms before his chest, and as he does this he moves his head slightly to indicate a bow. The folding of the palms and bowing of the head are the most important parts of the ritual act of salutation.

Salutation of the elaborate kind is only one of several ritual acts in the ritual complex of *mūrta* (*vide infra*), and *mūrta* is again part of *mangala*. Formerly there were several kinds of *mangalas* and the narrowing down of *mangala* to mean marriage exclusively is a fairly recent phenomenon.

681 Formerly *mangala* was performed to mark the attainment of social adulthood by a boy when his ears were ritually bored by the [304] goldsmith. This *mangala*, the first to be performed for a boy, was called *kemmi kutti mangala*, or 'the *mangala* at which the ears are [301] bored'. The wearing of ear-rings was symbolical of the attainment of social adulthood. One who was physiologically an adult, but who had not undergone the ear-boring *mangala*, did not count as an adult for ritual and social purposes.

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The counterpart of the ear-boring *mangala* for a girl was the *mangala* performed when she attained puberty. This was called '*polé kanda mangala*' or '*mangala* performed on the sighting of defilement'. The menstrual flow was regarded as defiling, and formerly a woman observed seclusion for three days during her periods. *Mangala* was also performed when a woman became pregnant for the first time (*kuḷiyammé mangala*). A woman who had given birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was entitled to a form of *mangala* known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

A man who killed a panther or tiger had the right to *nari mangala* or 'tiger *mangala*' being performed in his honour. Marriage increased a man's status, and a bachelor was regarded as socially and ritually inferior to a married man. *Mangala* was performed to a bachelor's corpse before burying or cremating it, presumably in order to raise the status of the soul of the dead bachelor.

A man who had lost two wives in succession was ritually married to a plantain tree before marrying his third wife. The marriage to the plantain tree was called '*bāḷek mangala*', or 'plantain *mangala*', and the tree was cut down soon after the *mangala*.

The number three, in certain contexts, is considered very unlucky everywhere in south India. When a man has lost his first two wives in succession, and intends marrying again, the third wife is considered certain to share the fate of the first two. The performance of '*bāḷek mangala*' and the cutting down of the tree soon after frees the human wife from the fate which would have otherwise overtaken her.

Formerly when a man built a new house he performed '*mané mangala*' or 'house *mangala*'. *Mangala* was performed for the head of the house on this occasion. Another form of *mangala* which has entirely disappeared now is '*ettu mangala*' or 'ox *mangala*'.

The ideal and usual marriage in Coorg is for a virgin to marry a bachelor and this is called '*kanni mangala*' or 'virgin *mangala*'. The marriage rites are fullest when a virgin marries a bachelor, and they are abbreviated to some extent when a widower marries a virgin. They are still further abbreviated when a widow marries a widower, and many old Coorgs would even refuse to accord to such a marriage the name of *mangala*.

The ritual that is performed at the 'marriage of a virgin' may be divided into two parts, one which might be called the *mangala* part, and the other the non-*mangala* part. The *mangala*-part of marriage

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302 177 century. The exclusive shaving of the face as distinct from the shaving of the face along with the head also came into vogue at the same time, and moustaches, which were only removed at the death of a very close relative, began to disappear entirely.

302 589 881 Marriage conferred on a man the right to have his head shaved periodically, and a bachelor was not entitled to it unless he had undergone the ear-boring *mangala*. The latter ritual conferred social adulthood on a male: in the folksong about the hero Kaiyandira Appayya it is seen that he successfully claims to be an adult on the strength of the fact that his friends, all boys tending cattle, performed this ritual for him in the jungle.

884 304 The ear-boring *mangala* has now entirely disappeared, and I learn that even fifty years ago it was only performed very rarely, and that, too, as a votive offering to a deity. But though the ritual [301] had disappeared the concepts associated with it continued to exist for some time afterwards. It was considered improper for an adult [764] to be without ear-rings, and such men were not admitted to the temple of Iggutappa in Nālknāḍ. If a Coorg died without his ears being bored, the corpse's ears were pierced before burial.

[302] The ear-boring *mangala* was the first of several *mangalas* for a male, and the head was shaved for the first time on this occasion. The performance of this *mangala* conferred certain privileges on the individual in question, one of which being that he could have his face shaved periodically by a barber.

783 302 At the various *mangalas* shaving is a preparatory ritual act. On these occasions it is followed by a bath and by the wearing of ritually pure robes. These preliminary rites make the subject pure, and while in this condition he performs certain rites, or others perform certain rites towards him.

765 302 The form of shaving prevalent normally is different from that prevalent at mourning. Normally the tuft at the crown and the moustache have to be left untouched at shaving, while at mourning it is obligatory, at any rate for the chief male mourners, to have their heads and faces shaved entirely. Other close relatives who are junior to the dead person are recommended to follow the example of the chief mourners, but it does not seem to be obligatory for them. The mourners get themselves shaved on the morning following the disposal of the corpse; and this shave marks the beginning of ritual mourning. The mourners may not have another shave while ritual mourning lasts. In the case of the eldest son and

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554 process of discovering the meaning of each one of the ritual acts gave us an idea of the ritual idiom of Coorgs.

561 Solidarity rites are performed on the subject of *mangala*, and
554 each *mangala* marks a change in the subject's social personality. Thus the ear-boring *mangala* marked the attainment of adulthood by a youth. His social personality altered again at marriage as he then acquired new rights and duties.

555 A man who killed a panther or tiger in a hunt was entitled to *mangala* being performed. A man who had built a new house performed *mané* or house *mangala*, at which *mūrta* was performed to him.

●881 *Polé kanda mangala* was performed to a girl some time after she
851 had attained puberty. This corresponded to a boy's ear-boring *mangala*. Marriage is another *mangala* occasion for her and, formerly, *mangala* was performed to her in the fifth or seventh month of her first pregnancy. This marked the attainment of the status of a mother by her. Motherhood is a valued status, and a woman who gave birth to ten children, all of whom were alive, was the subject of a *mangala* ceremony known as *paitāṇḍek aḷapa*.

553 A child is ritually given a name on the eleventh day of birth, but this does not constitute a *mangala* as the child does not count socially till either the ear-boring or puberty *mangala* has been performed.

777 *Mangala* is confined to auspicious occasions, and this is the reason why the ritual disposal of a corpse does not assume the form of a *mangala*.

626 *Mangala* carries with it the approval of society. This is brought out clearly in certain cases. For instance, the marriage of a widow does not constitute a *mangala*, while the marriage of a widower does. This is because Coorgs, like Brahmins and other high castes, do not approve of the marriage of a widow. But in the case of Coorgs the disapproval is not sufficiently strong to prohibit altogether the marriage of a widow, as it is among the Brahmins.

555 When a man killed a panther, *mangala* was performed for him on the village green (*ūr mandu*), whereas it was performed for him on the *nāḍ* green if he killed a tiger. Killing a tiger is worthy of more honour than killing a panther.

When the youthful hero Kaiyandira Appayya killed the great fighter Chōndu and thus restored the prestige of Kaḍiyetnāḍ, the general approval with which Appayya's action was regarded expressed itself in a *mangala* being performed for him.

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ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. 591
A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the 423
spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the 178
work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment.

b. Prescriptive law of inheritance. 428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases 429
where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives 428
to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the [884]
village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

429 his patrimony, until he attains his majority, which ranges
428 from 16 to 20 years, according to the maturity of judgment
[884] shewn by the individual, when he puts his ward in possession of it, and renders him an account of receipts and disbursements during the period of his nonage.

428 If the deceased has left no children, the widow adopts a
597 child of her relations, if procurable, or otherwise of her tribe, and he succeeds to the property on his attainment of the proper age, provided he has been adopted formally and according to the usage of the clan.

c. Wedding and married life.

582 The marriage-customs of the present day present a curious
[178] mixture of old and new rites, fashions and notions.

In ancient times, it would seem, the marriage festivities had a peculiarly communal character. On some great day a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is all the families of one of the rice-valleys, girt with farm-
[304] houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced
[335] by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the
[574] marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives.

304 In the low country the piercing of the ear is generally
[17] performed by the goldsmith, except in out-of-the-way places, where a goldsmith is not to be found. In such a case another branch of the trade-fraternity, smith or carpenter, may act for
[335] the brother-goldsmith. In Coorg the carpenter has the exclusive privilege of piercing the ears for ornaments.

[582] The girls have their ears pierced in early childhood. When they come of age, the ceremony of putting on their heads some corns of rice is a token of their being free to marry.

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songs it is the woman who takes the initiative in a love affair and seduces the man with whom she falls in love. 562

The general impression one gets from the folksongs is that women enjoyed much greater freedom in the past than they do today. It is probable that in the last 200 years Coorgs have orientated themselves more and more towards the patrilineal Kannaḍigas and moved away from the matrilineal Nāyars. This was accompanied by denying women active roles at the caste dances and festivals, and the home was seen more and more as their proper sphere of action. [533]

But nowadays, under the influence of Western ideas, the Coorg woman is once again coming to the fore. Education is more widespread among Coorg women than among the women of other castes, including Brahmins. They are nurses, teachers, and doctors, and do not hesitate to live outside Coorg. The economic position of Coorgs and the fact that they marry comparatively late are some of the factors responsible for the greater spread of education among Coorg women. The greater ease with which Coorg women have 'emancipated' themselves is probably because they have not been as long under patriarchal ideas regarding womanhood as their sisters in the eastern part of the Peninsula. [77] [871]

VII

Among Coorgs, as among other Indians, respect has to be shown to elders. When a Coorg meets an elder on a ritual occasion he has to salute the latter by bending the upper half of his body and touching the elder's feet thrice with both hands. After each touch the younger man takes his hands to his forehead, where he folds them together. The elder touches the bent head of the younger man with both hands and then brings them together at the chest or forehead. A woman elder is expected to take only her right hand to the right side of her forehead, but I have seen women acknowledge a salutation in exactly the same manner as men. 888

When he is saluted an elder usually utters a blessing like 'may you live long', or 'may you live happily'. But sometimes the blessing might be a long one, carrying a prayer to God and the ancestors to grant the younger person longevity, happiness, and 'eleven children, boys as well as girls'. [788]

When two equals meet they salute each other merely by bringing [57%]

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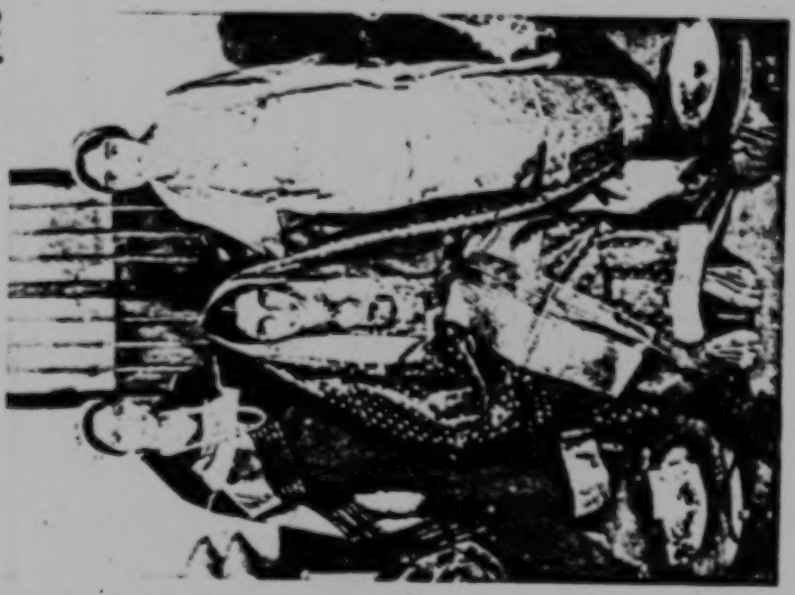

A BRIDE

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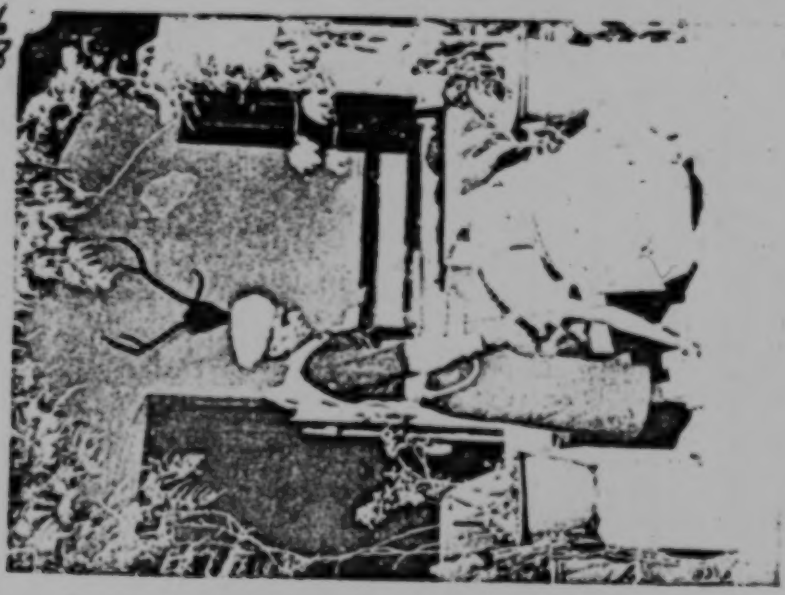

A GIRL SALUTES HER FATHER

[Facing p. 48]

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their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

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of marriageable age marries a younger brother of her dead husband. 596
Even if she does not do so, she stays in her husband's *okka* looking 587
after the children. She goes out of her conjugal *okka* only if she marries a member of a different *okka*.

All the members of an *okka* are descended from a common ancestor. 596 The spirits of the dead ancestors (*kāraṇavas*) are regarded 769 with great reverence and propitiated periodically. It is believed 776 that they continue to take an interest in the affairs of the *okka*. They expect the surviving members to look after the property and interests of the *okka*, to observe the rules of the moral code, and to show piety towards the various deities and themselves. They have the power to reward those who are pious and to punish with disease and misfortune those who are impious.

The eldest male member of the most senior agnatic branch is 596 the head (*koruvukāra* or *paṭṭēdāra*) of the *okka* whose properties he looks after and whose affairs he administers. The younger male members are called *kikkararu* and they have to obey the head in all matters concerning the *okka* as a whole. The head of the *okka* is usually also the eldest male member of it, and this union of headship and seniority in the same person results in his enjoying a great amount of power in domestic matters. Personal qualities [828] such as hard work, sobriety, chastity, piety towards manes and gods, unselfishness and impartiality increase the headman's powers.

The headman's powers are balanced by his duties: he has to see that the expenses of the household are met, the members of the *okka* do not quarrel with each other, the ancestral lands are properly cultivated, and so on. He has always to weigh in his own mind how every act of his is regarded by the adult men in the *okka*. It is not known whether formerly every *okka* had a council composed of the adult men in it, but it is known definitely that when a headman proved himself very incompetent all the adult men in the *okka* met together and proceeded to elect a new headman. In the last seventy years the Karavanda *okka* twice elected new headmen to replace the existing ones. The right to replace an old but in- [888] competent headman with a young and competent man is sanctioned by the Coorg saw (*paḷanjol* = old saying), '*ariyuvavanē periyavan*', which means 'the wisest is the eldest'. We call attention here to the equation of wisdom with seniority, an equation which is used even in replacing an old man by a young one.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

to dead ancestors, which are made in every Coorg house, are made 778
in the kitchen alone instead of in the ancestor-shrine or anywhere 769
else.

There are two types of houses in Coorg, one which has an open 342
quadrangle in the middle and the other in which there is no such 778
open quadrangle. In the former type, the four corners of the open quadrangle are supported by four pillars, and four planks (*aimaras*) connect the four pillars at a height of about 2½ feet from the ground. These planks are regarded as sacred: none may step across them, and no woman may sit on one of them.

Planks are affixed to the top of the parapet wall in the veranda. [769]
One of these planks is called the 'ancestors' plank' (*kāraṇavaṇda aimara*), and it is regarded as sacred. None may sleep on it. I have heard that anyone sleeping on the 'ancestors' plank' in the house of the Karavanda *okka* is thrown down to the floor by the spirits of the ancestors.

Women very rarely visit the veranda (*kaiyālé*), and when they [562]
visit it they may not sit on one of the planks there. Nor are they [888]
allowed to sit on the planks in the central hall, though very old women occasionally take the liberty of doing so when the senior males are away. On the second day of marriage the bride s..s on a [585]
plank in the veranda of the groom's house, and this is part of the ritual of admitting her into her husband's house.

At some distance from the main building is a shrine (*kaimaḍa*) 778
devoted to the worship of the ancestors. During the periodical 769
ancestor-propitiations (*kāraṇava téré*), small figurines representing the ancestors are kept in the shrine and worshipped. During festivals, a lamp is lit in the shrine, and cooked food is placed before the lamp.

Kaimaḍas or ancestor-shrines seem to be a recent phenomenon, and before they became popular the dead ancestors were represented by unhewn stones fixed in earthen platforms which were built round the trunks of milk-exuding trees. These platforms were called '*kāraṇava taré*' or 'ancestors' platform'. Even today in Kiggaṭnāḍ there are only ancestor-platforms and no ancestor-*shrines*.

Like the ancestors, cobra-deities are represented by unhewn 776
stones[1] and fixed in platforms built round the trunks of milk- 778
exuding trees. The vegetation growing near a cobra-platform is

[1] Minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika are also represented by similar stones, and occasionally found alongside stones representing cobra-deities.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

574 upon as a great honour and on festive occasions they are frequently invited. Then great efforts are made to do honour to their guest, and in the more civilized houses a breakfast in almost English fashion is served on crockery and with knives and forks. But perhaps those receptions are more enjoyable where one comes unexpectedly and has to put up with little inconveniences which draw forth from the kind host all the greater concern for the comfort of his guest. At the unexpected arrival of a European visitor there is at once a great commotion amongst the fair Codagitis. Clean dresses are donned, ornaments put on and there is a running to and fro [272] within the house. Soon the crackling of fire is heard and [415] the aroma of roasted coffee indicates the coming treat. The [252] coffee is brought in a spouted brass vessel or in a tumbler; it is highly sweetened, has also a bytaste of red pepper, as the coffee beans were broken in the mortar that serves for pounding spices, but you cannot resist to gratify the importunity of [576] your kind host. To leave a Coorg house without having partaken of any offered refreshment, be it only a sip of milk or an orange, would be a grave offence against Coorg etiquette.

515 It has been said that "the Coorg women do not exercise the domestic virtue of cleanliness." Considering the nature of the work that falls to their share, it cannot be expected, that they should always appear in festive costume; but they bathe frequently and whenever they are seen in public the women are remarkable for their clean and tidy appearance. 858 Coorg children show much affection for their parents and relations, and the little ones of whom there is generally a goodly [574] number are great pets of the house. The visiting stranger is the object of their wonder, and if he succeeds to gain their confidence, he will be liked all the better by the whole family. • 888 The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is de- 576 corous, the latter being greeted by every junior member of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

the house or by a visiting neighbour whether male or female 888 with great respect. The young man lays aside whatever 576 burdens his hands, puts off his shoes and with folded hands first raised to the forehead, bows down and touches the feet of his senior, who lays his hand on the young man's head pronouncing a blessing, when the youth rises and repeats the ceremony to others.

The Coorgs are a hardy race and bear with fortitude a 147 great deal of hardship, especially during the monsoon, whilst engaged with their rice cultivation. Exposed to wet and cold [165] and often prostrate with fever, they soon regain their strength and old men and women of 70 or 80 years are not uncommon amongst them.

In the times of their Rajahs, during their wars with the 648 Mysoreans and Malabars and in their marauding expeditions 157 the Coorgs proved themselves brave soldiers and were dread- [712] ed for their fierce intrepidity; but their strength lay especially in their mountain fastnesses and behind the shelter of their native woods and the formidable breastworks extending for miles along the crests of hills. Since they have come under the rule of the British Government their warlike spirit has found no scope; but they are still a brave and manly race, who in time of need would doubtless stand by their new rulers with devoted loyalty. At the hunt of the tiger, the 224 bison or the elephant no true Coorg shirks the dangerous 157 sport; but with nerve and coolness and wary cunning he will dodge the advancing beast and with keen eye and steady hand fire at him at close quarters.

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have 771 for ages been neglected, and consequently up to the present [212] day they are both ignorant and supersitious. The worship of demons and of departed spirits has usurped among them the worship of God. Charms and sorceries abound all over the country. Disease among men and cattle is readily as- [753] cribed to the curses and witchcraft of [754] enemies.